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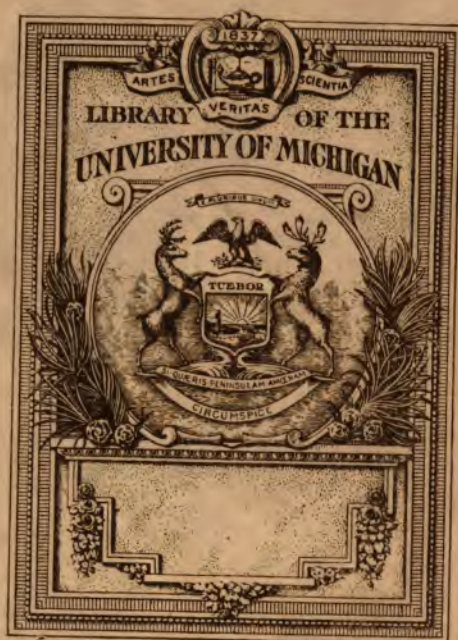
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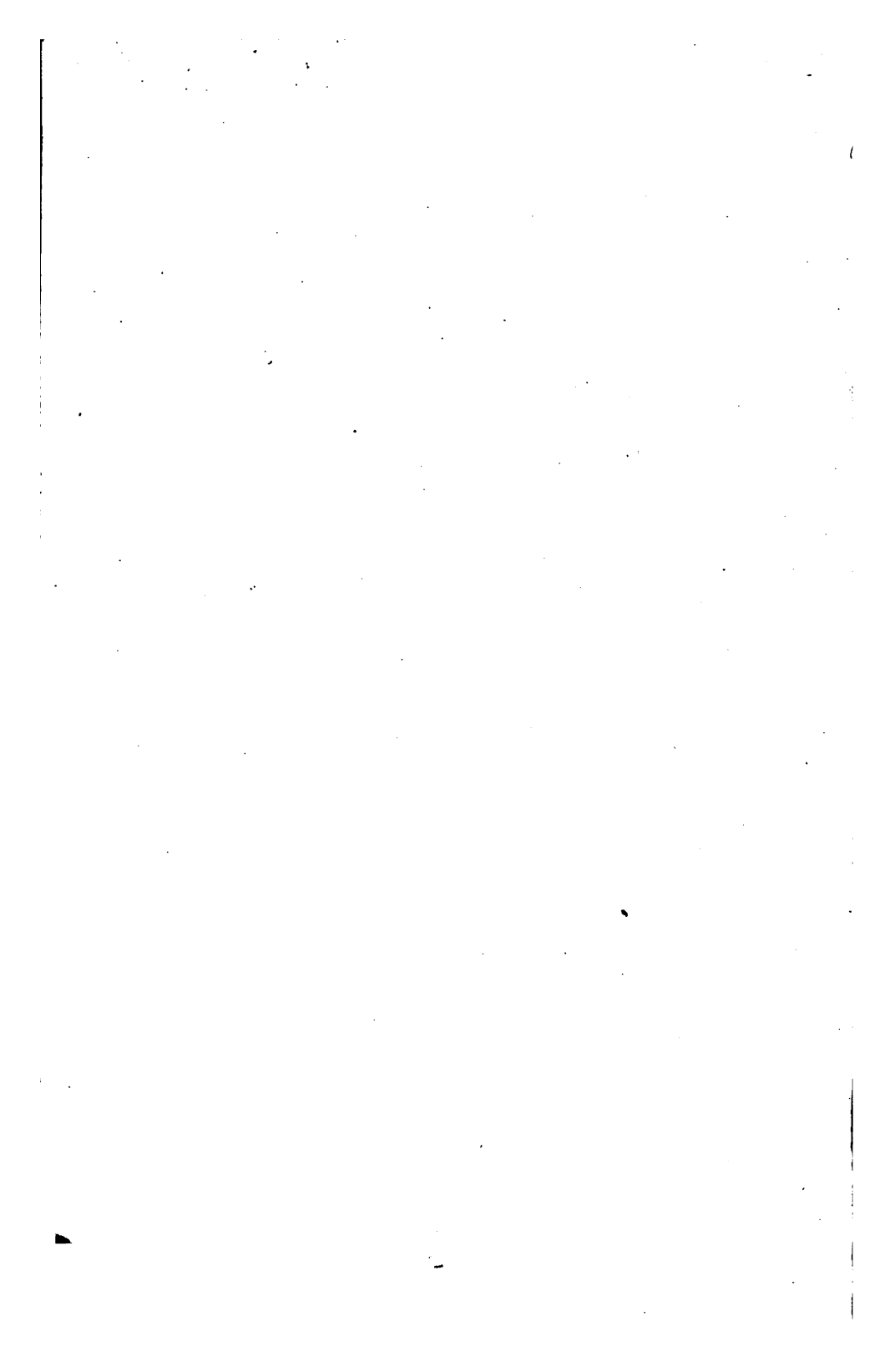
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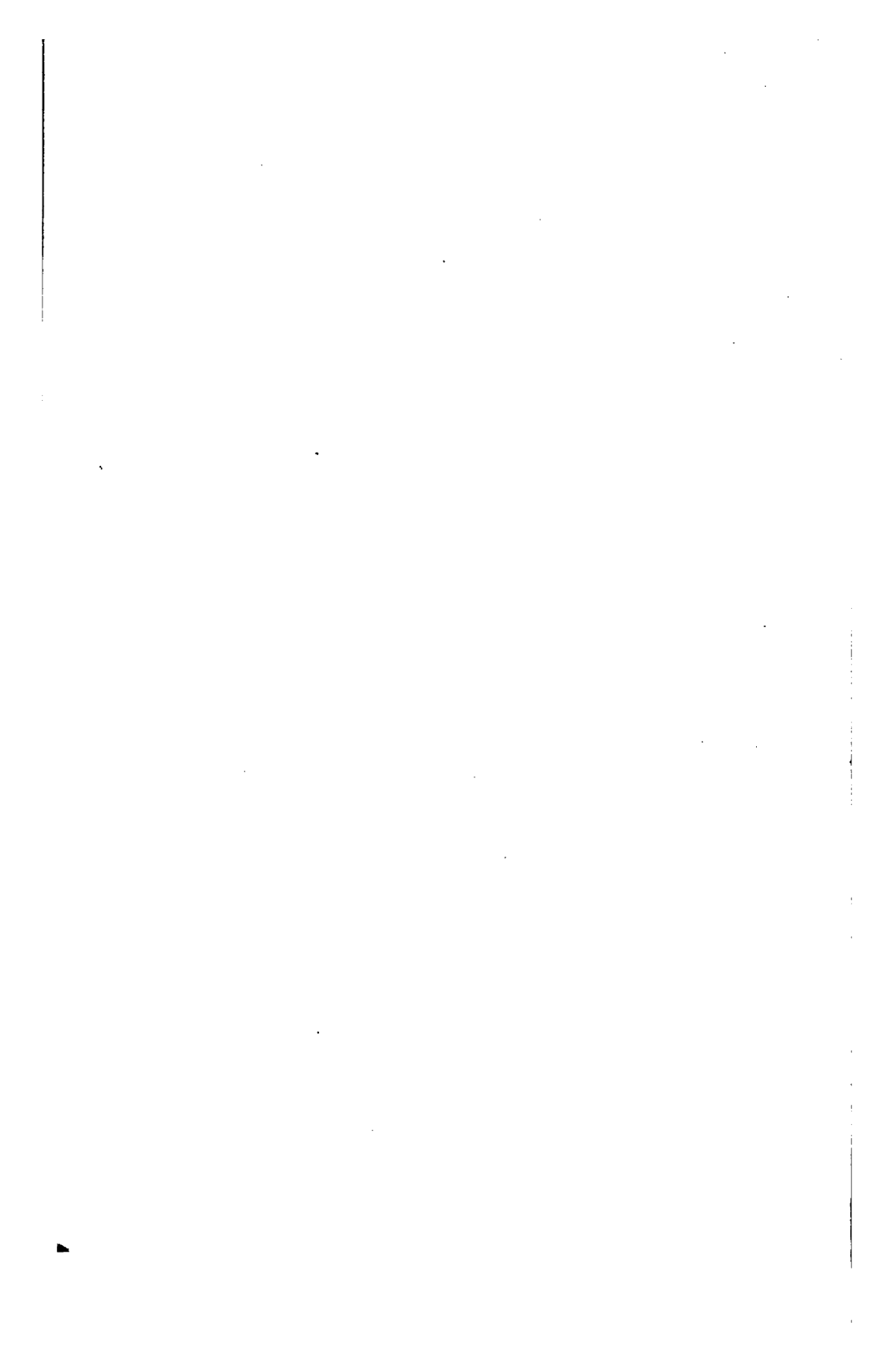
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THE

OFFICIAL REPORT

Church of England OF THE

CHURCH CONGRESS

HELD AT NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

On OCTOBER 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th,

1881.



EDITED BY WM. PROCTOR SWABY, M.A.

VICAR OF CASTLETOWN, SUNDERLAND.



JOHN HODGES,
29, LEICESTER SQUARE, LONDON.

1882.

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BILLING AND SONS, PRINTERS AND ELECTROTYPERS, GUILDFORD.

P R E F A C E.



THE Church Congress of 1881, which attained its majority in the town of Newcastle-on-Tyne, falls below none of its predecessors, either in the importance of the subjects selected for discussion, or in the ability of the readers and speakers. One cause of its success was doubtless owing to the bold but wise policy of the Subjects Committee, who determined to exclude no question "however burning" which was deemed to be of interest. The determination of the Committee was stated by the Right Rev. President in his Inaugural Address. He said: "We have withheld nothing, we have dissembled nothing. We believed that a frank and generous policy, would meet with a frank and generous response." This belief was fully verified; for while there was no lack of vigorous and plain speaking, yet perhaps in no former Congress has the spirit of fairness, toleration and charity been more marked than in this.

Whatever difficulty there may be in directing Church Congresses to any practical action, the benefit arising from a deliberate discussion of subjects so important as those selected by the Committee cannot be doubted—and the interchange of thought between speakers of different schools, as well as the rousing of a greater interest in Church affairs among the laity, cannot but be productive of good.

It is a matter of much regret that the size and cost of the Report, will not admit any mention of the very successful Working Men and Women's Meetings which were held in Newcastle and the neighbouring towns.

Owing to mismanagement on the part of those who agreed with the Congress Committee to provide full notes of all meetings, several of the MSS. of Readers, and the reporters' notes of speeches have been lost. The consequence of this has been to delay publication, to greatly increase the work of editing, and to render the Report somewhat less valuable as an exact record of what actually was said. Fortunately, however, in nearly every case, the authors of MSS. had duplicate copies, or they had been fully reported in the local papers. An explanatory note is attached to the speeches where a full report could not be given.

Many complaints have been made as to the inaccuracy of the reported speeches. The blame of that must rest with those who were responsible for the reporting.

The Editor has endeavoured, 'as far as possible, to render accurately the proceedings of each meeting, and although the work has been heavy and anxious, it has been greatly lightened by the kind co-operation of nearly all the Readers and Speakers in correcting the proofs forwarded to them with as little delay as possible.

In a work so large as this, dealing with so many authors and subjects as it does, it is impossible to attend to every suggestion made by the various speakers, but as far as possible, any suggestion which seemed likely to add to the value of the Report has been adopted, and all important corrections and alterations allowed.

The proofs sent for correction were not returned by some of the speakers, and some were returned much after the time allowed. In one or two cases, also, the addresses of the Speakers could not be ascertained, and consequently the proof of their speeches could not be forwarded, but were corrected by the Editor. (The full address, as well as the name of each speaker, should be taken down at the time of speaking.)

It would be ungracious not to notice the courtesy and ready willingness of the printers (Messrs. Billing & Sons, Guildford) to do all they could to hasten the work through the Press.

The delay in the publication of the Report, which has now become of yearly occurrence, might be easily obviated if the Permanent Committee of Congress would lay down some definite rules with regard to the reporting of the discussions, and the treatment of the manuscripts of the Readers of papers. The rules in connection with the Social Science Congress seem capable of adaptation to Church Congresses, and fully to meet the wants of the case. The appointment also of a permanent Editor would be of advantage, and would greatly expedite the publication of the Report. The experience he gains in editing one Report would be of great service in seeing any subsequent Report through the press, and would enable him to establish a regular and orderly system for dealing with the papers.

The Congress of 1881 left behind it pleasant remembrances, good will towards the Church of England, and a belief in the reality and nobility of her work. May the perusal of the pages of this permanent record of that Congress be the means of bringing

"Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace among men in whom He is well pleased."

WM. P. SWABY.

CASTLETOWN VICARAGE,
SUNDERLAND,
February 12th, 1882.

THE SERMON
BY
THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER,
PREACHED IN
ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, NEWCASTLE,
ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1881.

"Unto me who am less than the least of all saints was this grace given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ ; and to make all men see what is the dispensation of the mystery which from all ages had been hid in God, who created all things ; to the intent that now unto the principalities and the powers in heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord."—*Eph. iii. 8-12 (Revised Version).*

THE last thoughts of a Christian man drawn out of the depths of a wide and varied spiritual experience are commonly the most precious, his last words the most memorable. And what are commonly called the "Epistles of the Imprisonment" contain the last thoughts and the last words of Paul. If we apply to spiritual phenomena the only reasonable canon of interpretation, we must suppose that his later horizon of vision was wider than his earlier, his convictions more settled, his sense of proportion quicker, his discrimination more penetrating, his faith more calm. "The thoughts of men are widened"—widened at once, and deepened—"with the process of the suns." And Paul's thoughts seem to have been no exception to this moral law. No longer dazzled with "the brightness of that light" in which his Master first revealed himself to his amazed soul—no longer helpless, though believing ; no longer putting the question, as of a mind perplexed and overwhelmed, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?"—his purged eye, purged, I take it, not by anything which he saw or heard when caught up into the third heaven, but by his actual experience of the methods of the Spirit of God upon the hearts of men, now seemed to see the height and depth and breadth and length of things—the limits of the possible and of the impossible—the "unveiled face" still in presence of veiled mysteries ; the dispensation committed to the Church, and the place and functions of human instruments in it ; the gifts and graces

in their several scales, all measured by their profitableness to the use of edifying ; the shadows and the substance ; the transient and the immutable ; the Christian temper and the law of duty ; the place of each servant, according to his gifts, in the household of God ; and the end and aim of all—that “the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, might make increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love.”

All this he seems to see with intenser vividness and a clearer and fuller insight than he had ever seen them before. The foundation, of course, remains the same. How could that alter ? But the stones which raise the building story upon story, are laid with a more careful and (we may say) tenderer hand. The wisdom of the Master-builder—the *Architecton*—is more apparent. “Each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord.” The old warnings are there, the old trenchant tones even ; traces of the old severity. The dogs of the concision—the evil workers—the spoilers through philosophy and vain deceit—those who subjected themselves, or would subject others, to ordinances—those who taught things which had a “show of wisdom in will-worship and humility and severity to the body,” while they were of no real “value against the indulgence of the flesh”—about these he does not hold his tongue—how could he without unfaithfulness ?—but he tells his readers of them “even weeping,” and the tones of bitter denunciation, which are to be traced in the Epistle to the Galatians, and even in the First to the Corinthians—of the efficacy of which he had doubts even when he used them—have almost entirely disappeared. Still by manifestation of the truth commending himself and his message to every man’s conscience in the sight of God, he seems to feel the power of “the meekness and gentleness of Christ,” even more fully than when he first used that sweet phrase to the Corinthians, in strange juxtaposition with his “readiness to avenge all disobedience,” and the possibility that he might come unto them again, “not sparing,” and “with a rod” in his hand.

It will be my object this morning to set before you some general considerations of a practical kind springing out of this last legacy to the Church of the great Apostle—of him, less than the least of all saints, to whom this grace was given to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. I will try to condense what I have to say into the smallest space. All inferences or references, applying to particular cases, I shall leave you to draw or make for yourselves. It is upon the larger outline and broader principles of things that I desire to fix your minds. I have only one critical remark to offer upon the text.

I have adopted the now almost universally admitted reading *Oikonomia tou musteriou* instead of the *Koinonia* of the *Textus Receptus*, which Alford thinks has all the appearance of merely an explanatory gloss—"the dispensation" or "stewardship" of the mystery, instead of the "fellowship." The manuscript authority is far higher. The thought seems to me more Pauline. He regarded himself as "a steward of the mysteries of God;" and now that his time on earth, as he had been forewarned, was short, he naturally wished to leave on record how, in his conception, at least, of things, this stewardship was to be discharged.

It would savour of the audacity of the schoolmen, intruding into things which I have not seen (I do not quote the words critically), and which assuredly have not been revealed, if I were to attempt to define with any precision how, through the Church, is made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly place the manifold wisdom of God. But we are told by another Apostle that the ministries of the Church on earth are things which the angels desire to look into, stooping from their high estate to gaze, with what feelings we know not—mingled ones, methinks, they must be—upon the wondrous methods by which the wisdom of God endeavours to prevail upon and soften the hard and wilful hearts of the children of men; and that is pretty nearly all we know, or need to know.

Whatever be the service that those angels are sent forth to do "for the sake of them that shall inherit salvation" (Heb. i. 14), its nature has been hidden from us—perchance, lest we should be tempted to "worship" them (Coloss. ii. 18), and the simplicity of our faith towards Christ should be perplexed rather than helped thereby. It is enough to know that amid the cloud of witnesses by whom we are surrounded, as we each run his race, there are the angels—we are "a spectacle to them"—and the whole Church, in all its alternations of success and failure, of defeat and conquest, is a "theatre" to them, upon which they look with fluctuating feelings of hope and fear, of joy and sorrow, of pity or shame.

They are the essential features of this Church of the living God—the pillar and ground of the truth—the instrument, at once human and divine, through which the manifold wisdom of that God was to be made known and justified to the world—to which we believe that we, by every legitimate title of lineal descent, belong as truly as did those "Saints in Ephesus," "faithful in Christ Jesus," in the Apostolic Age, that "Paul the Apostle of Christ by the will of God" dwells upon with such marked emphasis in this great Epistle. The notes that he indicates as *the* notes of the Church, are such as will last through all ages and amid all vicissitudes as long as there is revealed truth to be proclaimed, and a human but divinely endowed organisation needed to proclaim it.

"It is good for us," while the arena is clouded with the dust of lesser controversies, "to be here ;" to rise, if possible, into a purer, holier atmosphere, less disturbed by the vehemence of modern passions and prejudices ; to realise by no very violent effort of imagination, what this Church of Christ, builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit, was, in the design of her Divine Architect, intended to be ; what, for a few brief years, she was ; what it should be our effort to make her become again.

Her days of greatest increase were days of peace, not days of strife ; when the faith, once for all, delivered to the saints, won its way, not because it had received the sanction of œcumenical councils, but by its own intrinsic power to persuade the souls of men ; before articles got to be too curiously defined, or schools of religious thought formed themselves, and labelled each the other with human names—a golden age, indeed, of peace and charity and progress, which the perverseness and self-will of men, "seeking their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's," first disturbed, and then destroyed.

How sweet and calm, amid the rage and tumult of the centuries, rises up before the contemplative mind, that vision, as the inspired historian has portrayed it, of the Churches of the first age—"Then had the Churches rest throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied" (Acts ix. 31). Is it, like other golden ages, a thing past, perished, never to return ? If it be, I fear the Church's power for conquest will have perished too.

I signalise three of the Apostle's notes of the Church ; three only, but they are the three chief, the three most truly fundamental. They are, love—unity—the true function of the Christian ministry. To take these in order :

I. The apprehension of divine things in their simplicity, proportion, grandeur, is only possible to the soul that approaches the contemplation of the great objective realities in the spirit of love. Faith energised by love—if I may adopt the rendering which has always commended itself most to my own mind—is the one availing thing. "For this cause," cries Paul, "I bow my knees unto the Father, from whom every family in heaven and on earth is named, that He would grant you, according to the riches of His glory, that ye may be strengthened with power through His Spirit in the inward man : that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith ; to the end that, being rooted and grounded in love, ye may be strong to apprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled unto all the fulness of God" (Eph. iii. 14—19)—*Dia tēs pisteōs en agapē* : "through your faith ;" but "in love."

Faith, the hand which apprehends ; but love which gives power, and direction, and tenacity to the hand. Faith that grasps, but love that prevents that grasp from being relaxed. Faith which believes, but love which knows in whom it has believed. Faith which prompts, but love which sustains. Love, implying everything that the name in its widest, noblest sense has ever been made to include—love, exhibiting each of those several features which the same master-hand has elsewhere sketched with such matchless power—love, that essence of the Christian temper, without which no separate soul can live : no aggregate of separate souls can ever be more or better than a Church of Sardis or a Church of Laodicea.

Can we discern this “note of the Church,” vividly, distinctly, broadly, among ourselves to-day ? Shall we promote it by this Congress, which has drawn hither so many hundred Churchmen, representatives of almost every school of Christian thought ? It is to be hoped that the outer world, when it reads and criticises our proceedings, will have no cause to reverse the verdict of an earlier age, and to say, with a scorn which they will be at no pains to conceal, “See these Christians, how they hate one another.” At least we shall do well to be upon our guard ; and tongues that need a bridle should put it on betimes. “Where jealousy and faction are,” says another Apostle (I follow the revised translation) “there is confusion and every vile deed.” “Love,” says Augustine, “is the virtue of the City of God” (Enarr. in Psalm. iv., 422 f.).

II. But I pass from the note of “love” to that of unity : from the soil in which faith grows to the fruit which it produces. “I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord”—and I beg you to note the temper of the words that come from this cell—“I, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you to walk worthily of the calling wherewith ye were called ; with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love ; giving diligence to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body and one spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling ; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, Who is over all, and through all and in all” (Eph. iv. 1—6). The noticeable thing here is the largeness and simplicity—if I may use the word, the infiniteness—of the primitive creed. On no other than the broadest basis can you build up a Church which shall be truly Catholic—which shall embrace the world. The Church of Rome, by piling article upon article, each later invention making larger demands upon a reasonable faith, and at length by her claim of absolute infallibility in matters of doctrine and morals for a man, repelling it utterly, has done her best to invalidate her proud pretensions to be the divinely-appointed guide to Christendom into all truth. Not by instruments of this

kind does the Spirit of Christ seem to have kept alive truth and faith in the world. Not by the peremptory decision of an Œcumenical Council—often the decision of a bare or narrow majority—and always the decision of men both separately and collectively fallible, does Paul trust that the faith of Christ will be maintained, but thus, “If in anything ye are otherwise minded.”—*Ei ti heterôs phronete*—“God will reveal even this unto you” (Phil. iii. 16). “For my own particular,” says Bishop Jeremy Taylor in the preface to his great treatise on the “Liberty of Prophesying,” “I cannot but expect that God, in His justice, should enlarge the bounds of the Turkish Empire, or some other way punish Christians, by reason of their pertinacious disputings about things unnecessary, undeterminable, and unprofitable. . . . How many volumes have been written about angels, about Immaculate Conception, about original sin, when all that is solid reason or clear revelation in all these three articles may be reasonably enough comprised in forty lines! And in these trifles and impertinences men are curiously busy, while they neglect those glorious precepts of Christianity and holy life which are the glories of our religion, and would exalt us to a happy eternity. . . . I am sure such things were never taught us by Christ and His Apostles; and if we were sure that ourselves spoke the truth, or that truth were able to justify herself, it were better if, to preserve a doctrine, we did not destroy a commandment, and out of zeal, pretending to Christian religion, lose the glories and rewards of ingenuity and Christian simplicity” (vol. vii., pp. 432 and 424).

And in the face of the rapid and violent disintegration of Christian belief—with M. Rochefort in Paris parodying the Christian sacraments, and initiating little children by a form of his own into what he calls the gospel of Free thought, and the International Federation of Free-thinkers holding its three days' conference in London, and delighting to trample on some of the most cherished hopes of man by announcing that the “*Union Démocratique* of France is organising a great Free-thought demonstration on All Souls' Day—we cannot afford to bandy words upon disputable propositions—to divide ourselves into divers and almost hostile camps, each with its doctrine and interpretation—we dare not break up a great Church, with its mission as clearly stamped upon it as ever mission was stamped upon a Church planted even by Apostles' hands, into fragmentary and partisan organisations, powerless because disunited, incapable of discipline because following the voice of no one leader, recognising the sound of no one battle-cry.

If union ever was strength, it would be strength now; and union is only possible on the broad basis of an historical, not a theoretic, Christianity. But I pass on once more.

III. And what is the function of men—the part they have to

play—in this great conflict, terminable only with the Second Advent of Christ, between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, good and evil? What is the office of the Church, in the word's largest sense, as the divinely endowed, but yet human, institution, which it pleases God to use as His instrument in carrying out these far-reaching, eternal purposes?

"The Prophetical Office of the Church" was the title of one of the great theological treatises with which John Henry Newman enriched the literature of his country while he was yet the vicar of a parish in England, and before he became a Cardinal-Prince of Rome; and so Paul seems to regard the Church, as a whole, as a vast instalment for prophesying to men in the name and for the truth of God. "Unto each one of us was the grace given according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore, he saith, 'When He ascended on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.' . . . And He gave some to be Apostles, and some prophets, and some Evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ: till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ . . . that, speaking the truth in love, we may grow up in all things into Him, which is the Head, even Christ; from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love" (Eph. iv. 7 fol.).

I am not careful to attempt an exact exegesis of this famous passage. Richard Hooker and others have done this, with more or less felicity. But it is evident that here is no thought of order, but of function. It is no question whether there are three or four ranks in the hierarchy of the Church, or even more. We need not even stay to discuss, with any pretence to accuracy, the possible discriminations in the writer's own mind of the fourfold elements into which the work of ministering is distributed, and to which the edifying of the body of Christ is due. With our imperfect sources of information we could not be sure of our conclusions, with whatever parade of learning they might be marshalled, even when we had arrived at them. The great proof, we know, of at least one Apostle was that, "through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God, from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum, he had fully preached the Gospel of Christ."

To teach himself, and to charge others to teach; to give heed to reading, to exhortation, to teaching; to be able, by holding to the faithful Word according to the teaching, both to exhort in

the sound doctrine, and to convict the gainsayers—this was Paul's highest conception of the office of a Christian Bishop. Even when the kingdom of God was being set up in the world, they were the prophetic rather than the regal acts of its Divine Founder that struck men's minds, and drew the crowds after Him. "A great prophet," they said, "hath risen up amongst us; and God hath visited His people." And so it seems to me that now people are not seeking priests to absolve or to offer sacrifice for them, but prophets who can teach them and guide. Prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers—these are the needs of the Church to-day. Priests, possibly, for quiet, ordinary times; but prophets for crises. And if any one cannot see that the Church is passing through a crisis now—fiercer, sharper, more intense than any which has tried her for generations, he cannot read the most obvious signs of this time. And can we who claim, sometimes too exclusively, the prerogative of teaching, feel that we are teaching men that which it most concerns them to know? Are we helping them to be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine? Are we enabling them to be babes in malice, but in mind be men? Have we ourselves that grasp of truth which comes of experimental conviction, and of nothing besides, and which alone can make men strong or free? To build up the body of Christ by the spirit of prophecy is no common gift and no ordinary responsibility. To be able rightly to divide the word of truth is putting the highest faculty to the noblest use.

What names stand out most conspicuous on the pages of the Church's story? The names of her great prophets and teachers—men like Athanasius, and Gregory of Nazianzum, and Chrysostom, and Bernard, and Savonarola, and Luther. These were they who stirred the hearts of their generation, and made religion, as a living force and not as a crystallised tradition, possible in the world.

We are looking full of hope to what our President may have to tell us of the prospects of the new See, which will owe so much to his self-sacrificing liberality, and to the fund for endowing which you are asked to contribute according to your ability to-day. I have been looking over the pages of our earliest ecclesiastical historian to gather up the story of how the Christian Church was first planted in Northumberland, in the days of good King Oswald, just twelve centuries ago. In the seventh century it had two famous Bishops—St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert, with an interval of fifty years between them—who took the title of their See not from Newcastle, but from Lindisfarne. This is the story of Aidan:

"It is related that when King Oswald asked for a prelate from the Scots to administer to himself and to his people the

word of faith, there was first sent to him a man of an austere disposition, who, when after preaching for some time he made no progress, returned to his country and related in the assembly of the elders that he had not been able to effect anything in teaching the people to whom he had been sent, on account of their being intractable men, and of a harsh and barbarous disposition. Then they held a great debate in council as to what was to be done ; and Aidan, who was present, said to the priest concerning whom the meeting was held, ' It seems to me, brother, that you have been too hard with your unlearned hearers, and have not afforded them, according to the Apostolic teaching, first the milk of easier doctrine, until, being nourished by degrees by the Word of God, they should be capable of receiving the more perfect, and of performing the sublimer precepts of God ;' which being heard, the faces and eyes of all that sat there were turned towards him, and they earnestly discussed what he had said, and decreed that he himself was worthy of the Episcopate, and ought to be sent to teach the unbelieving and unlearned, since, above all things, he was proved to be endued with the grace of discretion, which is the mother of virtues ; and accordingly they ordained him, and sent him to preach. And he, in course of time, as he had before appeared to be adorned with the guidance of discretion, so afterwards exhibited the other virtues also." (*Bede, E. H. iii., ch. 5, Gidley's Transl.*)

Does not this remind you of another Prophet, of Whom it is written, " He spake the word unto them as they were able to hear it"? And not less instructive is the story of Cuthbert :

" Not only " (says Bede) " did he afford to his own monastery both admonitions and examples of regular life, but he also took care to convert the common people who dwelt around far and wide from a life of foolish customs to the love of heavenly joys. Therefore, he frequently went forth from the monastery, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, and going to the surrounding villages, taught the erring way of truth. Furthermore, so great was Cuthbert's skill in speaking, so great his desire of enforcing what he took in hand, and such the light of his angelic countenance, that no one present presumed to conceal from him the secrets of his heart ; all openly revealed by confession what they had done, because, forsooth, they thought that these same things could in no way escape his knowledge, and wiped out the sins they confessed by worthy fruits of penitence, as he enjoined. Moreover, he was wont mostly to traverse those places, and to preach in those little villages, which, being situate afar off on steep and rugged mountains, others had a horror of visiting, and which repelled the access of teachers both by their poverty and rusticity. These, nevertheless, he, willingly devoting himself to the pious labour, instructed with so great industry and

skilful teaching, that often, when he had gone forth from the monastery, he did not return home sometimes for a whole month ; but, tarrying among the mountaineers, he called the rustic people, both by the word of preaching and by the work of virtue, to heavenly things " (Ibid. iv., ch. 27).

And does not this remind us of more than one incident in the Apostolic story of Paul and Barnabas among the rude goatherds of Lycaonia, winning them from their heathenism by the simple preaching of a living God, whose witness was in the rain and fruitful seasons ; or again, at Ephesus, when through the preaching of Paul, " they that believed came and confessed and showed their deeds, and the Word of God grew mightily and prevailed." *Alia tempora, alii mores.* The fashions and the thoughts of the men of Northumberland are not the same to-day as they were 1,200 years ago. But the same qualities are required in a Bishop now that the historian signalises in Aidan :—" his zeal for peace and charity, for continence and humility ; his mind the conqueror of anger and avarice, the contemner both of pride and vainglory ; his diligence in both doing and teaching the divine commands ; his practice of reading and watching ; his authority becoming a priest in rebuking the proud and powerful ; and likewise his tenderness in comforting the afflicted, in strengthening the weak, in relieving and defending the poor " (*E.H.* iii., ch. 17). A noble portrait of a bishop, simply and touchingly painted.

It is by such teaching as this, illustrated by such a life as this, that even the hardest and rudest hearts can be won to the more excellent way. May he who will succeed to the Episcopate of Aidan and Cuthbert be as largely endowed with those graces as were they. They are the only weapons which the Church can wield with the assurance that they will prevail. They have been proved again and again under every variety of circumstance. Whether for the Christian warfare of the seventh or the nineteenth century, they are pieces of the " panoply of God." They are the forms in which the Spirit of Christ demonstrates His power. They put to flight the armies of the aliens. They confirm the hopeful, they revive the despondent. They strengthen believers ; they take away all occasion from the adversary to speak reproachfully. We have no right to speak of the failure of the Gospel till these methods have been fully and fairly tried.

The evil heart of unbelief is to be exorcised, not by magic, after the fashion of the sons of Scæva at Ephesus, but by moral forces acting under their normal conditions, corroborated by the Spirit of God. If these fail, we may indeed despair of Christianity. But, O Spirit of Christ ! Spirit of hope and confidence and joy in believing ! lift up the hands that hang down, and strengthen the feeble knees. Inspire Thy Church with wisdom and with zeal, and send forth its soldiers conquering and to conquer in the strength of Christ's mighty Name.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
CHURCH CONGRESS,
HELD AT NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

TOWN HALL, TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

OCTOBER 4, 1881.

THE Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM took his seat as President at 2 p.m., when the MAYOR OF NEWCASTLE (MR. ALDERMAN ANGUS), delivered the following

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

MY Lord Bishop and President of the Congress,—As the Mayor of this ancient town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, permit me, in the name of the Corporation and the general inhabitants, to give yourself and the members of the Church Congress a hearty welcome.

We welcome you as representatives of the Church of England, and desire to acknowledge our deep sense of the piety, ability, learning, zeal, and usefulness which so greatly characterise the large and influential body of Christians you represent, and of your labours and success in the spread of true religion in this country, and in remoter countries of the earth.

Allow me to express the hope that the various meetings of the Congress may prove pleasant and useful to all who may be engaged in their proceedings, whether as speakers or hearers; and may contribute to the extension of the Church of Christ, and the temporal and spiritual welfare of our fellow-men at large.

May I further be permitted, as a Nonconformist, on behalf of myself and a large number of the Nonconformists of this town and neighbourhood, to offer you, as a distinguished part of the Christian brotherhood, our fraternal congratulations and best wishes? It is true that between us there are both ecclesiastical and doctrinal differences—we are not insensible to them; but on

the present occasion we desire to think rather of the things in which we agree, than of those about which we differ, and to rejoice that all true believers are one in Jesus Christ our Lord.

In the name of the Corporation, I have much pleasure in placing this hall and the rooms connected with it at the service of the Congress during its meetings.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

MR. MAYOR, I tender to you the sincere thanks of the Congress for the hearty welcome which you have given to us. The town of Newcastle has long maintained a high reputation for hospitality, and its ancient fame will plainly not suffer in the hands of yourself and your fellow-townsmen of to-day.

You advert to the fact that you yourself are a Nonconformist. The value of your welcome is certainly not lessened thereby. It will be a matter of gratification and a source of strength to this Congress to know that it has, as you assure us, the sympathy and the good wishes—may I not add, the prayers?—of others besides members of our Church. In the spirit in which you offer this expression of sympathy on the part of Nonconformists, we receive it, not as ignoring differences which we know to exist, but as testifying to a common faith and a common charity which underlie such differences.

For the use of the Hall and the rooms connected therewith we tender to you, Mr. Mayor, and to the Corporation, our most hearty thanks. To yourself I am still further indebted for many acts of consideration and courtesy in connection with this Congress; and it is a special gratification to me to receive these favours at the hands of one who, in the discharge of an arduous and honourable office, has won, in the highest degree, the esteem and respect of all his fellow-townsmen. I have only to add that whenever it shall be convenient and agreeable to you to attend our meetings there will be a seat reserved for you on this platform, and your presence will be most welcome to us all.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Treading in the footsteps of my predecessors, I will commence by discharging a formal duty which devolves on me as President of this Congress—formal only as recurrent from year to year, but not formal as deficient either in sincerity or in warmth.

I therefore bid you a hearty welcome to this ancient town and county of Newcastle, long known as the largest and busiest centre of commercial and industrial activity in this busy north, but destined before long (as we hope) to assume a greater prominence in the eyes of Churchmen, as the See of a new diocese. At such a moment the session of the Congress at Newcastle is especially well timed. The reception of a large representative assembly of the Church will fitly close the history of the ancient Diocese of Durham. The old See will be fortified by its presence for the severance; the new See will be ushered in amidst the happiest auguries.

Why need I say more? For the town of Newcastle itself, the prompt and generous action of the Mayor, Sheriff, and Corporation speaks with a directness and an eloquence of which any words of mine would only blunt the edge. It remains for me to supplement their action by expressing to you the welcome of the clergy and laity—of the Churchmen—of the diocese at large.

Christian brothers and fellow-Churchmen, I am reminded that this year the institution, over whose meeting it is my privilege to preside, attains its majority. This is the twenty-first anniversary of the Church Congress. It is therefore with singular pleasure that I welcome among those who are present on this platform, and those who have promised to take part in the subsequent proceedings, not a few names, both lay and clerical, which occupy a prominent place in the report of the first Church Congress held twenty years ago. It must be a sincere gratification to them, to see the weakly infant, which they nursed through its childish ailments with so much care, grown up into the sturdy manhood of to-day. I myself remember well the modest gathering in the hall of King's College, Cambridge, at which I was present as a humble listener. Certainly I should have treated it as the wildest romance—a very dream of dreams—if any one had then prophesied either that two decades later the modest assemblage of that day would have grown into these vast dimensions, or that I myself, by virtue of my office, should be called to preside over its meeting, in this great centre of commercial activity. The Congress was fitly cradled in its infancy beneath the academic shades of Cambridge and Oxford. It no less fitly celebrates its robust maturity in a busy port-town of the rough and hardy north.

It is instructive to turn over the pages of the report of the first Church Congress—a slender book, or rather booklet, a strange contrast to the bulky volumes which record the proceedings of its later years. Shall I be pardoned if, to celebrate the majority of the Congress, I broach the vintage which was laid down at its birth? This report is eminently suggestive, as read by the light of twenty

years' experience. It enshrines side by side controversies dead and living. It embodies hopes and fears alike unfulfilled—fears that are fears no more, and hopes that remain hopes still. As an example of the former, there is the question of Church Rates—the burning question of the day. Not even a spark of this fire, which threatened to become a mighty conflagration, lives in the smouldering ashes now. It is a dead controversy—dead and buried past recall. The gloomy forebodings which attended its funeral have not been fulfilled. Church Rates have long ceased to exist. Yet the fabrics of our churches were never so numerous, so sound, and so well-cared-for as now. As an instance of the latter, take the increase of the episcopate. Here is a question of living and lively interest—never more lively than at the present moment, nowhere more lively than in this huge overgrown northern diocese. I turn to the report of the discussion on this subject, and I find a reader of one of the papers—now a bishop of one of the already subdivided dioceses—expressing himself thus :

“There are two or three dioceses, whose peculiar condition seems to call for immediate sub-division, and which may be fairly dealt with at once. Clearly Exeter is the first, perhaps Durham may come next.”

In the discussion which followed a speaker endorsed this opinion. “There could be no doubt,” he said, “that the claims of Cornwall and of Durham for a greater amount of episcopal supervision were very strong.” Twenty years have elapsed since then. Infants in long clothes have grown up to manhood and womanhood. The population of the diocese of Durham has increased more than fifty per cent. in this period. Exeter did come first, though not immediately. Cornwall received its first bishop four or five years ago, with what happy results I need not say. But Durham did not follow next. St. Albans and Liverpool have interposed, while Durham still waits expectant. “*Usquequo, Domine ?*” “Lord, how long ?”

This year, in which the Church Congress celebrates its majority, is full of significance for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear. Look at the synchronisms which it offers. They will supply food for much serious reflection—suggestions and warnings, which will remind Churchmen of the great responsibilities and (if she is true to herself) the great destinies of their Church, and thus brace them for the struggles of the coming years.

Speaking in this place, I cannot forget that only a few weeks ago was celebrated in this town the centenary of the birth of a native engineman, to whom, more than to any one person, is due the great social and material revolution of our age. It may seem strange to give this prominence to the name of George Stephenson in a Church Congress. Yet a moment's reflection shows that the Church is expected at every

turn to reckon with the results of his work, and nowhere more than in this immediate neighbourhood. In a thousand ways the spread of railways has altered the conditions of life, accelerating travel, quickening commercial and industrial energy, promoting the rapid interchange of ideas, and intensifying human existence in a thousand ways. With the vast and varied results of this new and potent force, suddenly introduced into the world, the Church of Christ is required to cope. Look at its effects on our parochial system, which, not without reason, we value so highly. This great centripetal and centrifugal force, first aggregating great masses about the popular centres, then again repelling them outward, this mighty tyrant which uproots, and transfers, and plants down whole populations with a rigour and a peremptoriness which a Babylonian or Persian King of old might well have envied—here is an antagonist which it requires all the strength and all the nerve which the Church can command to subdue and to reduce to order.

But this is not the only synchronism which the year suggests. Only a few weeks ago, in the metropolis of this northern province, in which it had its birth, the British Association for the Advancement of Science celebrated its jubilee. The President availed himself of the occasion to sum up the achievements of the half-century past—untrodden fields opened out, fresh sciences created, a whole world of fact and theory discovered, of which men had hardly a suspicion at the beginning of this period. In this commemoration we are reminded of the revolution in the intellectual world which has taken place in our own time, as in the other our attention was directed to the revolution in the social and industrial world. Here again we are confronted with a giant force, of which the Church of Christ must give an account. If we are wise, we shall endeavour to understand and to absorb these truths. They are our proper heritage as Christians, for they are manifestations of the Eternal Word, who is also the Head of the Church. They will add breadth and strength and depth to our theology. Before all things we shall learn by the lessons of the past to keep ourselves free from any distrust or dismay. Astronomy once menaced, or was thought to menace, Christianity. Long before we were born the menace had passed away. We found astronomy the sworn ally of religion. The heresy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had become the orthodoxy of the nineteenth. When some years ago an eminent man of science, himself a firm believer, wrote a work throwing doubt on the plurality of worlds, it was received with a storm of adverse criticism, chiefly from Christian teachers, because he ventured to question a theory which three centuries earlier it would have been a shocking heresy to maintain. Geology next entered the lists. We are old enough, many of us, to remember the anxiety and distrust with which its startling

announcements were received. This scare, like the other, has passed away. We admire the providential design which through myriads of years prepared the earth by successive gradations of animal and vegetable life for its ultimate destination as the abode of man. Nowhere else do we find more vivid and striking illustrations of the increasing purpose which runs through the ages. Our theological conceptions have been corrected and enlarged by its teaching, but the work of the Church of Christ goes on as before. Geology, like astronomy, is fast becoming our faithful ally. And now, in turn, Biology concentrates the same interests, and excites the same distrusts. Will not history repeat itself? If the time should come when evolution is translated from the region of suggestive theory to the region of acknowledged fact, what then? Will it not carry still further the idea of providential design and order? Will it not reinforce with new and splendid illustrations the magnificent lesson of modern science—complexity of results traced back to simplicity of principles—variety of phenomena issuing from unity of order—the gathering up, as it were, of the threads which connect the universe, in the right hand of the One Eternal Word?

Thus we are reminded by these two celebrations of the twin giants, the creation of our age, with which the Church of Christ has to reckon—foes only if they are treated as such, but capable of being won as trusty allies, by appreciation, by sympathy, by conciliation and respect. Shall I be forgiven, if I trespass still further on your time, and ask your attention to a third synchronism, not less suggestive than the former, though in a different way? As we meet for our discussions to-day, the echoes are still lingering in our ears of a great Œcumenical Conference—the first, I believe, of its kind—representing a body, or rather an aggregate of bodies, of Christians, whose influence pierces various strata of society and ranges over two great continents—a spiritual power which all, even the most intolerant, must view with admiration and respect, with whatever regrets these feelings may be mingled. When we remember that the rise of Methodism dates only a century and a half ago, and when we reflect that it was the offspring of our own Church and nation, we have food enough for many anxious questionings. What regrets for the past, and what warnings for the future, does it not suggest to us! What lessons of organisation, of sympathy, of adaptation, does it not read to us! Why should not this great spiritual mechanism have been retained within the Church to which it owed its being? Why, when it started with being a society, should it have ended in becoming a Church? Could not the same results have been purchased at a less heavy sacrifice than the loss of unity?

Almost all our religious difficulties may be traced to an inability to appreciate the true proportion of things. It will be useful

therefore to contemplate these synchronisms, because they raise the really great issues with which the Church of England has to deal. Side by side with these our internal disputes and dissensions must seem infinitely paltry and trifling. Who can contemplate without awe the vast masses of our unevangelised, uncivilised fellow-countrymen, which the conditions of modern life have herded together, only to remove them farther and farther from the control of the religious truth? Who can reflect without pain on the alienation of so many educated and half-educated men, and the wavering allegiance of so many more, though all the while deep hidden

“ In many a brave, though bleeding, heart
There lurks a yearning for the Healer’s face—
A yearning to be free from hint and guess,
To take the blessings Christ is fain to give.”

Who can witness without deep searchings of heart the growth of so many communities of zealous Christians around us, striving to do the work which ought to be done by ourselves? And we meanwhile are disputing among ourselves—about what?

But if the time of our meeting is exceptional, the place is not less so. In no other English diocese is the work of the Church beset with greater difficulties. A glance at the map will reveal this. No other diocese can boast four considerable tidal rivers, with their accompaniments of shipbuilding, commerce, manufacture, fisheries, and the like—to say nothing of a coast-line stretching out for a hundred miles. No other diocese contains so large an underground population as is found in Durham and the Tyne-side. No other diocese, or hardly any other, can show such extensive parishes, with scattered rural populations—a farm here and a cottage there—as exist in considerable parts of Northumberland, where, notwithstanding recent divisions and subdivisions, you will still come across parishes from fifteen to twenty miles long. Moreover, the diocese presents another difficulty peculiar to it. Having a long stretch of boundary on the Scottish border, it receives a large overflow from Presbyterianism. The Presbyterian Church or Churches are especially strong in Northumberland, though this strength naturally diminishes as we recede from the frontier. I am thankful to say that, as a rule, there is no hostility to the Church of England in these bodies: we live together on friendly terms, as I trust we always shall live. But the fact remains that the Church of England, as a spiritual organisation, is weakened by this want of unity. I might enlarge still further on the peculiar difficulties of this diocese, but I desist. Enough has been said to show that the sturdy majority of the Congress is fitly celebrated in a place where it is surrounded with the hardest problems which can tax the energy and the resources of our Church.

My predecessors in the presidential chair have not unfrequently spent time in apologies for Church Congresses. It is unnecessary for me to follow their example. Their popularity is their justification. We cannot indeed in these remote northern regions, *extra anni solisque vias*, as our friends of the sunnier south seem to regard them—we can hardly hope to rival the numbers assembled at the more accessible “holiday” centres like Brighton or Croydon. But making due allowance for these and other incidental causes of fluctuation, we may safely say that the popularity of these Congresses has been steadily increasing. The main objection urged against them amounts to a complaint that they do not do what they never were intended to do, and what from their very nature they cannot do—that they carry no practical measures, but end in talk. I do not believe that they end in talk. I am confident that they stimulate both individual and collective action. I feel sure that they are largely instrumental in forming opinion. These seem to me to be not unimportant results. But in deference to the criticisms—I must say, the very reasonable criticisms—which have been offered, I cast about in my mind whether it was possible to guide them to any direct practical action, and I confess that I have not seen my way. So long as the Church Congress is composed of fortuitous atoms, varying from year to year, so long as the members are self-appointed—the only condition being the profession of Church membership and the payment of a trifling sum—I do not see that this is attainable; nor, even if attainable, is it a thing to be desired. We must take care not to create unawares a monster, whose movements we cannot predict or control. Moreover, such a momentous change could not be the act of a single president or committee. It must come from a body of men who could claim in some sense to speak for the Church at large. Under these circumstances we could do nothing better than strive to improve the existing machinery. We have accordingly extended the sphere of the working men’s meetings—an element of growing importance in these Congresses. We have added a working women’s meeting, believing that in a society in which is “neither male nor female” we are bound to provide for the wants of the wives and sisters, not less than of the husbands and brothers. Lastly, we have paid great attention to the programme. We have withheld nothing; we have dissembled nothing. We have avoided no question because it is burning; we know that where there is no fire there can be no warmth and no light. We did not underrate the tension of feeling in the Church at the present moment; but we determined to give to all parties alike fair and equal opportunities of expressing their opinions on the questions at issue. We had a confidence (it is for you to show that it was not misplaced)—we had a confidence that a frank and generous policy would meet with a frank and generous response;

that the readers and speakers would state their views calmly and clearly, without asperity, without exaggeration, without personalities, avoiding everything which would cause unnecessary irritation; that the hearers would listen with patience and forbearance, remembering that no confession of impotence is so damaging as the refusal to hear an adversary's argument; and that both alike would bear in mind the golden rule of the apostle which directs that the ultimate appeal in all cases of dispute or perplexity shall be to the peace of Christ, as the supreme umpire and referee: *‘Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ βραβεύέτω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν.* This is not the theatre at Ephesus, and ours is not the worship of the great goddess Diana. As the subjects of the Prince of Peace, we shall seek peace, we shall ensue peace. Only so can we dare to pray that the deliberations of this Congress may be guided by the Holy Spirit to the glory of God and the welfare of the Church of Christ. I therefore, in accordance with established usage, invite all present, with one heart and one voice, to say with me the Apostles' Creed, as the symbol of unity and the pledge of peace.

CHURCHES IN COMMUNION WITH THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I AM obliged to leave this room in order to read my address in the other room. Meanwhile the proceedings here will go on, and his Grace the Archbishop of York has consented to take the chair. I hope to return to you shortly, as soon as the proceedings in the other room spare me.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO CHURCHES IN COMMUNION WITH HER IN—

- (a) SCOTLAND;
- (b) IRELAND;
- (c) AMERICA AND THE COLONIES.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES.

THE difficulty of the subject upon which I have been invited to read a paper to this Church Congress consists mainly, I suppose, in these two facts: (1) That there is an almost incredible ignorance in England as to the actual history and status of the Episcopal Church in Scotland; and (2) That, even where there is not this ignorance, religious senti-

ment and our unhappy differences on Church questions cause many to approach the subject in a somewhat prejudiced temper. What is the relation of the Church of England to the Church of Scotland which is in communion with her? There are some who would be ready in an off-hand manner to answer: "There is none at all. The two Churches are wholly separate and distinct." There are others who, in an equally off-hand manner, will answer: "They are absolutely identical. The Episcopal Church of Scotland is merely the Church of England transplanted as an exotic to Scotland." I need scarcely say that neither of these statements is correct, although sufficient truth underlies each to explain their gaining acceptance with the unwary or unintelligent.

The sturdy independence of the Scottish character is nowhere more clearly exhibited than in Scotland's ecclesiastical history. The early Celtic Church cannot be assimilated exactly to any organised system of the Catholic Church of that period. The Mediæval ante-Reformation Church successfully resisted the claims of the Archbishops of York to jurisdiction in Scotland. When the Reformation came, it came as a flood, not as in England, where the Church simply re-formed itself, and preserved the absolute continuity of its organisation.

For the first seventy or eighty years after John Knox's time it is extremely difficult to say what was the ecclesiastical organisation of Scotland. The power and pretensions of Rome had been, indeed, effectually swept away, and the nation's theology was decidedly Protestant, and in a large measure Presbyterian; but the title of Bishop was long retained—partly on account of the absolute necessity (as all thoughtful men perceived) for some kind of Church government—still more, it is to be feared, with the object of facilitating the alienation of the ancient Church revenues.

On the 24th March, 1566, Master John Carswell was formally presented by Queen Mary to the "Bishoprick of the Isles and the Abbey of Iona, in the same manner," so runs the presentation deed, "and as freely in all respects, causes, and conditions as if the said Master John had been preferred to the said diocese and abbey in the Roman Court." At the same time he was Presbyterian minister of the parish kirk of Kilmartin, where he read John Knox's Liturgy Sunday by Sunday, and translated it into Gaelic. In the title-page of that book he calls himself "Minister of the Church of God in the bounds of Argyll, whose other name is Bishop of the Isles." I only mention these facts in support of my assertion that the ecclesiastical organisation of Scotland at that period was most anomalous and undefined.

Still more unsettled times followed. Through them all the polity of the present Presbyterian establishment was being built up and consolidated, and when in 1689 the storm burst in all its fury, and Prelacy in every shape and form was declared to be abolished, it was manifest that it was in accordance with the will of the nation—if not of the majority, certainly of the more turbulent portion, which best knew how to make its power felt; and those who believed in the Scriptural doctrine of the one Episcopate, as being historically the continuation of the Apostolate, and wished to connect themselves with the traditions of the past, had to bow before the storm, and relinquish revenues, State favour, territorial titles, and much else, which, it must be owned, had often been so misused in past days as largely to prejudice the popular mind against

Episcopal government. The Tulchan Bishops, little more than titular officials, had died out in 1592.

In 1610 the Church asked her more powerful sister in England to renew the succession, and three Bishops were consecrated in London for Scotland. James VI. of Scotland had just succeeded to the throne of England as James I., and he conceived the design of establishing a uniform system of Church government in both of his kingdoms. The relation of the Church of England with our Scottish Church of that period was of the vaguest character. It could have been little more than a sense of gratitude for the restoration of the Episcopate, and an Erastian subservience to a common monarch, who was evidently regarded as the temporal head of both Churches. Presbyteries, synods, kirk sessions and general assemblies, together with the Liturgy of John Knox, continued as before; and, as everyone knows, the attempt of Charles I. to introduce the English Liturgy, or, rather, a liturgy on the English model, aroused an antagonism which proved fatal for a time to the cause of Episcopacy in both countries.

In 1638 Presbyterian discipline was again re-established. The Restoration, however, of Charles II. once more changed the aspect of affairs, and once more the Bishops of England were appealed to, according to the ancient rule, as Bishops of the nearest Church, to continue the succession. It was but repaying an ancient debt. The first Bishops of Lindisfarne, in Northumbria, had come from Iona, and from thence the cathedra of a long line of distinguished prelates, amongst whom we gladly number the Right Reverend President of this Congress to-day, was removed to Durham. In 1661 four Bishops were duly consecrated in Westminster Abbey, for the Scottish Church, by the Bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle and Llandaff, and though, as I have already said, their titles, revenue, territorial influence were all rudely swept away by the Revolution of 1689, yet the succession from that time has never been interrupted; through days of poverty and depression Christ's Word and Sacraments have been duly administered according to the rites and ceremonial of what we now call the Anglican Church, embracing as it does a confederation of churches united by a common Liturgy, and clinging to the principle of the one Episcopate derived from Apostolic times.

It can hardly, therefore, be said that the English and Scottish Churches are distinct and separate bodies in the sense in which those words are used by unfriendly critics. A Church which has twice renewed the succession of its Episcopate from England, and which has bound itself by canon to adopt the Prayer-book of the English Church as her own, and requires subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles from her priests and deacons at ordination, must be in very close relation to the Church of England; close, yet almost undefinable. It is one of those subtle questions upon which the succeeding speakers on the subject of the relation of the Irish and Colonial and American Churches will, perhaps, be able to throw fuller light. They are not, indeed, parallel cases, because the Irish Church, until recent legislation, has been constitutionally united with the English Church, and the Colonial Churches are the distinct offspring of the English Church. Neither of these assertions are true of our Church in Scotland. She is an absolutely free and independent sister Church, and recognises this in all her official acts, even

when she treats her more powerful sister with the deference and respect befitting an, as it were, adopted daughter.

At the risk of being thought egotistical, I may mention my own case, simply because it is most illustrative of the close relationship and absolute intercommunion of the two Churches. When, in 1874, I was consecrated at Glasgow Bishop of Argyll and the Isles by three Scottish and one English prelate (the latter fact is significant), I did not resign my benefice in England at once, but continued for more than a year to discharge the duties of a parish priest and Rural Dean in the diocese of Lichfield, going backwards and forwards to hold confirmations, and perform other episcopal acts in my Scottish diocese. I was summoned to and attended episcopal and archidiaconal visitations in England, the only difference being that the "right reverend vicar" was summoned, instead of "the reverend." Here, then, was a beneficed priest and Rural Dean performing all the duties of his office with the authority of his Bishop in an English diocese, and recognised as an official of the State Church according to the Constitution of this realm, and at the same time exercising the authority delegated to him under God's providence by the Scottish Bishops in a Scottish diocese, where the authority of the English Archbishops and Bishops, and the decisions of the Convocations of Canterbury and York have no power whatever, beyond that respect and courteous deference which they cannot fail to command in every independent Church of the great Anglican Confederation. At the risk of being thought egotistical, I repeat, I have given this experience of my own life as most eloquently explaining the relative position of the two Churches—their almost perfect identity of doctrine, discipline and ritual; and their perfect independence as regards internal organisation and external authority.

I said almost perfect identity of ritual, for I do not forget that the Scottish Episcopal Church has a Communion Office of her own, which is extensively used in some dioceses, and is permitted (not enjoined) to be used alternatively with the Communion Office of the English Church. Into the merits or demerits of this beautiful office, it falls not within my subject to speak. In the thirty-fourth Article of the Church of England it is expressly said: "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly alike. Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and to abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." England when this Article was penned had broken away from Rome, and thrown off the yoke of Papal usurpation; but she had no wish to separate herself from Catholic Christendom so long as she may be allowed to reform abuses, and re-arrange her Liturgy, as an independent Church.

The use of a distinct Liturgical Office is surely in perfect harmony with the letter and spirit of the Article just quoted, and that Liturgical Office in a modified form the Scottish Church transmitted to the American Church, when nearly one hundred years ago, in the season of her deepest depression, she communicated to her Transatlantic fellow-churchmen the gift of a valid Episcopate, and thus added to the Anglican Communion one of the most important and vigorous of her independent churches. The Church of England was unfortunately unable, from difficulties arising out of her connection with the State, to give the grace of

Apostolic succession to the great colonies of America, just emancipated from her rule. She therefore appealed to Scotland, and in a small upper room at Aberdeen, on the 14th November, 1784, the first American Bishop was consecrated by three Scottish prelates, and sent out to lay the foundation of what has become, within a century, a mighty power for good throughout the whole of that vast Republic.

Again, in much more recent times England appealed to Scotland to consecrate an Anglican Bishop for Madagascar; and in the great Pan-Anglican Conference of 1878, to the Primus of the Scottish Church was conceded rank as a Metropolitan after the Archbishops of England and Ireland. This string of facts which I have loosely hung together may serve to explain better than any laboured argument the somewhat undefinable relation in which the Church of England stands to the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Many thoughtful men in our Church are turning their minds to the subject of the restoration of the office of Metropolitan (for the Primus is not really a Metropolitan, though in some respects he is treated as such), deeming not only that it is the legitimate completion in each province or federation of dioceses of the episcopal system, but that it would tend to facilitate harmonious action between ourselves and the Church of England and her daughter churches. For nearly a hundred and fifty years this office has been in abeyance in Scotland, yet the time seems at hand, if not already come, when its restoration would prove most beneficial to the freedom of our official relations and intercourse with the Church of England, which every year are being at once developed and drawn closer.

More than a thousand years have passed away since Archbishop Wilfrid at his Synod, A.D. 816, framed a canon that "none of Scottish extraction be permitted to usurp to himself the sacred ministry in any diocese." Within the memory of men of the last generation, there were penal laws sanctioned by England attaching severe punishment to any clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal Church who should say prayers, or administer the sacraments to more than four persons at once. English soldiers watched to see this law was not infringed, and the persecuted clergy had to pass to and fro in disguise to minister clandestinely to the dispersed and scattered members of their communion. Now all is changed. Every penal statute has been rescinded. Our clergy minister freely in England, and we gladly welcome her clergy to take charge of Scottish congregations. One small body indeed still exists which refuses to recognise the authority of the Scottish Bishops, and tenders an allegiance to the English Church, which that Church not only does not claim, but actually repudiates. I need not dwell on this painful topic, because as no sanction, no sign of approval is given by the authorities of the Church of England, it seems by that very fact to be removed from the scope of our subject, and in no way to present a grievance affecting the relations of the two churches, but only as against the individuals, who, by ministering in Scotland without episcopal license, set at naught the laws and traditions of both churches equally. This will have no power to weaken the bond of sympathy which now bind the two churches so closely together. The memories which still linger around the wave-worn shores of Iona, whence the holy Columba was able by God's providence to send blessings far beyond the borders of Scotland, are still our common heritage. The same foes are banded against both.

We are marching hand in hand against a common enemy, the ever-increasing spirit of infidelity, which seems to permeate every grade of society in this nineteenth century in which our lot is cast.

You, my fellow-churchmen of the North of England, in this grand centre of life and industry, must, we know well, look back with gratitude to the day when the first Bishop of Lindisfarne received his consecration in the seventh century at the hands of the Bishops of the Primitive Church of Scotland, who had themselves been admitted to the order of the Episcopate by the Bishops of Ireland. In all our trials and difficulties may this sacred fellowship ever unite our churches in these kingdoms in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity.

The Most Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF MEATH.

It was a generous thought on the part of the English Churchmen who planned this Congress to place in the forefront of its proceedings a discussion affecting the welfare of churches that lie outside of their own. For this token of goodwill I desire on the part of the Irish Church to tender my warmest thanks. I am glad, however, to believe that the interests of this Congress—as regards its prospects of harmony and usefulness—will not suffer because of this self-forgetful act. For what is more likely to draw us all together in the bonds of a common love, to make us forget small differences, and to kindle within all our hearts the flame of a common zeal, than to be reminded at the very outset of our deliberations that no one of us individually, nor any one of the individual churches to which we belong, can be regarded as a mere isolated unit, but that we all form part of a great world-wide communion whose traditions stretch back into the remote past, and whose present influences through God's blessing are being daily more and more felt as a mighty power in every quarter of the habitable globe!

And now, the question with which, as I understand it, I am expected to deal is this :—What is the relation of the Church of Ireland to that of England? I answer briefly—She is a sister, a sister in the fullest sense of that term—a sister, moreover, in a degree of nearness shared by no other Church in Christendom. The term “sister,” as describing a Church relationship, is, of course, a somewhat arbitrary expression. But the human analogy may enable us to approach its meaning. For example, in the case of the earthly relationship there is, first, a tie of consanguinity, which distinguishes a sister from a friend, a connection, or a distant relation. Even a daughter, though she may be equally loved, does not occupy a parity of standing with a sister as regards family descent. But a sister, if she is to be a sister in very deed, must have something more to recommend her than mere genealogical kinship. Sisterhood in its fulness must imply a sisterly unity of thought and feeling—it lacks its completion, too, if it does not involve a sisterly interchange of loving offices. Let us then apply this analogy to the case in point. The Church of Ireland claims to be a sister of the Church of England. Can she in support of this claim point to a sisterly kinship of

descent, a sisterly unity of doctrine, a sisterly tie of intercommunion? I will not answer this question in my own words, but in those of a revered English prelate, who will, I think, be regarded by all as no mean authority on such a subject. "In the early ages of Christianity," says the present Bishop of Lincoln in one of his eloquent sermons on the Irish Church, "the Churches of Britain and Ireland were united as sisters in Christ. Both had a native episcopate and clergy whose orders were derived through Apostolic men from Christ Himself. Both these Churches professed the same faith. Both were independent, and free." Here, then, we have described to us by the Bishop two societies or communities, neither of them a branch or a daughter of the other—each of them having an independent origin, and an independent life, and yet both united by the tie of a common faith and a common Apostolic lineage. Are not these, I ask, rightly called sisters?

But a further question remains. If the Irish Church in these early days was thus a sister by virtue of her lineage and her faith, did she show the reality of this tie by deeds of sisterly love? Once more let me quote the testimony of the same witness. I do so in no spirit of vain boasting, but as one who is very jealous for the honour of his Church. "More than a thousand years ago," says Bishop Wordsworth, "the Church of Ireland was the burning and shining light of the Western world. . . . Such she was especially to us. We, we of this land, must not endeavour to conceal our obligations to her. We must not be ashamed to confess that with regard to learning—and especially with regard to sacred learning—Ireland was in advance of England at that time. The sons of our nobles and our gentry were sent for education thither. Ireland was the university of the West. . . . Nor is this all. . . . Truth requires us to declare that St. Austin from Italy ought not to be called the Apostle of England, and much less the Apostle of Scotland, but that title ought to be given to St. Columba and his followers from the Irish school of Iona. Yes, brethren, we are bound to remember that in a great measure we owe our Christianity to Ireland. And, alas! we may not forget that Ireland owes her Romanism to us."

My brethren of the English Church, pardon me for having quoted these words. These are memories which, as an Irish Churchman, I might, under any circumstances, be forgiven for recalling. But, standing as I do this day within this diocese of Durham, and finding myself for the first time in the very midst of those sacred haunts that in the far-off past were hallowed by the footprints of the saintly heroes of Lindisfarne, it will not, I know, be deemed unnatural if I should feel a special pride in reminding you that it was through the self-sacrificing deeds of Irish missionaries summoned to this country by a King who had himself been educated at an Irish College that Northumbria was recovered from Paganism. Nor will my words be deemed out of place when I remind you that these missionaries, St. Aidan, St. Finan, and St. Colman, were the first Bishops of that See of Lindisfarne (subsequently transferred to Durham) which is now so fortunate as to possess for its chief pastor the Right Rev. Prelate, my brother in Christ, who this morning occupies the President's chair.

Such was the relation of the Church of Ireland to her sister Church of England during those days of British Christianity that preceded and immediately followed the Anglo-Saxon invasion and the Mission of St

Augustine. Shortly after this date, as you know, the whole colouring of English Church life underwent a change. The Celt had to make way for the Saxon, and British Christianity had to give place to Anglo-Romanism. But though as regards the Celtic *population* the process of substitution was so sudden and complete as almost to constitute a break in the national life of England, it was not altogether so with the English Church. Even after the advent of St. Austin we meet with Celtic Bishops—such as those for example that I have named—in English Sees, and in Wales and Cornwall, and other parts of the kingdom, we find the British Church for many centuries holding its own, and supplying Bishops to Sees that now form an integral part of the Church of England. We cannot therefore for a moment admit that the continuity of national Church life was at this time so irrevocably sundered as to make it necessary to find a new starting-point for the future. Rather is it clear that in spite of many a rude strain the threads of the past became so indissolubly woven into those of the succeeding ages as to form a continuous bond—reaching on into the future—a cord of union at times, no doubt, dangerously attenuated—at times composed of strangely mingled strands of various colours—but still a cord which has never been altogether rent in twain. One chapter in the great Book of English Church History was then, no doubt, brought to an end, and another followed—just as was the case in Reformation times; but the Book itself has never as yet been closed; we have never been called upon to write “*Finis*” at the bottom of any one page.

May I here, in passing, venture to express a regret that, by calling that family of Churches to which we belong the Anglican Communion, we seem to imply that there was some such break in continuity, and certainly do not carry back the mind to that earliest source of Church life which forms our true national fountain-head. In hazarding such a thought I speak under the shelter of an opinion that ought to carry weight. In the tenth chapter of Palmer’s “*Treatise on the Church*” he undertakes to prove that this family of churches with its three sisters in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and its many daughters in America and the Colonies, forms a part of the Catholic Church of Christ, and with such a view he traces their history from the second century up to the present day, but he never once hints that there was ever any break in that continuous church life, and never once describes that family at any stage of its existence as the Anglican Communion, or any title save that of “the British Churches”—a title which at least has this merit, that it reminds us of the antiquity of that communion, and may I add of its purity, and of its liberty too? However, while I so speak I am not so childish as to grumble at a name if only its meaning be understood, and all that I would ask is this—that when we speak of the Anglican Communion we shall ourselves remember, and remind others, that the far-off age from which that communion can trace its lineage preceded by centuries the advent of Anglo-Romanism to these isles.

I now pass from these olden days when British and Irish Christians were knit together in such close bonds of sisterly love, to the centuries that intervened before the Reformation. As to our relation one to another during that dreary interval I scarcely like to say much. We never ceased to be sisters, but for a while we certainly lived on very bad terms. We fought over the date of Easter and the shape of a monkish tonsure,

as if our very salvation depended on the decision. Above all, we were at dire issue about the supremacy of Rome. The Church of St. Austin acknowledged the Roman rule. The Irish Church repudiated it, and the result was that the Church of Ireland came in at times for very bad language from her sister. Nor can I say that she received it in a very polite forbearing spirit. I have read, indeed, of one ill-conditioned fellow-countryman of my own—of whom I am heartily ashamed—a certain Paganus, who, it is recorded, refused so much as to eat with an Anglican brother. However, there was gradually closing over both Churches a cloud beneath whose thick darkness these minor differences of light and shade were quickly to die out, and at length, in the twelfth century, a covenant was made at the Synod of Cashel between the two Churches, whereby in return for State protection the Church of Ireland entered into a State alliance with the English Church and Crown, and promised thenceforward a strict conformity to Anglo-Roman ritual and doctrine. By this alliance both Churches became linked together beneath the sway of Rome by a tie of uniformity such as never had existed before; but it was a sisterhood of bondage—a sisterhood of darkness that might be felt! After three hundred years the Reformation dawned, and with it there came a repayment by England of the debt which she had long owed to the sister Church. She had, as we have seen, derived her early Christianity from Ireland, and had given her nothing, hitherto, but Romanism in return. Now, however, she made indeed an ample reparation. For never can we in Ireland forget that it is to the example set by England's martyr saints that the reformation of our Irish Church was due, and, thank God, ever since that time of blessing, our sisterhood has been one of uninterrupted nearness—a sisterhood so close that closer it could not be—a sisterhood not as before, of slavery and gloom, but now of freedom and light!

It is, indeed, true that by our recent separation from the State the union of the two Churches beneath the one crown effected in the twelfth century, as well as the subsequent union beneath the one Parliament effected in the beginning of this century, have both been rescinded, and that the covenant of rigid uniformity which was a condition of that union has been thereby made void. It is also true that the Church of Ireland when these bonds were loosed might have herself dissolved the sisterhood altogether. It was, indeed, predicted by not a few that in the excitement of her new freedom she would become intoxicated with a wanton love of change, and would so break loose from the old moorings as to terminate herself that inner union between the two Churches which had never been dependent upon their State connection, and which no intervention of the State had power to undo. How entirely these predictions have been falsified by the event must be now clearly understood by all, and I scarcely think it would be quite becoming the dignity of my Church to go on for ever assuming an apologetic tone. Let me only say with regard to our revised Prayer-book, that should anyone here think that it contains anything that could imperil the tie of sisterhood between the two Churches, I would refer him to the report of the hundred Bishops assembled at Lambeth. They ought, I think, to be regarded as a suitable body to pronounce an opinion on such a subject, and yet they speak of all the various Prayer-books of the different Churches of that communion (including that of

the Church of Ireland, which was there before them, as being virtually one and the same book, only in each case "with some modifications," and as all constituting a "principal bond of union between these Churches." This would seem to settle the question; but if any still should doubt, I would urge him as a friend to purchase a copy of the book (at the book-stall of this Congress, where it can be had), and to examine it for himself; and then, if he still doubts—well, I give him up!

And now having, as I trust, shown that both as regards genealogical kinship and unity of doctrine and discipline, the Churches of England and Ireland are sisters in very truth, I have only to add that as regards terms of intercommunion it is the same. These terms as between an Irish and an English diocese are exactly the same as those existing between two English dioceses. They are, in fact, absolutely unrestricted. This is not so as regards the American, Scotch, and Colonial Churches—so that in this respect, and I think I may say the same with regard to those other conditions of union that have been hitherto claiming our attention, the Church of Ireland, as I stated at the outset, is a sister to that of England in a degree not shared by any other Church in Christendom.

In conclusion, I would earnestly ask our common Father who is in Heaven to grant that we who are thus sisters by lineage, sisters in the faith, and sisters in the interchange of loving offices, may also prove ourselves to be indeed sister-witnesses for truth, and sister-workers in the Master's vineyard! Oh, if we could only realise the fact that God has drawn our two Churches together for a purpose—that He has a special mission for us to discharge—that He expects us to do battle for Him against indifference and unbelief at home—that He calls upon us to send our labourers into the dark places of heathendom abroad—that He bids us hold out a helping hand to those noble Reformers who here and there among the corrupt Churches of Christendom are even now passing through just such an ordeal as confronted ourselves in Reformation days gone by—oh, if we could only realise this, with what a new zeal might we not be fired! Oh that we might catch somewhat of the flame that burnt in the heart of a St. Columba or a St. Aidan, and then might we repeat their works! God enabled them to do great things. He can give us the same strength. Let us, then, ask Him for it. Yes, let us even now lift up our hearts to Him and say, "O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us the noble works that Thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them. Arise, help us, and deliver us for Thine honour!"

The Right Rev. BISHOP MITCHINSON.

I HAVE been requested to write a paper on the relations of the English Church to the Colonial and the American Church.

Of the American Church I shall say but little, for I know but little, never having visited the western Continent or been present at the synodical debates of that great religious community. It is easy, however, to comprehend the *status* which the Protestant Episcopal Church claims to hold: it is that of an independent branch of the great Church Catholic in communion with the Church of England. It claims, on the one hand, entire inde-

pendence, and it acts accordingly. It legislates independently both on doctrine and ritual. This it has done from time to time to the extent of entire Prayer-book revision, involving some important and much general departure from the English Liturgy. It is not guided in its interpretation of formularies or ritual by the decisions of English Church courts. Its organisation, diocesan and synodal, is entirely different—both being largely coloured by the principles of democracy and equality among which it has been nurtured. It has discarded provincial organisation, and has given the laity a large voice in its synods. In lesser matters, *i.e.*, matters not of principle but of detail, it widely differs from its English parent, as for example in the election and confirmation of its Bishops, and in its system of Church support. In all these respects the entire independence of the American Church may be clearly recognised.

On the other hand it claims to be in full and affectionate communion with the Church of England. Its *pietas* to the mother Church is genuine and ardent. English Presbyters duly accredited are freely admitted to minister and take cure of souls in the American Church. English and Colonial bishops already form strands in the now complex cord of its Episcopal succession.

In one respect only has this entire reciprocity between the mother and daughter Churches been obscured, and that is in those portions of the mission-field where the American and English Churches have broken ground side by side. Here the unseemly and un-Catholic spectacle has presented itself of two Bishops, avowedly in communion with each other, exercising spiritual jurisdiction in the same sphere. This scandal occupied the attention of the Lambeth Conference in 1878, and it is hoped that principles were then formulated which will guide those Boards in either Church which undertake the organisation of foreign missions, so as to avoid perpetuating or repeating an anomaly as unnecessary as it must be distressing to every right-thinking Churchman.

Is it likely that there will be hereafter any closer corporate union between the two Churches? I think not. With the rapid extension of the Anglican Communion throughout the world, and the marvellously rapid development of its Episcopate, there has grown *pari passu* an undefined yearning for a visible centre of unity, and Churchmen have turned their eyes wistfully to the See of Canterbury as the natural centre of Anglican Christendom, with the belief, or rather the feeling, that the chair of St. Augustine should and would be universally recognised by Anglican Churchmen as the seat of a patriarchate. If I may venture to express my conviction, formed on a somewhat close and unreserved intercourse with several of the American prelates who attended the Lambeth Conference, such a project would be not only distasteful to American Churchmen generally, but irreconcilable with their standpoints, and alien to the spirit of their communion. While yearning after unity, and cultivating it in every possible way, the American Church would shrink from bartering its prized independence for a sentiment. They will recognise, as they repeatedly have done, the primacy of Canterbury; they will consistently adopt, as they always have done, the dutiful attitude which the loyal Greek colony did to the *metropolis*; but they will shrink (and not unnaturally) from absorption, and from anything which would obliterate their ecclesiastical idiosyncrasy.

Is it desirable that there should be any closer organic *rapprochement* between the Churches? With all becoming diffidence, I think not. The straining after a cast-iron uniformity has been a drag upon the career of usefulness of the Church of England in England from the Reformation times onwards. This artificial uniformity has been periodically rudely disturbed, sometimes gravely imperilled by natural, but none the less deplorable aberrations into divergences from the recognised standard, which are but the natural recoil from an unnatural strain. It would be grave impolicy to make this rigidity co-extensive with Anglican Christianity. What is essential to the unity of the two Churches is entire agreement in doctrine and practice and essential agreement in ritual. There is little fear of the American Church drifting away from us in either respect. Those who were present at the debates of the Lambeth Conference could not fail of being impressed with the clear and sharply defined conception which the American prelates there present with remarkable unanimity evidently possessed of what was primitive, catholic and scriptural, alike in doctrine and in Church order: and here *ex pede Herculem* is a sound inference.

The relation of the Colonial Church to the Church of England is not so easy to enunciate, because it appears to be in a transition state. If I may borrow a leaf out of the book of the geologist, I should classify this relation in periods—Palæozoic, Mesozoic, Neozoic.

In the Palæozoic period, the theory of the Colonial Church was a number of English dioceses scattered promiscuously over the Colonies, all owing obedience to the See of Canterbury, a great advance upon the strange anomaly which preceded it of the Bishop of London's jurisdiction over foreign and colonial congregations. Under this state of things, the Indian and Colonial Bishops were appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Secretaries of State for India and the Colonies respectively, and they derived coercive jurisdiction from their Letters Patent, which, by-the-way, appear sometimes to have startled their holders by the powers they claimed to confer. In many instances (for example, in the West Indian dioceses), the colony, by legislative act, more or less charged its treasury with the support of the clergy; thus making them, as salaried public officers, amenable to the rules which regulate the Public Service in the Colonies. It also provided by act of legislature for the discipline of the clergy, assuming that Church of England ecclesiastical law ran in each Colonial diocese. In my late diocese of Barbados, English Church law, past, present, and to come, was enacted by an early act of legislature as Church law in Barbados; and clergy discipline procedure was stereotyped at that in use in England in 1826.

Such was the Palæozoic period of the Colonial Church, a group of English dioceses transplanted into foreign soil, so far as the plants could be made grow under their altered condition. The Mesozoic or Transition period was partly the result of natural growth, partly of external circumstances, more or less apparently untoward in themselves, but destined, as has often been found to be the case, to help on the healthy growth of the Colonial Church, and place it on a sounder basis. The external circumstances which led to the changed relation between the Colonial and the Mother Church were the famous Colenso-Gray judg-

ment, the consequent resolution of the Crown to issue no more letters patent, nor to nominate to Colonial Sees, and the gradual abolition of subsidies from the Imperial revenue to Colonial dioceses in the shape of salaries to their Bishops or grants in aid to clergy and catechists. Then came the more incisive policy which began to be pressed by the Colonial Office during the first Gladstone Administration upon the more or less reluctant colonies about ten years ago, of disestablishment and total or partial disendowment, which has everywhere obliterated, except in India, and perhaps I should add Barbados, the features of the Palæozoic period, and has converted the Colonial Church from a *congeries* of exotic English dioceses into a multitude of microcosms of the Christian Church, reduced to first principles, and forced to reconstruct and re-aggregate themselves.

A moment's reflection will show how this change was necessitated by the circumstances above enumerated. Let me illustrate it by the example—a somewhat complex one—of the diocese of which I have lately resigned the charge. In former days, under the *régime* of letters patent, the diocese of Barbados consisted of Barbados, Trinidad, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Grenada, and Tobago. On the death of Bishop Thomas Parry, the salary of the Bishop, hitherto paid from the Consolidated Fund, entirely lapsed, and the Crown intimated its resolution not to nominate a successor. Some attempts were made among the several islands of the disintegrated diocese to recombine themselves into a bishopric, and to make provision for the appointment and payment of a bishop. These negotiations failed, partly from mutual jealousy, partly from apathy and indifference, partly from utter inexperience in organisation and in voluntary church sustentation. Trinidad first broke away, and constituted itself a separate diocese, on the voluntary principle. Then Barbados isolated itself from the rest, and by legislative enactment provided for the appointment, salary, and jurisdiction of a bishop for itself, permitting him, if invited, to take episcopal charge of the other islands formerly included in the dissolved diocese. Under this act I was appointed. At first my jurisdiction was confined to Barbados, but I was successively invited by Tobago, St. Vincent, Grenada, and St. Lucia to undertake their oversight. Meanwhile I had still more organic changes to grapple with. The Colonial Office had unsuccessfully pressed Barbados to disestablish and disendow the Church: the Barbados Legislature resisted disestablishment, but adopted concurrent endowment. It was more successful with the other islands. All legislation in them regulating Church affairs and providing clergy discipline was repealed, and the Church in each colony was left with a *tabula rasa*.

The next problem was to arrest decomposition, and, if possible, to recombine. To group them around Barbados was impossible; in Barbados State legislation and coercive jurisdiction still prevailed: in the rest the *consensual pact* was the only basis of organisation and ecclesiastical legislation. So I paved the way by establishing Church Councils of clergy and lay representatives in each island, and then, at their unanimous wish, welded St. Vincent, Grenada and Tobago into the separate diocese of the Windward Islands, to be governed by the Bishop of Barbados, the voluntary, along with, but distinct from, the State-controlled diocese, obtaining such formal sanction for our union as the See of Canterbury was prepared to accord. The diocese thus formally constituted proceeded on the voluntary principle to form

its Synod, and thus to frame its constitution and its laws both as to organisation and discipline, which are embodied in the canons of the diocese of the Windward Islands, which are now the Church law there.

This brief history excellently illustrates the Mesozoic or Transition period of the Colonial Church, that in which we now live. Its characteristics, when we take a general survey of the Church in the Colonies, are a certain confusion or oscillation between centralisation and autonomous action; between gravitation to the parent stock and gravitation to each other. For there is this additional important factor developing itself in the Mesozoic period, the formation of Colonial provinces or groups of dioceses under a primate or metropolitan, held together by a mutual pact, and unified by the adoption of provincial canons, over and above their several diocesan canons; each diocese, for the sake of securing unity and a safe anchorage, parting with somewhat of its autonomy and its legislative rights as a small Church, entirely possessed of all the Church's powers and duties as to self-regulation.

And this growing element in Colonial Church life is the dawn of the Neozoic period, implying an organically changed relation with the Church of England. It is the natural consequence of the exuberant growth of the Colonial Church. To borrow an illustration from ancient Greek history, the *apoikiai* are grouping into amphictyonic federations, transferring their centre of gravity from the *metropolis* to some common local sacred spot. It is an inevitable result, except on the hypothesis of a revived papacy at Canterbury; for in Colonial dioceses disputes there must be, appeals there must be, to higher authority, and these must be either to the central patriarchal chair, or to some local centre; and against a papacy, whether at Rome or Canterbury, with all the evils incident to a Papal Curia, the healthy Protestantism of the Anglican Communion recoils.

The main feature of this Mesozoic period will be the grouping of all colonial dioceses, where possible, into provinces, with natural limits and of manageable size. Its problem will be the maintenance of organic and visible unity with the Mother Church and with each other, along with full liberty of action in reference to local exigencies. The difficulties in adjusting the relations between the Colonial provinces and the Mother Church will be found mainly to lie in the somewhat cramped position of the latter as to self-legislation and development owing to its relations with the State, as compared with the entire freedom in both respects of the former; perhaps, too, in the contrast between the more cautious and conservative spirit which naturally animates the older body, and the bolder and more fearless temper in dealing with burning questions which equally naturally inspires the younger bodies.

Difficulties of detail will arise which, ere long, will have to be looked boldly in the face. The great periodical Pan-Anglican gatherings, which have become a necessity of federate Anglicanism, must sooner or later drop the tone of cautious advice, and settle questions with an authority which, in the colonial provinces at any rate, will be listened to and obeyed with deference, as the deliberate utterance of the great Protestant Catholic branch of the Church. In the Colonial provinces themselves the questions—so difficult to deal with satisfactorily—of election of Bishops, of the relations of their Primates to the See of Canterbury, and of appellate jurisdiction, will have to be settled, not by separate and hand-to-mouth

legislation, but on broad and general principles, recognising to what extent and under what circumstances the Mother Church should be looked to to provide the one and guide or over-rule the other. Possibly some may fear lest in the Neozoic period of provincial autonomy the great Anglican Communion should disintegrate. Such fears are groundless. There is no such sure guarantee for conservatism in everything that is essential as liberty in non-essentials; there is no such sure guarantee for calmness, sobriety and sound judgment in controversies of faith as to throw the responsibility of deciding them (as the Lambeth resolutions of 1878 did) on the province in which they arise and clamour for settlement.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. PROFESSOR DOWDEN.

IT may have occurred to some of those here present during a summer or autumn holiday in Scotland to have had their attention drawn, in some of their country rambles, to some little building more church-like in structure or somewhat more comely in appearance than is usual in the country parts of Scotland, and to have been told upon inquiry that that was the *English church*. Now we all know, and it has been impressed upon us this afternoon by the Bishop of Argyll, that that is a misnomer, a very grave misnomer from an ecclesiastical point of view. But popular names like this generally point to veritable facts, and are to us suggestive of very instructive lessons. I desire, above all, to look at facts; and I must confess that there are reasons which make me think that if those who thus speak have fallen into an error, it is an error which it is very natural for one to fall into.

Suppose, for an instant, that a Scotch Presbyterian were to enter, as is often the case, one of our churches upon a Sunday evening. Some one would considerably hand him a Prayer-book. He might not be very skilful in manipulating that book: he would not know in what parts to look to find out the collects, or perhaps the Psalms, but he would see on the title-page what book was put into his hands, and that it was "The Book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the Church of England." Well, he might make further inquiries about our Church; and if he did so, he would find that of our Bishops five are priests in English orders, and of our whole clergy no less than nearly two-thirds are in English orders. I think indeed it is much to be regretted, and a great source of weakness in our Scottish Church, that we have not a much larger number of Scotchmen. Of those whom we do possess, there are men who are inferior to none in Scotland in ability and attainments, and who possess in a measure that could not be expected of others that knowledge of Scottish character and Scottish modes of thought and feeling which are so invaluable to us in winning our way among the Scottish people. I could well wish that to one of these, rather than to myself, had been committed the task and the honour of addressing you to-day.

Let us look for a while at the historical antecedents of the present state of things. I shall not go so far back in our history as to claim Durham as a child of the Scottish mission; I know, as it has already been observed by the Bishop of Meath, that more properly she is a child of the Church of *Scotia vetus*, the Church of Ireland, making its way into England through Scotland. Nor shall I delay to speak of the relation of the two Churches in mediæval times, nor of the frequent attempts made to subject Scotland ecclesiastically as well as civilly to English authority; nor of certain other unhappy relations between the two Churches of which we are reminded when we think of a predecessor of your Lordship in the See of Durham,

34. *Churches in Communion with Church of England.—Addresses.*

advancing through Newcastle-on-Tyne towards the Scottish border, with his banner displayed, attended by 140 knights and 1,500 men-at-arms; or of a certain Archbishop of St. Andrews who was taken prisoner of war not far from the spot where we are now assembled. If we were asked what brought the Archbishop there, I am afraid I could not give a very satisfactory answer. Certain it is that he had not been invited to speak at a Church Congress.

Scotland should, however, remember that the great ecclesiastical reform so sadly needed at the close of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century was due to the piety and zeal of a noble English princess. Scotland should never forget that it is to England she owes St. Margaret.

But to come down to the time of the great religious upheaval of the sixteenth century, I cannot pause to inquire how it was that Scotland lost whilst England retained that ancient form of ecclesiastical government and organisation which she, in common with all Christendom, inherited from the ripened wisdom of the Apostolic age. The revival of a true Episcopacy in Scotland dates from the year 1610, and once again in that century had Scotland to look to England for the gift of Orders. But if we say the seventeenth century, so sad in the history both of the Scottish and English Churches, reminds us that we owe very much to England, it should also remind Englishmen that they owe much to us for wrongs inflicted, though it may be unwittingly. It was the Erastian and arbitrary policy suggested and promoted by the leading English Churchmen of the time which alienated the Scotch from the Church more than any other cause with which I am acquainted. Against that evil we are contending at the present time; it has bequeathed us angry minds, and prejudices then engendered stand up now to face us. If the moral obligations which arise in the intercourse of Churches can be transmitted from age to age, as it seems to be admitted that the moral obligations which arise between nations can be transmitted, then I ask, Do you not, Englishmen, owe us damages, and, I think, heavy damages, for the wrongs done to us in the past?

The history of the last century has been spoken of by the Bishop of Argyll, and upon that I shall only say that if the associations of English and Scotch Churchmen in that century were confined mainly to the non-juring party, it was confined to that party of the Church of England which has been described by that very sober-minded historian of the Church of England, Canon Perry, of Lincoln, as possessing a devotion to Church principles which was sadly lacking in the Establishment of that time. And can you blame us much, if our political prejudices were misplaced, if after the manner of Scotchmen we were logically and consistently carrying out those lessons on the Divine Right of Kings which we had been taught so sedulously by the leading English doctors and divines? But after the penal statutes had been repealed at the end of the last century, the Churches were drawn closer together, and their whole history has since been marked by acts of brotherly kindness on the part of Englishmen, and much more than merely acts of brotherly kindness, by a growing sense of our independence as a Church, of our position as a Church having ecclesiastical rights as definite and precise as your own, which it is culpable to infringe or invade. The most remarkable expression of that sentiment will be found in the resolutions of the Convocations of Canterbury and York passed some four years ago, to which I shall only allude.

I repeat we have derived our succession from England. Our present Scottish Bishops derived their succession from the four Prelates consecrated in Westminster Abbey in 1661. Perhaps, then, bearing these facts in mind, there are some who would be rather disposed to think with me that the name Daughter Church rather than Sister Church is applicable to our Church as it now exists. I hope none of my Scotch friends present will feel aggrieved at this change in the customary metaphor. I am sure they have no cause to feel aggrieved. A wise mother, although she may never cease to love and care for her child, is not particularly anxious to interfere uninvited in the domestic arrangements of a grown-up daughter who has a house of her own. And we

have a house of our own—a very modest house I must acknowledge, as compared with the stately mansion of our mother, and marked in many places by unmistakable tokens of *res angusta domi*—but still I think I may say a well-organised and well-managed house. And if our house be small it is not narrow in spirit. It exercises a very varied hospitality. It has often been said, and we hear it repeated again and again as if it were true, which it is not, that the comprehensiveness of the Church of England is a prerogative peculiar to a State establishment. Now those who know Scotland can give a peremptory denial to any such statement as that. Those who have lived in the Scottish Church know that there is a very wide latitude of thought allowed within her bounds, and they will find among the clergy of the Scottish Church men of the most varied schools of thought, all loyal to the Church, and all working harmoniously for the common cause of their Lord.

Reference has been made by the Bishop of Argyll to the Scottish Communion Office. There is only one fact I care to refer to in connection with that subject, and it is that we owe it very largely to the influence of English non-jurors; and we cherish it in Scotland, many of us, not only because it is a memento of those most precious though most bitter days of our humiliation and distress, but also on account of its own great liturgical merits.

Well, I have said we have not only a well-organised house, but a well-managed house. We have our Diocesan Synods, we have our Episcopal Synods, we have our General Synods with legislative powers, and we have our independent spiritual Courts, which administer justice to the satisfaction of the great majority—I do not say to the satisfaction of all, because in Scotland no more than in England is the defeated party in a lawsuit very prompt to acknowledge that entire justice has been done him.

And now that the warning bell has sounded, I can do no more than ask your sympathy for us, not only as a Church in full communion with your own, within the bounds of the same island, but more than that, as a Church setting forth before the people of Scotland those principles which you yourselves account most precious.

MR. JOHN FFOLLIOTT.

ALTHOUGH the name of Ireland may bring unpleasing thoughts to English ears, to persons of education and taste such as I have the honour of addressing it is impossible that the very remarkable history of the ancient Church of Ireland and the striking picturesque remains of it which exist can fail to excite much interest. But there is another aspect of the Church of Ireland which should be of peculiar interest to an English Churchman. Whatever may have been the amount of independence enjoyed by the Church of Ireland prior to the twelfth century, it is certain that the absolute subjection of that Church to the See of Rome dates from the Synod of Cashel, assembled, as you no doubt know, in the twelfth century by command of King Henry II. From that day to the present Christianity in Ireland has been deeply affected by the acts of England.

In the sixteenth century you gave us the Reformation: for that we are deeply your debtors, yet it is impossible to contemplate the history of the introduction of the Reformed religion into Ireland with unmixed satisfaction. The means adopted to enforce it had the effect of producing in the minds of the mass of the people a feeling of exasperation, which most unfortunately lasts to the present day, and the well-meant efforts that have been made to remove that feeling have not been successful. Mixed up as religion was with politics in those days, we of the Church of England in Ireland were constantly fighting for our lives with the Roman Catholic inhabitants, and it was inevitable that bitter feelings should be engendered. We have been constantly accused of bigotry, and we plead guilty; but the fault was not peculiar to us. It was t'

fault of the time in which our ancestors lived, when toleration and justice, as we now understand the words, were unknown. And if we shared the faults of those times, have we not also shared in the better feelings which began to overspread the nations in this century? Yes, we have. We had already begun to live on more friendly and happy terms with our Roman Catholic neighbours. I will quote the testimony of one entitled to great weight on this subject, Bishop Moriarty, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry, writing about the time of the disestablishment of our Church. He says: "In every relation of life, the Protestant clergy who reside amongst us are not only blameless, but estimable and edifying. They are peaceful with all, and to their neighbours they are kind when they can be; and we know that on many occasions they would be more active in beneficence, but that they do not wish to appear meddling, or incur the suspicion of tampering with poor Catholics. In bearing, in manners, and in dress they become their state. If they are not learned theologians, they are accomplished scholars and polished gentlemen. There is little intercourse between them and us, but they cannot escape our observation; and sometimes when we noticed that quiet, decorous, and modest course of life, we felt ourselves giving expression to the wish, 'talīs cum sis utinam noster spes.'"

No, it was *not* the sins of the Irish Church that called down upon it the sentence passed in 1870. I do not question the purity of the motives of those who passed that Act. But it was passed, and we became an independent Church, legally separated from the Church of England. But no Act of Parliament can erase history or destroy the influences of the past, or the old affections that have grown century after century. There is no chemistry by which you can separate the elements that form the character of a man or of a church and bid it be something different. We have received our spiritual life from the same source from which you have received yours, and we *are* brothers. Independent we became, not by our own wish, and there is no independence without responsibility. That responsibility we felt very seriously. Old associations weighed very strongly with us: a reverend fear of touching sacred things, a shrinking from the attempt to make anything better, lest we should mar what was already good. But there was a law stronger than all these. We might have reverently and cautiously laid up our talent in a napkin. We might have refused to profit by the lessons of history, by the increase of knowledge, by the warnings of all those things which have produced heresies and schisms in other churches, but we knew that duty forbade us to adopt such a course. We had to rebuild from the foundation, and we owed it to ourselves, to Christendom, and to God, that as far as lay in our power every stone should be a true stone, and truly laid; and so we searched, proved, and weighed every word of canons, rubrics, formularies, before we made them the law which should bind us and our children's children to distant generations.

How nearly we are the very same as the Church of England you are all probably aware; that we have not made an absolute and servile copy of the Church of England you are also probably aware. We have changed nothing which is undisputed in the Church of England. We have done what we could. We have completed our building. Whether well or ill is not for me to pronounce; but that duty having been accomplished, we all feel that the one to which we are now called is to endeavour to work together in harmony and love for the good of our Church and the advance of Christianity: and the voice of discord is silenced, and, though sore oppressed and in deep poverty, there is peace within. While we have not sought uniformity in the letter, we have sought unity of spirit with you. Is it not something far better? And how is it to be attained? If there is anyone here who does not know this truth, I would ask him seriously to ponder it: that it is not possible by the utmost precision of language which you can use to ensure that two men shall attach exactly the same meaning to the same words. How well it has been remarked that by insisting on absolute uniformity you actually cause differences between men whose inmost feeling on the subject in question is the same. How conspicu-

ously absent are precise definitions from the teaching of our Lord. If anyone here would bring an accusation against us, many faults I should admit were committed during the eight years of our discussions. What assembly has ever been free from them? Not even the most renowned councils of Christendom! But in the main we are such as I have told you.

Will you give us Christian fellowship, kindly thoughts, helpful words? That, at least, you feel kindly towards us, I doubt not. One heart there was, which beats no longer on earth, which never failed in love towards us, which hoped all things for us; and while Christendom mourns for Stanley, none have more cause to do so than we have. It was but a few hours before his lamented death that he spoke to me of my coming to this meeting, and spoke earnestly of his hope that bonds of love might still unite our Church with yours. He alluded, I remember, to the one link which still remains in the Royal Charter which we hold; but is there not a bond far closer than all charters, canons, or formularies? There is a good old homely saying that "blood is thicker than water." Nations make alliances political or military, and the ally of to-day is the foe of to-morrow; but the tie of brotherhood outlasts all these. Sons of the same father may receive different educations, acquire various tastes; but round the father's hearth they are one in love. So should it be with Christians. Our forms, our words may vary, but if we love our common Father, we must love one another.

Do we not all ask ourselves what benefit we expect to derive from a great meeting like this, composed of men of learning and thought, and who, being men of learning and thought, must necessarily differ in many of their opinions? It is much that we meet in friendship and learn something from each other. It is much that we learn to know and esteem men whom perhaps we before knew only by the differences of opinion that separated us. But may we not carry away something more: may we not gain a greater zeal for a really grand work which shall make us overlook our peculiar differences, and through love for a common object, cause us to love one another? May we not carry away a more abiding remembrance of the fact that we all look to be citizens of a better city where there shall be no more religious disputes, no more jealousy and pride; where there shall be no difference between Jew and Greek, between English and Irish, but all shall be united in love to one another, in love and adoration of their Divine Lord?

The Rev. DR. NEVIN.

I AM little accustomed, in my habitual thinking and acting, to make any distinction between the Church of England and the Church in America, as there is none in reality. I am used to think rather only of the one Church of Christ, manifesting herself in England and America, with "differences of administration and diversities of operation," it is true, but the same Church always of the same God, working by the same Spirit. In the peculiar charge entrusted to me for the past twelve years in the city of Rome, I have felt always, and tried to act, as, first of all, God's minister (rather than the minister of a National Church), and so to look upon those who came under my care in a foreign land not first as American or British Churchmen, but rather as members of one body of Christ, with equal claim on me for any ministrations which I could render in the name of Him in whom there is neither Greek nor Jew, Englishman nor American. In speaking, therefore, under the terms of the discussion, of the separate organisation of the Church in our different lands, as I must, without reserve, I trust that I shall in nothing be thought to be wanting in respect or regard for the Church of England, or to fail in appreciation of her grand past, which is eclipsed only by the grander possibilities of her future. I think I may say that I love her as I love the Church in America. I certainly am happy to count as many and as close friends among her clergy and laity as I do in the Church in my own land.

The relation of the Church of England to the Church in America is a peculiar one, as over against her relation to the Church in Scotland, Ireland, or the British Colonies. In the case of all these Churches, it is complicated by the political connection with England of the countries in which they exist, and in the case of the Colonial Churches also by the manner in which and the conditions under which, the Episcopate was transmitted to them by the Church of England. In the case of America alone there is no political relationship, and the Episcopate, which was derived, first, from the Church in Scotland, was given afterwards from England, not to a colony, but to an independent sister Church. These facts reduce the relation of the Church of England to the Church in America to a minimum, or rather, to state the case more truly and exactly, the relation is shorn of everything that might be called accidental, and stands secure in those things which are fundamental to the Church—in the common faith, and in the unbroken orders of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to which we all belong, and which Christ founded for the saving, not of one nation, but of all nations of the earth.

To the "Church of England," constituted by the civil law of England—that is, to the Church as an establishment—the Church in America stands in no relation whatever, no more than she does to the body that has been established by human law in Scotland; but to the Church of Christ in England, whatever her relations to the State, the Church in America stands in a very deep, loving, and inseparable relation, the very close and real relation of members of the one undying body of Christ. And this relation is that of a common Christianity, a common catholicity of faith and practice. It is on the one hand nothing more than this, and it is on the other hand nothing less—nothing less close and substantial than this—and this relation too is in all points a mutual one. The Church in America owes it to the Church of England in no way to impair either by addition or omission the integrity of the faith and order delivered to her; but the Church of England owes just as much to the Church in America.

The limits, however, of this mutual obligation are very broad, and leave within the power of each National Church a very large liberty of action, which may, it is true, be qualified by expediency, but not faulted as a matter of right. The constitution of the one Catholic Church which both bodies must keep inviolate, is found, as to the faith, only in the one great creed, the Nicene, which alone has been delivered to us formally by the authority of the undivided Church, and which is the only one that a particular Church has a right to impose, as a matter of Catholic obligation; and, as to other matters, in the Apostolic order and the Sacraments which have come down to us unbroken from the beginning.

Guarding this deposit faithfully, we must remember always that, in the words of the thirty-fourth Article, already quoted, "Every particular or National Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." We must remember, further, that in considering such changes and their edification, each National Church owes her supreme duty to the field of which she has, in God's providence, been put in charge. The Church in America has not been eager or willing even to make much use of this liberty. But as the life in that gigantic Republic begins now only to develop into something approaching a permanent national individuality, which is diverging more and more from that of the mother country under the influences of different climate and institutions, and of a large admixture of foreign blood, she will be forced to meet the responsibility of her peculiar position by changes much greater than anyone has yet foreseen. And the time is not very far distant, I think, when these must begin to be wrought. To illustrate this peculiar responsibility, and how real the need is for not only some modification of her methods of work, but for the toleration of a liberty in matters of ritual which would not be possible or perhaps necessary in England, I think I need but remind you of the millions of people, of German or other foreign blood, who have poured, and are still pouring, into the United States,

and whose souls should be the care of the Church there as much as those of her children of English descent. But these people are not only strange to our religious forms and traditions, but bring with them others of their own, as dear, and as necessary to them by hereditary instinct, and by education, as ours are to us. The Church in America, if she be true to her mission, must think of and provide for the wants of these people. And she must do so in a Catholic spirit."

And this brings up another practical thought. With the deepening and enlarging of Church views, with the kindling of missionary spirit, the old provincial idea, which limited the mission and responsibility of the Church of England to the realm of England and to English colonists, has been giving way to much more Christly conceptions of both mission and duty. But with this good has come a lurking danger—the danger of substituting Anglicanism for Christianity, as the message which the Church bears from Christ to the heathen and foreign world. The old provincial idea seeks to spread itself over the world—has expanded to the idea of a great Church organisation, not Catholic but Anglican, which shall cover and dominate at least all the English-speaking peoples, and express their idea of Church unity through a hierarchy culminating in the See of Canterbury, in somewhat the same way that Romanism has served the Latin race. This idea is grand in one way, in as far as it substitutes the larger conception of the race for the very narrow one of the nation; but it is not Catholic, nor can it claim any foundation in the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles; nay, worse, it is destructive of Catholicity and, in so far, of Christianity itself. "Anglicanism," dominating the world, claiming to represent the Christian religion to all the world, would be less pestiferous than Romanism to the cause of Christ, only because, from its less complete organisation, it could never possibly come to wield the power that Romanism has done. The See of Augustine, venerable and august as it is, would be a poor make-shift for the See of Peter and Paul, as a visible centre of unity, that unity which we know full well we have no right to look for in any Father in God on earth. The body of the risen Christ cannot be held by the winding-sheet of any national forms or traditions, even though they be wound fast about it with the sweet spices, the myrrh and aloes of the tenderest love and strongest devotion. The hierarchical organisation of the Church is clearly one of the things "ordained by man's authority." The primacy of the See of Rome came not by Divine prescription, but by the development of political circumstances. The See of Canterbury has reached its present high dignity only by like causes; and in the very nature of things, by the imperative constraint of circumstances quite beyond the working or the control of any man or set of men, it must come, at no very distant future, that the primacy of the mighty patriarchate or patriarchates of the American Church will find its seat on the American Continent. The Church in America is, and will be, in other words Catholic, not Anglican; and feeling deeply her insufficiency for the work before her, asks your sympathy, your charity, your prayers, and those of all true Catholics. It will sound to some, I fear, though not to all, I know well, as if I, indeed, wished to reduce the relation of the Church of England to the Church of America to a minimum. But I am only pushing it back to those things which are deepest and truest—the relation of a common faith and order, and of mutual helpfulness and love for Christ's sake—of love which is the fulfilling of the law—the relation of union in Christ, the only bond which holds in this troublesome world.

Our Church relation is somewhat like the relation between our two nations. At first sight there may seem to be none between them, so radically different are the Governments, so wide the space which separates them, so absolutely independent are they of one another. And yet there is a very real relation between them, deeper than any that can be worked by State treaties: the unchangeable relation which grows out of man's common Father—man's common brotherhood; and beyond this relation of a common humanity, there is that arising from our common race, our common language,

our common history and law and science and religion—our race-mission, I may say, to the world, which can be carried out fully only by their standing always together. So, too, the Church of England and the Church in America stand in a very substantial relation to one another, notwithstanding their independence of one another. The American Church recognises a supremacy in the See of Canterbury as little as she does in the See of Rome, and this whether in things spiritual or temporal. In all things her autonomy is of the fullest. She believes in Catholic, not Pan-Anglican Councils as authoritative, but she recognises and feels deeply also the reality of the living bond growing out of the one Head of the Church in both England and America—the one Lord, the one faith, the one baptism through which we hope to come to the one God and Father of all. Nor will there be ever wanting on her part towards the Church of England gratitude and honour and love for Christ's sake, nor a due regard for her utterances wherever she can make her voice heard as a Church, nor the strong desire to stand with her closely and work with her as far as may be on the same lines, to carry out the mission of the Common Head in the redemption of this evil world. She willingly acknowledges too, in the Metropolitan See of all England, a primacy of honour such as Canterbury would needs render to Rome, were Rome purified and restored to the communion of Catholic Christendom—or to Constantinople, or Alexandria, or Antioch, or Jerusalem, or such, to use the analogy of civil relations, as the American nation would readily grant in things political to the temporal head of England—that gracious Sovereign lady, whose noble words of sympathy to the wife and mother of General Garfield have spoken to the heart of every American. Your Queen has understood and given voice to the substantial unity that binds together the two nations, and she has thereby worked efficiently, with the patient suffering of the dead President, to blot out for ever any last traces of the soreness that lingered in America after her great civil war, leaving in its stead feelings of nothing but kindness towards England, lasting as they are deep. For such a result, the dead President—one who often risked his life to maintain our national unity—would count its laying down now a glad offering, not lost, but most graciously accepted of heaven. Of him that has been taken from us, of your Queen—may God save her long to you!—we thankfully say, “Blessed are the peace-makers.”

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE time which now remains is very short, and the number of cards which are sent in very numerous. I can, therefore, only take one of the cards I have received—the one received first, and which also comes from the greatest distance—that of the Archdeacon of Grahamstown.

The ARCHDEACON OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

You have had some remarks from previous speakers in reference to the spiritual relation of the Church of England to the Church of the Colonies. I wish to direct your attention to the subject of the legal relations of the two Churches, and in this respect the Colonial Church is in a peculiar difficulty. There are two theories as to the relation between the Church of England and the Church of the Colonies. One is that the Colonial Churches are actually part of the Church of England; that the Church of England was sent abroad by some means unto those different distant countries, and that they are integral portions of the Church of England. The other theory is that they are independent Churches in their own provinces. The Bishops at first set forth supposing that they carried with them the laws of the Church of England, and that their letters-patent gave them legal authority, and formed a link binding them to the Church of England. Courts of Law determined that this was not the case. The different Colonial Churches then made rules for themselves, as there was no ecclesiastical Court before which they

could bring their differences, and they had no rules to judge by except the implied contract between Bishops and clergy under the general conditions of English Church law. The Church of England advised the Colonial Churches to hold their provincial synods, and make their own rules, and the Churches in the Colonies in a great measure followed the directions which the Convocation of the Church of England gave them. They are now put in a peculiar position by a judgment lately given by a Colonial Court. That Colonial Court considered that the letters-patent, although the Queen had determined to give no more to them, are still of such effect that the elected Bishops of the Colonies are not Bishops of the Sees they fill; that they have no legal right to property created by their own efforts and vested in themselves, but that the Crown may to-morrow send out Bishops to take their places and turn them out. That is a very difficult position. The same Court declares that the Church of the Province of South Africa is certainly a distinct body legally from the Church of England. But it says that it has made itself a distinct body by holding a provincial synod. I maintain that the very reason it held a provincial synod was that it was told by the authorities that it was an independent body which could only be governed by the mutual compact of its members. We are, in fact, told that we have lost our property because we have acted for ourselves, and have not got letters-patent granted by the Queen. By this the Church is placed in a difficult position, and it appeals against what seems to it so strange a doctrine. I do not think English law will uphold this, but it is an anxious position. English Churchmen are too apt to forget their position altogether as members of the Church of Christ. Many, especially uneducated Englishmen, think that whatever is not prescribed by Act of Parliament is schism, and this is often thrown in the teeth of members of Colonial Churches, and it is a feeling which ought to be cured by instruction at home. There ought to be a feeling that whatever may be the organisation by which we are governed, it is upon being members of Christ's Catholic Church that our hopes depend, and upon fulfilling our duties of life; and whether we go to America, or to Scotland, or to the Colonies, we are still members of the one Church of which Christ is the Head. In this way we feel the need of not depending upon the laws of the State to give or to take away from us our creed. We have not received it from the State, but from God. The State may take away our property, but our faith is ours, and we may not surrender it.

TOWN HALL, TUESDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 4.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 7 o'clock.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN RESPECT TO THE PREVALENCE OF—

- (a) SECULARISM.
- (b) SPIRITUALISM.

PAPERS.

His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

SECULARISM is hardly to be called a system. Its principles are, according to its most representative interpreter, "Atheistic, Republican, and Malthusian," the practical rendering of which would be "No God,

no King, and—at least for the present—as few people as possible.” My task to-day is, in the too short compass of twenty minutes, to admit that this system of negations, if it be a system, is making way among the people; and to consider how the Church should comport herself towards it, that it may counteract the negative doctrines, and undo their effects.

Secularism, whether system or not, aims at the overthrow of all belief in God and in a future state, and at such a modification of all political and social arrangements as may be required for the production of an era of general enjoyment, called, I perceive, by one writer “universal beatitude.” It adopts in some measure the doctrine of evolution, which promises, after many ages, if the sun shall keep hot so long, such natural development of wisdom and self-restraint, that the children born shall just balance in number the adults that depart; these being exactly the number that can be pleasantly nurtured, without undue pressure on the means of subsistence. But the mills of evolution grind slow, if they grind small; and the Hedonists or Secularists of this moment have no notion of waiting in the interests of generations so far off. This is a form of entail, they think, in which the tenant for life is denied the usufruct, for the sake of heirs that may not be born for a million or two of years—not born at all, indeed, if the sun should happen to get cool. So the march must be a good deal hastened, and as a beginning, the human race is to be asked to desist from all belief in God; indeed, it is assumed that the belief in Christianity has already been refuted and made impossible. This accomplished, the way is paved for social changes, which shall confer on all classes, especially the labouring class, immense benefits, not even stopping short of that “universal beatitude,” at which all good and modest reformers do not hesitate to aim.

Here I notice a peculiarity in the logic of this party that affects the very heart of their scheme. The instinct of religion must either have some supernatural source, or else it is the inborn production of human nature herself: man either learned it from above, or evolved it from within. The Secularist has settled that matter for himself: there is no God, therefore none can have inspired religion into man. It is therefore a natural production. If it be so, it will not be disposed of by a jaunty contradiction, or a few arguments; especially as the contradiction and the arguments have been employed against it ever since history began. If human nature has wanted religion and used it, even before it reached the rudiments of civilisation, what do you propose to do, O brave Secularist, to alter the organisation and to remake human nature, so that it shall never be subject to recurrent fits of that need of religion which has certainly characterised all the past? If there is one attribute that is common to all the human race, to the highest as well as to the most barbarous, it is the belief in something beyond and above this life. The races that believe neither in God, nor in spiritual beings, nor in a future life, are few indeed; and their condition shows that they have failed to reach the level of such belief from the utter feebleness and lowness of their whole life. The Andaman Islanders may be in that plight. Cook thought that the Fuegians had no religion; but later travellers find among them belief in the existence of spirits and in omens, signs, and dreams. Buddhism is the great problem, in connection with this assertion. But it cannot be said that its founder, Gautama, knew nothing of a future state. The Nirvana, whatever it is,

is intended to be a deliverance from that "troubled ocean of transmigration" of souls which Gautama found to be the general belief, and which he did not deny. "The very gods," to adopt Mr. Davids' excellent summary of the *Noble Path*, "envy the blessed state of those who here on earth, escaped from the floods of passion, have gained the fruit of the noble path, and have become cleansed from all defilement, free for ever from all delusion and sorrow, in that rest which cannot be shaken, Nirvana, which can never be lost."—("Buddhism," pp. 148, 149.) This is very different from a mere creed of annihilation, and indeed comes much nearer to the Christian conception of rest. Nor should we forget that Buddhism in its modern phases has departed much from that high theory of Nirvana, and has fallen to the worship of idols and false gods many. I ought to apologise for this brief word on a subject so profound; but I wish to admit the difficulty, and at the same time to caution you that it is not solved by making Buddhism the counterpart of any crude system of atheism.

In short, if ever there was a doctrine to which *quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus* applied, it is the doctrine that there is some kind of higher life beyond this one. The Secularist says that no such life exists, that no God exists. Then he must consider that all the religious aspirations of the human race are mere delusion. All the races, from the poor Australian with his potent spirits peopling the country and menacing from the stormy heavens, up to the European nations, rich every one of them in examples of piety and devotion, cry aloud that some Divine Power exists, and that it demands our deference and our souls. With such a state of human nature, what will the Secularist do? Refute it by argument? That has been done continually. Banter it out of the world? Voltaire has tried that for you. Arguments are words and breath. Sneers are but mental grimaces. Both are forgotten with wonderful rapidity. And the great human race, travailling and groaning under a mighty task, cries out, "There is a God." Whether with more light or with less—whether it hear in the sweet babble of song-birds the voices of souls that have passed away, speaking to the souls that are left, as did the old Brazilian races, or, with the better-informed philosopher, hears the great lights of heaven—

"For ever singing as they shine,
"The hand that made us is Divine!"—

the witness is in substance the same. What will the Secularist do with such a human nature as this? Will he exorcise by the force of his nature the faculties of all human nature? Will his little lantern, gleaming for a moment in the nineteenth century, outshine the light of many ages, and turn them to lurid smoke and shade? Will he "pluck out brains and all" to make a new race of men, with some empty chambers in their brain for the hollow echo of his negations?

How little mere argument counts for, any glance at history will show. In 1748 La Mettrie published his "Man is a Machine," which was felt as a blow to the faith, not in France alone. In 1741 Wesley separated from Whitfield; and the Wesleyan Conference was formed in 1784. There were a million of Wesleyans in America in 1844. The Sunday-school movement in this country, almost the whole of our missionary work, have sprung up in the century that has elapsed since La Mettrie

shocked the world by demonstrating to his own satisfaction that man is only a machine. La Mettrie was a Hedonist, a teacher of sensual beatitude, like the modern Secularist. Of him and of his systems of nature, human machines, treatises on pleasure, what has become? He is dead and his doctrine is dead. Intelligent people in this room perhaps never heard of him; and man, meanwhile, both by word and achievement, has proved that he is no machine; that spiritual life and hope are active in him. Granting that there are tribes who have no notion of a Divine Being—and many of the tribes of whom this is said, as the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Bechuanas, are not really without notions of a higher state—grant that even in Christian nations there are many who think little of any life but this; the truth still remains that belief in some spiritual existence is the most general fact in the history of mankind. To expect all men to drop, at the bidding of a knot of experimentalists, every belief in God and in the future life, is not science—is not even sense. It will end in disappointment.

Having thrown over all the "argument from design," it will not trouble the Secularist much that all this religious sentiment, this zeal, this apparatus of worship, answer to nothing outside us—are pure waste and illusion. But the world is likely to think they were given for some use. Religious men and scientific are agreed on several things, though one class appeals to design and purpose, and the other to evolution. Eyes are for seeing, ears are for catching sounds, and taste guards the body against poisons, and smell gives notice of odours sweet and baneful. The social faculties are gratified by meeting in tribe and city; the combative instinct by warlike rivalry of the same cities and tribes. But the religious instinct alone is useless and aimless, or is a faculty that has been perverted and gone astray! The religious man thinks that most improbable; the evolutionist must have some qualms, for all the powers of men in his view were evolved by sharp contention with things around, and the evolution kept pace with the presence and need and pressure of things upon the human creature ever striving. Expel religion with your two-pronged fork of blasphemy and science, she will come back ever and again. When the Secularist thinks his work almost achieved, and the universal beatitude of a diminished population, believing nothing at all, is on the eve of completion—and hymns of praise, if sung at all, are to be directed to nothingness and to one another—perverse human nature will start aside, and out of the lighted windows of church and chapel may possibly rise even this strain:

"Rock of Ages! cleft for me;
Let me hide myself in Thee."

The strain, coming loud and clear, out of earnest breasts, shall be a comfort to them and a peace; shall touch depths of their nature, which your short plumb-line, O sanguine reformer, has never reached. You cannot regulate the deep and great things of the soul by telling people that there are no things great or deep. You would feed them on the husks of sensual philosophy, and you thought they liked them enough to give up God, social obedience, the sacredness of marriage. They have found meat to eat which you knew not of. They cannot live by pleasure alone; they are not the kings and lords you would have made them. They have escaped out of your hands. The world

has much evil, much hardness ; but it has its truths and its discipline for the spirit, from which our spirits will not always shrink. Their part in the masque of "Hedonic Atheism" is played out ; they know it for an empty sham.

Here is another flaw in the logic of the Secularist. He is so anxious to destroy the argument from design, that he makes the world one great scene of misery. It is so miserable, that after creating human nature anew, he must make considerable alterations in the world itself, before it can be a scene worthy of regenerated, unbelieving humanity. "Pain and misery," says one lecturer, "have been the cruel lot of his creatures, from the remotest epoch to which geology carries us back. Want, disappointment, bitter warfare, pain, and death are the normal condition of the universe, as far as it is known. . . . Life is an endless strife, and each combatant must kill or be killed, must eat or be eaten. . . . Another law is that victor and vanquished succumb to another law [*sic*] and die." But this goes far enough to make Secularism a practical impossibility. How, in such a world as you make it, do you propose to realise those promises of good to the suffering, which are your only real influence with them? By abolishing religion, by trying a new form of government, and by a revolution in the present ideas about marriage. By taking away that faith which you must know to be the comfort of thousands in a world of sin and sorrow ; by adopting a form of government which has often been tried in the past, and very frequently laid aside after trial ; that democracy of which Plato said that its nature was to prepare the way for tyranny. By invading the sanctity of marriage, of which even Auguste Comte says that it develops, not one of the social instincts, but every one—veneration, attachment, goodness, so that it should be exclusive, indissoluble, incapable of renewal : "thus going farther," as M. Ferraz says (*Etude de Philosophie, etc.*, p. 388) "than the Catholics themselves."

Well, these are great experiments, and if they fail, they have been made at the expense of the human race. In such a world as the Secularist makes it out, it is no light thing to wrench out of the poor man's hand the Book of good tidings, and to ask him to regard himself as the foremost animal only, and his marriage, which he thought sacred, as a partnership of two animals of the first class. You have courage, however, for any experiment. But which of the evils will you remove or cure? The pain and misery which have been the world's lot since the beginning of geologic time? You said they were older, these, than religions and forms of government ; then no changes in these would remove them. Not one single toothache would yield to your reforms.

How should the Church regard secularism? It should see its true proportions, as one more of those gospels of humanity, of which this century has seen so many : as those of Owen, Leroux, Proudhon, Brigham Young. When atheism is openly taught, such efforts as those of the Christian Evidence Society, in meeting false teaching with truth, are almost indispensable. The less-informed classes are not to suppose that their judgment is to go by default. The argument from design in nature is more important than ever it was, though it needs great enlargement and revision, in the light of what science is daily collecting of harmony and beauty in natural laws. The vast promises of Secularism made it

acceptable to the class who, knowing little of the means to refute fallacies, feel deeply the pressure of their suffering condition, and are ready to join hands with any guide who will only promise to deliver them. Our care for our people should be more active: our power of dealing with such subjects should be cultivated, that we may help them. Secularism in its special form, with its atheism, its attacks on social government and on family life, will pass away. Thus much may be said for human nature, that it is not long the captive of any system of so-called Hedonism or Epicurism: to touch it deeply you must speak to its best and highest part, and not to its basest. For a time the basest may be uppermost; but not long. "The waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly, but yet the Lord which dwellest on high is mightier."

Far be it from me to say that there are no dangers more alarming than this to the cause of faith and true progress. Secularism is but one passing phase of a great movement round us, which demands our deepest attention. I cannot describe it in the two or three minutes that remain. The advance of science has been immense, and it is intended to be a gift of God for good to man. But the business of science is with natural laws; and to these it confines itself. It disapproves the Secularist, as retarding science by mixing it with atheism, with which science has nothing to do. But when the name of God is put aside in silence there is a danger that it will be forgotten; and thus it comes that there is an advance of materialism among the thinking classes. With this there comes, and there must come, a kind of sullen despair. If our hope is only in this life, and its miseries are so great, then life is not worth having, and we may do our best and our worst with it. "To-day is bad," says Schopenhauer, "and to-morrow will be worse, until the day when the worst of all arrives." The pessimism of books, the nihilisms and communisms of social life, are the outcome of this despair. The assassin has emptied one throne of its occupant, and laid low many a head, from this feeling. But the gloomy spectres round her are for the Church no excuse for terror or idleness. Laws of nature are for us a sign that some one imposes and sanctions them. The principle of design is now enforced by great classes of facts which no system or chance can account for. Evil there is to contend with; but the power to contend with it is at once our life and our education. Schopenhauer and Leopardi have made out a strong case for the misery of life. One led a sensual and worldly life, and the other suffered from poverty and bodily pain. They had one curious point in common—they had a great fear of *cholera morbus*, and fled before it as if life had been the highest bliss. Men do not want to be told how to perish, but how to live and strive, for striving and not suffering is our predestined lot: whilst we strive we live. Nor will men be satisfied to learn that this grand world is empty of God, and that they who follow Him serve a delusion: they are far more ready to answer to the call to live according to the best that is in them, and to serve Him whose claim upon them they know to be the highest claim.

A nobler task for the Church was never proposed. She never mustered her forces for a greater crusade. She never had more well-wishers for her warfare, or perhaps better resources. Shame upon us if, with foes around us in their stern array, closing hourly in, we are sitting idle, as though no hostile footstep on the far-off hills were disturbing the

browsing flocks! Shame if, instead of studying the map and the routes, and dividing the commands, we are studying the colour of the uniform and the lace upon the jacket. This is the day of great ideas. When the passing phase of Secularism shall have lost its power of enticing our people, the problems now pressing will await us still. Let science do what she will, she will have to confess, as John Stuart Mill ('Lange,' ii. 364) has confessed, that "the narrow and inadequate life of man needs greatly to be exalted to loftier hopes of our destiny." Those hopes it is still yours to give. Science teaches that human nature changes slowly; and it is pertinent to remember that when the gorged and sated sensualism of heathen Rome was sick and nigh to destruction, it was regenerated by the Word of One whom it had carelessly suffered to perish. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me." With the same human nature, the same Word, forcibly uttered and confirmed by example, will still be mighty to stir and to save.'

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By the Church I am here compelled to understand the Churchman, since there is no present machinery for a representative Anglican utterance. Thus, for practical purposes, the duty now inquired of is that of the individual. Each is asked how he should carry himself towards Secularism. And as it is difficult to separate an opinion from its professor, the question chiefly is concerning the duty of the Churchman to the Secularist. Of course, if we choose to interpret and apply some hard sayings with severe modern religious personality, we may cut the knot by refusing to eat with or speak to him. But yet I think that there is a more excellent way.

In the first place, we should hear what he has to say for himself; and his aim is thus set forth: "Secularism means the moral and material improvement of this life, so far as such can be determined from purely human considerations." This is the standing motto of the *Secular Review*. It is printed at the head of that paper, and may be taken as a summary of Secularism. Now, though the words "purely human considerations" elude definition, and might be shown to mean much more than the Secularist would allow, it is plainly the duty of the Church to promote efforts which have for their object the moral and material improvement of this life. It is true that the Church takes high ground. It honours an Author and Giver of all good things, and believes that they come down from the Father of lights. Thus it first gives "glory to God in the highest." But the professed aim of the Secularist reminds me of the last half of what may be called the earliest Christian creed, "On earth peace, goodwill towards men." Thus, surely, the duty of the Churchman towards Secularists is to recognise what they affirm before he sets himself to refute their accusations or maintain what they deny.

This is the right course, though it is rendered difficult by the unphilosophic bitterness of some who scoff coarsely at thoughts which, in one form or another, have ever been deeply cherished by mankind.

Nothing, indeed, is more foolish than to insult those whom you desire to enlighten or inform ; and thus the rudeness of which I speak is deplored by the more wise and thoughtful Secularists, but it is admitted into their publications, and naturally provokes sheer contradictory rejoinder on the part of Churchmen. So both sides are embittered, and small room is left for the working of the Spirit which guides into all truth. Nevertheless, the duty of the Church is to recognise what is good in Secularism, and to realise that the best among its promoters are sincerely facing the great questions of the day, and, according to their lights, seeking to benefit their fellows.

I can in this short paper do no more than indicate the main lines of the conduct to be pursued in respect to the prevalence of Secularism. In the first place, inasmuch as Secularism sometimes involves Atheism, the Churchman in his attitude towards the Secularist is called to act according to the proportion of his faith in God. Nothing encourages an unbeliever more than consternation on the part of those who profess belief. Nothing helps faith more than a calm use of it. When we hear of the spread, or rather publication, of Atheism, we should remember that this is not the obliteration of God. His existence does not depend upon the belief of man. Those who really trust in Him will not be confounded. They need not fear but that He will justify Himself. It is different when we come to realise the attacks of Secularists on what they assume to be Christianity. From what I have seen and heard, these charges appear to be often wide of the mark, and sometimes almost grotesquely so. Their promoters hold an assize for Christianity and hang dead men. They are not contented with saying that they know nothing of the unseen, that nothing can be known positively about it, and so leaving it alone, but they lade Christians with definitions and conclusions which they are nowhere called on to bear or to hold, and then assail them ; or they assume that the coarsest popular religious opinions of the day represent the wide and deep truths of Christianity.

But however shallow and scornful some of these attacks may be, it is the duty of the Church to examine them. I do not mean that we are bound to vivisection every ass which brays over the hedge, but there is no smoke without fire, and we should at least try to realise the conditions out of which Secularism has grown. In doing this we must expect to be shocked at the flippant sneers of some so-called Secularists. These are occasionally very offensive. They do not, however, represent the true life of Secularism, and may be reckoned as whiffs of petulance, or excuses for an escape from morality. Behind them is a very real feeling and want which many more would recognise if it were not thus tainted. Secularism is not necessarily to be condemned, out of hand, because the scoffers and sensualists have got hold of it.

I believe that its prevalence indicates a natural reaction from a period of spiritual unreality. As the terms in which the Secularist defines his objects are obviously constructed so as to exclude Christianity from the " considerations " which determine the material and moral improvement of this life, is it not the duty of the Church to see whether it has altogether acted up to its great mission in the spirit of its Master, who is called the Saviour of the body ? In the first days of Christianity, and in the picture drawn by Jesus of its last, the healing of the sick, feeding

of the hungry, and clothing of the naked are prominent features of the faith of Christ, and tests of man's union with Himself. May not the material improvement of this life have been insufficiently appreciated by religious Churchmen, and the prevalence of Secularism be a call, however bitter and irritating, to the Church that it may realise its duty more fully in this respect? I do not, of course, refer to the extension of that pastoral machinery which involves the soup-kitchen and the clothing-club. Interest in these sometimes blinds the eyes to the larger aspects of life. I refer to the great questions of the day which concern the position of man, such as the relations between capital and labour, etc., etc. The Churchman belongs to a society which is based upon a belief that God is incarnate. And he ought to be able to apprehend the aim of men who desire the moral and material improvement of this life on purely human considerations. When they revile him and cast Christianity aside as a worthless thing, he should ask himself, Is this altogether the fault of Secularists? An attitude of anger at their language is the worst that the Churchman can take. When they blame Christianity, might not those to whom it has been committed be more fitly rebuked? Can we not conceive that the Churchman might meet the Secularist on the very ground of his Christian belief, and show that Christianity takes in all that the Secularist affirms, and more?

I have here indicated the principles which should determine the duty of the Church in respect to the prevalence of Secularism. There are details of procedure in dealing with the individual which are important, but to which I can only allude.

Much of what is affirmed by the Secularist has been held and taught in the Church, though on higher and more comprehensive grounds. The best of the coals that he burns have been dug out of the Christian mine. And when we come to examine the forms which his denial of Christianity takes, though we may be shocked at the blasphemies into which the shallowest of his fellows fall, we may almost smile at the smallness of his field of vision and the weakness of his blows. No doubt he hits some blots in the conduct of the Church, and hits them deservedly hard. But his assaults on Christianity itself show radical misapprehension. Not only does he discharge his heaviest artillery at isolated texts, but in the most popular phases of his attack on the Christian faith he insists on treating Scriptural imagery as scientific prose. We read of Jesus that without a parable spake He not unto the people. How closely this description of divine utterance fits the language of Scripture we cannot tell; perhaps closer than we think. But the Secularist seems wholly to miss the parabolical meaning of its words, and so to misapprehend the nature and position of his supposed foe. He drives away about a pen-and-ink inspiration, a chemical hell, and a future materialistic salvation, etc., etc., with an ardour which must strike most thoughtful Christians as curiously superfluous. He often mistakes the moss that has grown upon the stone for the stone itself, and scrapes rather than smites. He thinks that he is hitting Christianity when he is only striking at the narrowest phases of uninstructed "religionism."

The duty of the Church in respect to the prevalence of Secularism may thus here be seen in the duty of the individual Churchman towards a Secularist acquaintance. He does not taunt him when he is reviled,

he reviles not again, but tries to help him towards a larger, more catholic, and philosophic mood. He helps to free his thought, and he does this in no apologetic attitude, but with tenderness of humour, as dealing not only with a brother, but with one who really cares for the moral and material improvement of this life, though he may have failed to measure the width and to plumb the depth of "purely human considerations."

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At the mere name of Spiritualism some will at once cry out, "Frivolous!" others "Imposture!" and others "Sorcery and devilry!" Let me protest in the outset against all hasty sweeping condemnations. No doubt in approaching the subject we find (to use the words of Mr. Page Hopps, a friend of Spiritualists, though not one of them), that "the way has been defiled by fraud, and blocked up by folly." Gross absurdity and gross deceit have been exposed in the doings of pretended Spiritualists. But we must not rush to the conclusion that all Spiritualism is pure deception, any more than we must involve all statesmen and all ecclesiastics in universal censure, because there have been political and religious charlatans. And as to the charge of diabolical agency, I do most earnestly deprecate the antiquated plan of attributing all new phenomena which we cannot explain to the author of all evil. Far be it from me to deny that such agency is possible; on the contrary, I believe that Satan may enable men to possess themselves of unlawful knowledge and unlawful powers. But Galileo, and the ridicule with which we now speak of his persecutors, may teach us not so to mix up science and religion as to come to an *à priori* theological decision upon matters of simple fact. As rational men—and even more as Churchmen, who trust in the presence with us of a Guide to our reason when the matters we deal with approach or enter the province of faith—we are bound to accept facts, though we may decline the inferences which others draw from them; to watch, to investigate, and so to come gradually to our own conclusions. For aught we know, these puzzling phenomena may be a new problem set by Almighty God, to be solved by the rules and with the aids which He has already given to His faithful children; a trial of the reasonableness of their faith.

The doctrine of those who are said to profess Spiritualism is, if I do not misrepresent it, something of this kind: "God is a Spirit, and the visible universe is an expression to man of His infinite life. Man is a spiritual being; each individual spirit is a part of a great over-soul or *Anima Mundi*. The spirit is enthralled in a body during this life; when released it at once enters upon the possession of higher powers and more extended knowledge; and its condition is one of regularly progressive advancement. Disembodied spirits are able to hold converse with those in the body; not with all immediately, but through the instrumentality of privileged or specially gifted persons called mediums, who are on occasion influenced, or, as they term it, 'controlled' by the spirits. Spirits can also apply force to physical objects, perform certain actions,

such as writing, and produce sounds; they can sometimes show themselves in materialised forms, some of the material being borrowed from the medium. A new era is now dawning on us. The old religions, Christianity included, have played their part, and must pass away in face of clearer light. By intercourse with the spirit-world man will advance as he never has advanced before, in knowledge, purity, and brotherly love." I may fairly, I think, speak of this teaching as opposed to the system of the Church. It sympathises deeply with what we hold to be error; it ranges itself on the side of Arius, and Photinus, and Macedonius, and Nestorius. "Every heretic," says a Spiritualist writer, "of the Church and of all religions has been a pioneer in spiritual discernment." "Priestcraft, hypocrisy, and cant," their lecturers tell us, "are characteristics of all existing Christian communities." "The Church," says another writer, "is such a partial thing, so antagonistic in spirit to the higher worlds, so literal, so dogmatic, that he who feeds there is kept down from the lofty tone necessary for spirit communion." Nor is the Church the only object of censure. Mr. Spurgeon's intellect is "dwarfed and cramped;" "he dogmatises and plays the pope in his own way." Like all freethinkers, the Spiritualist is intensely dogmatic in his anti-dogmatism.

In dealing with opposing systems, we must carefully observe two rules. The first is an inspired one: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." Find out, and make the most of, all you can approve and agree with in the teaching of those who differ from you: a basis of agreement at least makes real points of difference clear, and may lead to a mutual understanding with the happiest effect. The second rule is: "Bear in mind that every opposing sect or school of teaching points to some weakness or shortcoming on the part of the Church;" thus Presbyterianism is (or was) a reaction against Prelacy as distinguished from a Catholic Episcopacy; and the Ranters warn us not too sternly to repress the impulse so many feel to evince by outward acts their inward religious emotions.

I. Now there is much of the Spiritualist teaching with which the Church can most cordially agree. (1.) It is a system of belief, not of mere negation of all that is not logically demonstrated. Its adherents are not ashamed to avow that they hold as true propositions which are incapable of mathematical proof. They are at least Theists, if no more; certainly not Atheists. (2.) It is in its very nature antagonistic to all Sadduceeism and Materialism. It flatly contradicts the assertions of the miserable philosophy that makes the soul but a function of the brain, and death an eternal sleep. It proclaims that man is responsible for his actions, against those who would persuade us that each deed is but the resultant of a set of forces, an effect first, and then a cause, in an eternal and immutable series of causes and effects, and that sin and holiness are therefore words without meaning. It tells of angels, of an immortal spirit, of a future state of personal and conscious existence. (3.) It inculcates the duties of purity, charity, and justice, setting forth as well the loving Fatherhood of God, as the brotherhood of men, to be continued with personal recognition in the future life. (4.) It declares that there can be, and is, communion between spirit and spirit; and so, by implication, acknowledges the possibility, at least, of intercourse between man and the Supreme Spirit—in other words, of Revelation, Inspiration, and Grace.

II. From the statement of these points of agreement I pass on to those on which I think Spiritualism warns the Church that her trumpet sometimes gives an uncertain sound. (1.) We habitually remind those whom we teach that "they *have* an immortal soul;" we too seldom convert the phrase, and tell them that they *are* really spirits, and *have* a body which contains an immortal part, to be prepared for immortality. We make them look on the body as the true being, the soul as a sort of appendage to it; an error against which Socrates could caution his disciples (Phædon, p. 115, s. 64). No doubt bodily existence is, in appearance, more of a reality to us in this life than spiritual being: and thus, if I may venture on the allusion, nine out of ten people when they hear the words "Real Presence" understand "Bodily Presence;" they have not grasped the truth that to the spiritual only can the epithet "real" be justly applied even here below. Minds thus disciplined are easily led away to believe that the soul is only a certain phase of the bodily organism, and is dissolved with its dissolution. Those who have learned with Socrates that the soul, or more properly speaking, spirit, is the essence of the man, could never suppose that the existence of the reality depended upon the existence of its instrument. We should have taught more carefully than we have done, not that men *are* bodies and *have* souls, but that they *are* souls and *have* bodies; which bodies, changed from the glory of the terrestrial to the glory of the celestial, will be theirs to do God's work hereafter. (2.) Again, we are terribly afraid of saying a word about the intermediate state. We draw a hard and fast line between the seen and the unseen world. In vain does the Creed express our belief in the Communion of Saints; for if we hint that one who prayed for his beloved on earth may not forget them when, his earthly frame dissolved, he is removed nearer to the presence of his Lord, popular religion confuses such intercession with the figments of the mediation and invocation of saints. Once again the bodily life, and not that of the spirit, is made the true life. (3.) Further, there is a wide-spread reluctance, even in the Church, to accept the superhuman as such. I do not say this is universal, far from it; but it is very general. There are some, for instance, who abhor all spiritual exposition of Scripture. The four rivers of Paradise (to use a Rabbinical illustration) have no meaning for them: they may accept two, but the other two, "Searching" and "Mystery," they cannot away with. Others do not like to hear of the work of the Eternal Spirit in His Church, or of things done in God's wisdom, otherwise than earthly wisdom would direct or conjecture. They acknowledge, indeed, some Divine guidance, but shrink from spiritual influence or spiritual illumination, the ministry of angels, or the snares of the Evil One. Here, perhaps, some one will say to me, "You seem half a Spiritualist yourself! ἐν δλίγῳ με πείθεις" . . . (I dare not venture to translate this phrase) "to become one also." Well, I am just as much a Spiritualist as St. Paul was when he wrote, "I knew a man in Christ, whether in the body or out of the body I cannot tell, God knoweth—such an one caught up to the third heaven;" just as little as when he bid his children glorify God in the body as well as in the spirit, because both were God's, and exulted that he bore in the body the marks of the Lord Jesus: just as much as St. John, when he bid his beloved "try the spirits," and said of himself that he was "in the Spirit on the Lord's day;" just as little as when he declared that "the Word was made flesh,

and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." There is a true Spiritualism and there is a false Spiritualism, just as there is a true astronomy and a false astronomy : the false, that

"girds the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb ;"

the true, that reduces all planetary movements under one simple mechanical law.

I proceed now to our great points of difference ; to what it is that we cannot approve in Spiritualists' teaching. They claim to hold intercourse with the spirits of the departed. Now I am far from denying the possibility of such intercourse ; on the contrary, I believe that in God's Providence it sometimes does take place. But I fail to see that the phenomena, which they allege as proofs of spiritual agency and converse, are by any means convincing. Strange knockings, we are told, are heard, which on demand are made to represent the letters of the alphabet, and frame mysterious words ; musical instruments sail about the room, and utter unearthly melodies ; sentences are written by unseen hands ; shadowy forms are descried in the darkness ; light touches are felt ; indeed, one spirit has permitted herself to be kissed. The spirits give their names : one of the most active calls himself John King, and we read and hear of "Ernest," "Pocha," "Irresistible," and others. One is strongly reminded of the "Hop-dance" and "Smolkin," which Shakespeare borrowed from Archbishop Harsnet's "Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures," and of Matthew Hopkins's vulgar "Pyewacket" and "Peck-in-the-Crown." Now, supposing for a moment that these are real spiritual beings, one would see a great danger in the practice of conferring with them. How can we know their character ? It is curious that they are considered to shrink from daylight in general. "Your light hurts us," they are represented as saying, though we read, "God saw the light, and it was good." One Spiritualist (Mr. Brittan) declares that for thirty-five years he has never met with a spirit who has told him a falsehood ; but it is confessed that there is a danger of becoming associated with low spirits. Indeed, we are told that on some occasions stones have been thrown by spirits, so there would appear to be roughs or Fenians among the shades. But we need not, I think, be under any apprehension. There is no sufficient evidence that spirits are at work at all. The so-called spirit revelations seem to be limited by the intelligence and imagination of the medium. Just so with the beautiful dreams of the great Spiritualist Swedenborg (and I mention his name with profound respect, though I esteem him a visionary) ; it is almost amusing to remark that, when he wandered under angelic guidance through the stellar universe, he was not taken to view Uranus, Neptune, or Vulcan. The failure to visit the latter may be accounted for by what I consider extremely probable, namely, that there is no such planet ; but I fear that the others were left out simply because he did not know of them. The spirits gave him no new information on physical astronomy ; and no spiritual *séances* have as yet, as far as I can ascertain, made any addition to our stock of useful knowledge.

Whence, then, all the strange phenomena ? for, deduct what you will for delusive and deluded imagination, it is proved by the evidence of men of unimpeachable veracity and sound sense, non-

Spiritualists as well as Spiritualists, that strange things are witnessed at the *séances*. I suggest that all are manifestations of a simple human force, which we may call as we choose, psychic, biological, odylic, ectenic, whose conditions are as yet unknown (as those of chemistry were a century ago), but may before many years be as well known as those of heat, electricity, magnetism, and light, with which it is no doubt correlated; and may be perhaps represented, as Biot proposed to represent the conditions of life, by an equation. This force was distinctly displayed in a series of experiments conducted a few years ago with the aid of the celebrated medium, Mr. Home. A mahogany plank was made to rest with one end fixed on a solid table, the other end being attached to a spring-balance with self-registering index. No ordinary pressure on the end supported by the table affected the balance in the least; but a touch from Mr. Home showed an effect at the other end represented by from three and a half to fifty pounds. The effect was produced when his hands were firmly held, so as to prevent his exerting any muscular pressure, and even when they were inserted in a vessel of water placed on the end of the plank above the table. Mr. Home asserted that he could not always produce the effect, and that when he did he was conscious of a force passing out from him; at the end of an experiment he always exhibited considerable lassitude. The force which could in such a way influence a balance is certainly competent, with the aid of imagination, to produce any or all of the phenomena witnessed, or believed to be witnessed, by attendants at the *séances*, and I repeat what I said before, that we are by no means compelled to infer the presence of spiritual agency.

Further, we cannot accept that degrading view of the body which seems to be an element in the highest Spiritualist teaching. It is represented not as an instrument for the acquisition of knowledge, and as being, no less than the spirit, the work of God, and consecrated to His service, but as a foul obstructive. Vegetarianism, and, of course, teetotalism, are essential to everyone who would reach the higher knowledge; his very residence must be a place where no blood is or has been shed. We find ourselves at once in the presence of the Gnostics Bardesanes and Tatian, and remember with horror how short and easy was the step from their stern asceticism to the school of Carpocrates and the Ophites.

But still worse, we find in Spiritualists' teaching a terrible degradation, not of our human body only, but of the Great Master of bodies, souls, and spirits. And here it is that I call it specially antagonistic to the Church. Jesus, in their system, is but an adept, an early Jacob Böhme, who gained his adeptship by an ascetic diet, for "there is no evidence that he partook of any animal food except the flesh of the Paschal lamb." Or he is a Psychic, a remarkable medium, gifted with an exceptional amount of spirit-force, and a peculiar power of communicating with and controlling spirits. Or he is an Essene, a leader of a Buddhist sect, of high rank indeed, but inferior to the Great Gautama who preceded him. His life is nothing more than a grand example of purity and charity; his death only a noble piece of self-sacrifice. With such views it is hardly necessary to say that the personality of Evil is almost contemptuously denied, and the Scriptures displaced from the post of honour due to the written Word of God.

What, then, is the duty of the Church in respect of the prevalence of this Spiritualism, so beautiful in part, in part so terrible, as it were an angel face with serpent train in its rear? First, let us guard carefully against rash argumentative assertions, and obstinate ignoring of facts, lest haply we deny, through imperfect knowledge, something that is, after all, a law in God's creation. Let us simply show that phenomena which we cannot now fully explain need not necessarily be referred to the agency of spirits, good, bad, or indifferent, but may well be manifestations of some hitherto unsuspected human force. Then let us try the spirits (or the teachers) by the revealed rule, "Every spirit that confesseth not Jesus Christ come in the flesh is not of God." Where the mystery of the Incarnation is explained away or denied, we can have no doubt about the judgment we are to pass. Let us tell of the true dignity and true ministry of the bodies of the regenerate members of Christ, and of the spiritual body, whose seed is in the natural body, to be quickened in His time. Let us thankfully acknowledge the truths of Spiritualist teaching as weapons which we too are glad to wield against Positivism and Secularism and all the anti-Christian isms of this age of godless thought. Let us lay to heart the hints given to us of our own shortcomings. But let us all the while remember that our Gospel is a final revelation till the Lord come, and boldly reply to those who would supplement or supersede it, "Though an angel from heaven preach unto us any other Gospel than that which has been preached unto us, let him be accursed." Let us tell of the only true brotherhood, the only real unity; not that of a society whose bond is an intercourse through self-asserting mediums with questionable denizens of a spirit-world, but that of the one Church, the one Faith, the one Baptism, the one Bread and Chalice of the Lord. Let us preach more consistently and more clearly, by our lives as well as with our lips, with all apostolic zeal and with all evangelistic fervour, with the emotion of true Spiritualists, and yet with the calmness of true children of the Catholic Church, the Incarnate God, Jesus Christ and Him crucified, Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

WHAT I have to say on the subject of Secularism is quite unambitious, and shall be strictly limited to a single point. Allusion is constantly made in a vague and general way to the evil character of the cheap Secularist press. I have tried to find out for myself, as fully as I can, what these papers and tracts so often referred to are, and what they contain. It is of the gravest importance that in attacking Secularism as a creed, we should not misrepresent it, or take reports of it at second or third hand. Its naked reality is quite ugly enough to justify our loudest denunciation. Most of us know that there are in England two Secularist societies: the British Secular Union, identified with the name of Mr. Holyoake; the National Secular Society, identified with the name of its president, Mr. Bradlaugh. Each society has formulated a set of principles—a creed, in short—and in this respect the difference between the two is only verbal. This creed is as follows: "(1.) That the present life being the only one of which we have certain knowledge, its concerns claim our primary attention; (2.) That the promotion of our individual and of the general well-being in

this world is at once our highest wisdom and duty ; (3.) That the only means upon which we can rely for the accomplishment of this object is human effort based upon knowledge and experience ; (4.) We judge conduct by its issues in this world only : what conduces to the general well-being is right ; what has the opposite tendency is wrong." But though the principles may be the same, the practice of the two societies is widely different, and there is no love lost between them. Mr. Bradlaugh writes of Mr. Holyoake as his "twenty-five years' bitter enemy."

Each of the two societies has its weekly newspaper. The British Secular Union publishes the *Secular Review*. The National Secular Society publishes the *National Reformer*. The *Secular Review* is a twopenny paper, published every Saturday. It advocates a strong Liberalism, Land Law Reform, Disestablishment, and the rest. It looks on Christianity as an effete and dying thing, whose decay is to be hastened by the circulation, which it advocates with all its might, of "combative and aggressive" Secularist literature. This journal is not an important factor in the problem we have to face. It is written for the few, and it is the very few who read it. It admits that it does not pay, and asks constantly for subsidies from without. The *National Reformer*, which is edited jointly by Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant, is a totally different sort of paper. It boldly states every week, "The editorial policy of this paper is Republican, Atheistic, and Malthusian." It proclaims open war against Christianity, as a gigantic power for evil, which must be uprooted from the land. It may be taken as the mouthpiece of the aggressive Secularism we have to face, but I do not believe its circulation to be nearly so large as is commonly supposed. Here are two facts. In July last, on the day after the publication of the paper, I called at fifteen news-shops in one of the likeliest parts of London. In only two shops out of the fifteen was the paper to be found. The answer was always the same. "We could get it for you, but we don't keep it." A month later I again made the attempt, but only found the paper in four shops out of thirty-one in which I asked for it. In Edinburgh, last week, I tried in vain to get a copy anywhere. But at the very least, its circulation is large enough to do a vast deal of mischief, and it would be a great error to ignore its influence. It has three sorts of articles : Political, Scientific, and Anti-religious. It is only with the last that we have now to do, but I may refer for a moment to one of the so-called "Scientific" articles as a specimen. The article, which appeared in a late issue, is headed, "The Irreligion of Science." It opens with the following words : "All science is inevitably and essentially irreligious." After an abstract argument to prove this, the writer continues : "The scientific men have always been the Atheists of their time." This he explains to mean that the "unorthodoxy" which he ascribes to the scientific men he names, corresponded in each case to the "Atheism" of to-day. The article concludes with a long list of those whom it calls "The foremost scientists of all time," or in other words, the Atheists of their day. The list, which begins with Hypatia, and ends with Dr. Carpenter, includes Pascal, Caxton, Grotius, Jeremy Taylor, John Milton, and Sir Isaac Newton ! There remain the articles written directly to oppose and ridicule Christianity. It is not these, as I believe, which cause the circulation of the paper. Its thorough-going Radicalism is what sells it. The rest is an ingenious attempt to maintain that a man who opposes Toryism must in honesty oppose Christianity too. To quote freely from these articles would be obviously impossible here. I place a few extracts in the hands of the president, who will judge whether I am exaggerating when I say that, however their authors or the apologists may defend them, they contain what a Christian man can only describe as coarse blasphemy against the triune God, this blasphemy being couched in language of which the rough jocularity is as unnecessary to the argument as it is painful to every devout mind. A third weekly paper, *The Freethinker*, has just been started, as a sort of offshoot from the *National Reformer*. It is not a political paper. It scarcely even professes to argue, and the grossness of its articles is such that one would fain say no more of the writers than, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Besides these periodical papers, much Secularist literature—though not so much as is commonly supposed—is issued every year in the form of pamphlets, tracts, and manuals of various kinds. The larger pamphlets are, as a rule, carefully written and edited. They contain grave discussions on the nature and claims of Secularism, or reports of the debates which have been held on the subject in the so-called halls of science and elsewhere. Some of them, as it seems to me, show an honest attempt to grapple with real difficulties in the social and political and even the religious questions of the day, and one's feeling, on reading such, is, Whose fault is it that these able and vigorous men are at present lost to the Christian Church, and to the cause for which they might, under God's blessing, have been champions? The fault is not, I honestly believe, altogether theirs, but, in part at least, our own. Of course, among these books and pamphlets are many of a different spirit. The worst are usually the smaller tracts and leaflets for general distribution. Besides what seems to us their blasphemy, these leaflets are often tissues of barefaced misrepresentation about the Bible and the Christian creed. To specify such tracts by name would only be to advertise them, but if anyone interested in the subject desires to have a list of specimen publications of this class, I shall be happy to help him.

I have honestly read straight through every cheap Secularist paper, or tract, or book, or song that I could find. I have told you generally what these publications are. I have tried to represent them as truthfully as possible. I have still a few minutes remaining in which to tell you, with such clearness as I can, the impression they have left upon my mind. Against what is the Secularist line of attack directed? Look at the titles of the books and tracts and pamphlets: "The Moral Value of the Bible;" "The Bible and Christianity;" "The Authenticity of the Bible;" and so forth; and one would readily answer, "First and foremost against the Bible." Or turn to the Secularist's Manual of Songs, and take the following as a sample:

"What book has been the frequent cause
Of cruel and tyrannic laws,
And filled with victims death's wide jaws?
The Bible.

"What's been a fruitful cause of cant,
Hypocrisy, deception, rant,
And madness oft, when brains were scant?
The Bible."

And so on. But when we press the matter further, and see in detail what it is in the Bible which is attacked inside the covers of these books, we find, in at least nine cases out of ten, that it is something which has no direct connection at all with Christian teaching: the actual "six days" of Creation, the Levitical laws about slavery, the story of Balaam's ass, Elisha's miracles, Jonah and the whale; these are the so-called specimens of Christian truth against which the Secularist quiver is emptied again and again. You will find half a dozen tracts and articles about Balaam's ass and Jonah's whale for every one that undertakes to deal with the life and teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ and His Apostles.

Now, this is obviously not the time for us to dwell upon the evidential value of the particular portions of Scripture to which I have alluded. But the very strictest supporter of literal interpretation will hardly call these the fundamentals of our faith, or maintain that a difference of opinion on these points means the overthrow of Christianity. But, it will be said, the Secularist goes on to attack the doctrines of the Christian Church. Aye? Which of them? Plenary verbal inspiration, certain particular views about the doctrine of the atonement, the Calvinistic view of predestination, the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed. I challenge contradiction when I say that these are, in five cases out of six, the kind of doctrines which these tracts and newspapers attack. And then, when the writer has established that science proves the world not to have been created in six days, or that the Bible has no

evidence of plenary verbal inspiration, he turns triumphantly to his reader, with the conclusion that the Christian religion is an imposture and a sham.

Or, once again (and this is more important), these papers teem with extracts from the reported sayings and doings of the Christian teachers of to-day. The diligence with which these are compiled is remarkable, and one wonders whence they are obtained, till one finds the following among the rules of the National Secular Society: "An active member's duty is to send as often as possible reliable reports to the president or secretary of the doings of the local clergy." Now, who are the representative teachers and exponents of Christianity most frequently quoted? The Salvation Army, the *Rock*, and, commonest of all, the *Church Times*. In a few almost consecutive numbers of the *Secular Review*, I find sixteen direct references to the *Church Times* as the typical exponent of what our English Christianity is. Such are the teachers of Christianity whom the Secularist editor, not unnaturally, delighteth to honour. It is not too much to say that a very fair proportion of the sayings and doings commented on in the Secularist papers as Christian, are, at least, as much opposed to intelligent Christianity as they are to Secularism.

The moral for ourselves is surely plain. Whether this misrepresentation of Christianity be an honest mistake on the part of the Secularists, or, as sometimes, a deliberate distortion of facts, what we have to do, so far as in us lies, is to make the misrepresentation impossible. And this in two ways. First, we must present to their view, with such reiterated earnestness that it cannot be mistaken, a rational Christian faith, which will stand the test of free criticism and full sunlight. We must show these men, with unmistakable clearness, what are, and what are not, the fundamentals of the Christian's creed; what Christ and His Apostles did say, and what they did not say, both about this life and the life to come. And second, we must show all possible sympathy with whatever is good—and there is much that is good—in the teaching of the Secularists themselves. Men speak sometimes—I trust I have not inadvertently so spoken to-day—as though everything the Secularist put forward was hopelessly pernicious and bad. On the contrary, the real creed of Secularism, as distinguished from the diatribes of its advocates, is at bottom, as I believe, an integral portion of what all true Christianity ought to do and teach. Let me read a few sentences from a Secularist paper published last year: "We are in constant struggle with human nature . . . to cure its manifold diseases of body and mind, amend its manifold defects, establish it in vigorous health; to diminish and, if possible, destroy its abounding gross ignorance, want, oppression, bigotry, disunion, hatred, envy, selfishness; to increase, and, if possible, make universal the contraries of all these." Now, it seems to me nothing short of terrible that it should be possible, with any sort of plausibility, to put forward that teaching as anti-Christian. Yet it is so put forward, and so received; and a few pages further on, the same writer asserts that "Secularism and revealed religion are in direct and fundamental contradiction to each other." "Secularism," it has been well said, "is not a deviation from Christianity except in so far as it is an ism;" that is, I suppose, except in so far as, being a little part of truth, it assumes to be the whole, and preaches and practises accordingly. I believe as firmly as Mr. Holyoake in the principles which underlie the Secularist's formulated creed, but I add to it that without which it would to me be altogether false: a recognition of the action upon us all and in us all, of a living loving personal God, revealed in Jesus Christ. Let men who are brought into contact with Secularist work state this broadly and plainly, and they will find the Secularist onslaught, in so far as it is honest, to be robbed of more than half its power; nay, they will find that on some lines of attack against sin and devilry, the Secularist is fighting by their side.

There are probably many here who know something of the work which has been lately carried on in London in this direction by the Guild of St. Matthew. I am not a member of that Guild, and I do not sympathise with all that it does. It has, at least, one representative here to-day who will, I hope, speak for himself; but perhaps I may be allowed, as an outsider, to

commend its work and its publications to the attention of the Church at large.

One word more, and I have done. My practical knowledge of Secularism is drawn, as I have said, from its internal evidence, from the close study of its papers and its magazines. Judging by these, I do not believe that Secularism as a creed is increasing either in numbers or in influence. Many people have nominally allied themselves with Mr. Bradlaugh who have no real sympathy with his anti-Christian views, but who regard him as the champion of their political creed. Count the attendance at all the Secularist halls in London upon any given Sunday, and I greatly doubt whether it would equal the congregation of many a single parish church. Look at the advertised list of Secularist lecturers, and you will find about half a dozen names in all. Mr. Bradlaugh's Parliamentary adventures have drawn an attention to his creed out of all proportion to the numerical strength of its adherents. *Magna est veritas*. Not in the abstract only, but in the concrete, in this land, at this moment, in numbers, in intelligence, in influence, *Magna est veritas, et prevalebit*.

MR. WALTER R. BROWNE.

I HAVE been asked to speak mainly on the subject of Spiritualism, but there is one point in connection with Secularism which has already been touched upon by Mr. Davidson, but upon which I feel compelled to say a few words. The statement is frequently made that nearly all eminent men of science are either avowedly or secretly disbelievers in Christianity. I desire, then, to make it as clear as words can make it that as regards the scientific men of England this assertion is utterly false. I do not say that as a matter of opinion but as a matter of fact, and Mr. Davidson can well corroborate it. And I will further say that a large majority of those men of science in England whose names stand highest, not only in one department but in all departments of science, and not only in England but also in the world, are not disbelievers in Christianity. I may be asked why the contrary statement should be so widely spread. In reply I would point to a fact that almost everybody is familiar with, viz., that an attack is more attractive than a defence. The result is that those who attack Christianity find their books are more easily published and sold than those who defend it. I think that if we examine the career of such scientific men as are openly hostile to Christianity, we shall find that they have been generally men to whom money, and the notoriety which brings money, was a primary object. Another reason why scientific men who believe in Christianity say nothing about it, is because they feel it is better simply to follow science, and to leave the defence of religion to the regular army which the Church provides for its defence; and with this view many will greatly sympathise. All the same, I cannot but feel that much good would be done by enlisting in the service of the Church such volunteers. Such enlistment could not take place unless there was some organisation, and some facilities given by which such assistance could be made available; and unfortunately, in the present arrangements of the Church, I am not able to see that any such organisation or facilities exist.

With regard to Spiritualism, I may say that some few years ago some eminent men of the highest culture, both scientific and general, agreed together to make a searching inquiry and investigation of the subject. Of these, Lord Rayleigh was one. He and his friends, for a period of two or three years, spent a considerable time at intervals in attending *séances* and doing everything in their power to get at the bottom of the matter, and to make up their minds as to the true cause of the phenomena; and the remarkable fact was this, that at the end of that time they were unable to come to any conclusion on the subject. They were unable to make up their minds whether the claims

of Spiritualism were true or false, and they agreed to abandon the inquiry, because they did not see how they could carry it further without recourse to practices and expedients which for various reasons they were unwilling to have recourse to. From this fact it appears to me we are compelled to draw the following conclusions :—

First, we must not pooh-pooh Spiritualism, and say that it is all imposture and nonsense, and that no sensible man can spend his time in attending to it. Secondly, the belief in the reality of the phenomena is not a mere delusion, or hallucination, which is the theory of certain medical men. I know no one less likely to be subject to hallucinations than the distinguished men of science I have mentioned ; and it is absurd to suppose that for two or three years they were subject to hallucinations at the particular moment of the investigation of these subjects, and at no other times. In the third place, we must adopt the view that the course of the phenomena is a very difficult scientific problem, and must be solved by the ordinary scientific means.

I now ask, what should be the duty of the Church ? In the first place, it is perfectly clear that this scientific investigation is beyond the province of the Church ; and in the second, while the subject is *sub judice*, the Church must be careful to treat it as an open one. Thirdly, the Church should be very careful not to take the ground that the phenomena are incredible because they are supernatural. The Church itself is founded on the belief that certain supernatural events occurred two thousand years ago ; therefore supernatural events are possible. Fourthly, the Church should not say that these phenomena are the work of Satanic agency. I know not one tittle of evidence that they are in any way less under the control of God and less forming part of nature than any other phenomena with which we are acquainted ; and it would be deplorable if the Church at this day should ever give occasion for the old sneer that every new discovery was set down by the priest to the work of the devil. Fifthly, the Church might do this when speaking to those who are attracted by, or are inclined to much investigate, these phenomena. She might point to what the believers in Spiritualism themselves admit, viz., that there is an enormous amount of imposture amongst these manifestations ; and therefore, those who deal with them are sure to find themselves in questionable company and mixed up with questionable doings ; while, on the other hand, they are almost sure not to find out what the truth of the matter is. Experience shows that to discover the real truth in this matter, requires an amount of patience, skill and knowledge which very few are likely to possess.

Whatever Spiritualism is, it is not Materialism, and it is Materialism which is at the present day the great danger the Church has to face. Materialists are found amongst the foremost foes of Spiritualism, because to prove Spiritualism true would be to put a final extinguisher upon all their doctrines. Therefore I think that the Church may fairly hold herself in suspense in this matter, ready to welcome what truth there may be in the phenomena, as sure to help her and not to do her harm ; but at the same time recognising the great amount of proved imposture which accompanies them, and the very considerable likelihood that that which has not yet been proved to be so may eventually turn out to be very much of the same character.

The Rev. CANON WILBERFORCE.

IN the brief time necessarily allotted to readers at a Church Congress, it is impossible to enter adequately upon the history of the origin and development of those peculiar phenomena which would be more correctly described as "Psychism," but which are generally known as "Spiritualism." It may be briefly stated that the signs and wonders of modern Spiritualism, which are now undoubtedly exercising a potent influence upon the religious beliefs

of thousands, originated in the village of Hydesville, in the State of New York, in the year 1848; and amongst the men of science and learning who investigated the subject in America, in order to refute its pretensions, may be mentioned the names of Dr. Hare, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania, and the Hon. J. W. Edmonds, Judge of the Supreme Court of Appeal in the State of New York. The former became convinced of the spiritual nature of the manifestations, and published the results of his investigations under the title of "Experimental Investigations of the Spirit Manifestations, demonstrating the existence of Spirits and their communion with Mortals;" and the Judge, with some members of his family, became mediums of some considerable power. He has published, in two large volumes, a narrative of his investigations, visions, and spiritual communications; also a record of the mediumistic powers of his daughter, who, in the trance state, could converse freely in languages which she had never learned. In the year 1854, the phenomena, which in America have been witnessed by thousands of people, many of whom were of the highest credibility, and whose testimony no one would think of impeaching in a court of law, began to attract attention in England, when the visit of an American professional medium—Mrs. Haydon—brought the subject prominently before the public.

Among many who investigated at that time was Robert Dale Owen, the Socialist advocate, who became convinced, from what he witnessed, of the spiritual nature of the phenomena, and through them of the existence of a future state, and of the truth of Christianity. From that time the movement began, and continued to spread in England and on the Continent, although more slowly than in America. In July, 1869, the first noteworthy attempt at public investigation was made by the London Dialectical Society, which appointed a committee "to investigate the phenomena alleged to be spiritual manifestations, and to report thereon." The committee held fifteen meetings, at which they received evidence from thirty-three persons, who described phenomena which, they stated, had occurred within their own personal experience, and written statements relating to it from thirty-one persons. They invited the attendance and co-operation of scientific men who had expressed opinions favourable or adverse to the genuineness of the phenomena; also of persons who had publicly ascribed it to imposture or delusion. But while successful in procuring evidence of believers in the manifestations and in their supernatural origin, they almost wholly failed to obtain evidence from those who attributed them to fraud or delusion. They then appointed six sub-committees to investigate by personal experiment. All these sub-committees sent in reports, some attributing the phenomena to the agency of disembodied human beings, some to Satanic influence, some to psychological causes, and others to imposture or delusion. The later phases of alleged spirit manifestations which have been developed since the report of the Dialectical Society may be summed up as follows: Open vision, more or less continuous; photographs of recognised departed friends of the sitters; religious impromptu addresses and poems on subjects suggested by the audience—the medium being in a state of trance; and, most remarkable of all well-attested manifestations, the materialisation of spirits through the physical bodies of mediums. (See a remarkable pamphlet by the Rev. T. Colley, late Archdeacon of Natal, published by Burns, 15, Southampton Row.)

The exact position claimed at this moment by the warmest advocates of Spiritualism is set forth ably and eloquently in a work by Mr. J. S. Farmar, published by Messrs. Allen, and called "Spiritualism as a New Basis of Belief," which, without necessarily endorsing, I recommend to the perusal of my brethren. Those who are following Spiritualism as a means and not an end, contend warmly that it does not seek to undermine religion, or to render obsolete the teachings of Christ; that, on the other hand, it furnishes illustrations and rational proof of them, such as can be gained from no other source. That its manifestations will supply deists and atheists with positive demonstration of a life after death, and that they have been instrumental in converting many Secularists and Materialists from scepticism to Christianity. In

corroboration of this statement may be appended the remarkable testimony of Mr. S. C. Hall, the founder and editor of the *Art Journal*. "As to the use of Spiritualism" (he says) "it has made me a Christian. I humbly and fervently thank God it has removed all my doubts. I could quote abundant instances of conversion to belief from unbelief—of some to perfect faith from total infidelity. I am permitted to give one name—it is that of Dr. Elliotson, who expresses his deep gratitude to Almighty God for the blessed change that has been wrought in his heart and mind by Spiritualism."

When this is the standpoint of the believer in the higher aspects of Spiritualism, it is obvious that we have to deal with no mere commonplace infatuation, which can be brushed aside with indifference or contempt, but rather with a movement which is firmly established, and the influence of which is every day extending. Appealing as it does to the yearnings of the soul, especially in times of bereavement, for sensible evidence of the continuity of life after physical death, belief in modern Spiritualism continues rapidly to increase in all ranks of society. No real or alleged exposures of simulated mediumship, or manifest self-seeking on the part of mediums, have any permanent effect in arresting its progress; for its real strength does not lie in the claims or powers of professional mediums, or in advocacy by means of the press or the lecture-room, but in the thousands of private homes in which one or more of the family has mediumistic power. But, it may be asked, is there no evil in Spiritualism? Assuredly there is, especially as caricatured and misrepresented in the lives, sentiments, and language of many professed Spiritualists—upon multitudes the means is as an end, and not as a means to an end; its effects are disastrous in the extreme.

These effects have been summed up by Professor Barrett, of the Royal College of Science, Dublin, who is convinced by painstaking investigations of the supernatural character of the phenomena, in the following words: "(1) A morbid, unhealthy curiosity is excited; (2) the mind is distracted from the pursuits and present duties of daily life; (3) intellectual confusion is created by uncertain and contradictory teaching; (4) moral and spiritual confusion is created by anarchic manifestations; (5) the will is subjected to the slavery of an unknown power, and the spiritual nature of man may be preyed upon by unseen parasites; (6) it offers a demonstration which is the negation of facts, much so-called Spiritualism being merely a kind of inebriated Materialism. All these points," continues the Professor, "I can verify by actual cases; and, as a rule, I have observed the steady downward course of mediums who sit regularly: moral obliquity is the first symptom, then they become wrecks. This applies to mediums for physical manifestations chiefly. Indeed, is it not impossible to have a purely phenomenal presentation of any high spiritual laws?"

In view of the spread of Spiritualism in its modern aspects, and of the consequences resulting from it, it becomes a most important question, What ought to be the attitude of the clergy of the Church of England towards believers in the alleged manifestations? That they are affecting and will still more affect the Church is certain, and has made itself manifest here in Newcastle.

Dr. T. L. Nichols, writing of its results in America, remarks that—"There can be no question about the marked effect of Spiritualism upon American thought, feeling, and character. Nothing within my memory has had so great an influence. It has broken up hundreds of churches; it has changed the religious opinions of hundreds of thousands; it has influenced, more or less, the most important actions and relations of vast multitudes. Immense numbers of those who, a few years ago, professed a belief in some form of Christianity, or were members of religious organisations, have, under the influence of Spiritualism, modified such profession. Greater numbers, perhaps, who doubted or denied the existence of a future state, have found, as they think, incontrovertible proofs of its reality."

Just, then, recognising that the general teachings of Spiritualism are inimical to almost every organised body of professing Christians, I would,

with much deference, suggest that we must shake ourselves free from the conventional un wisdom of the ecclesiastical "pooh pooh!" which is our modern substitute for the "anathema sit" of less tolerant days. We must abstain from contemptuous reference to "Maskelyne and Cooke," remembering that these inimitable conjurors have more than once been publicly offered a thousand pounds if they would, *under the same conditions*, imitate the most ordinary spiritual phenomena in a private house; but that they replied that, as their apparatus weighed more than a ton, they could not conveniently accept the challenge. We must call to mind the fact that such eminent scientists as Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace and Mr. William Crookes, the discoverer of the metal *thallium* and of the radiometer, the latter through his investigation of Spiritualism, have both declared that the main facts are as well established, and as easily verifiable, as any of the more exceptional phenomena of nature which are not yet reduced to law. The movement is here in the providence of God, whether by His appointment or permission, and through it He calls upon us to do what lies in our power to control and regulate it for those who are or may be affected by its practice and teaching. If from Satan, we ought not to be content with ignorance of his devices. Whatever danger may result to those who from mere idle curiosity venture where they ought not, duty calls on us to brave them courageously, as a soldier or physician hazards his life for the welfare of society. Spiritualism may be, and probably is, a fulfilment of the Apocalyptic vision of the spirits of demons going forth to deceive the nations. It may be that the manifestations, mixed as they confessedly are, are part of the dark clouds which have to appear and be dispersed before the promised advent of the Lord with His saints to bring in a true Spiritualism. In the meantime, even regarding the fact in its worst light, we, as watchmen and shepherds, sustain a relation towards it which involves important duties. We need have no fear for any truth of Christ's Church, for, as if He had foreseen attacks from the invisible border-land between earth and heaven upon His Church, He has promised that the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it.

Resting on its true foundation, the Church of Christ is assuredly safe from all assaults; but there may be so much hay and stubble of our handiwork in it that many outward organisations may suffer the loss of the corporate existence. Secondly, we should realise that the sole strength of Spiritualism lies in the knowledge, partial and imperfect though it be, of the future life. The weakness of the Churches as opposed to the strength of modern Spiritualism is in the ignorance of that life, and in misapprehension of Scripture teaching concerning it. Some good may have been done in this respect in the distinction made in the Revised Version of the New Testament between Hades and Gehenna—a distinction, slight as it may appear, which gave the Roman Catholic Church in the minds of Spiritualists an advantage over Protestant Churches. While no one can be advised to give up or modify any sincere conviction, whether founded on rational or merely authoritative grounds, it may be confidently affirmed that the result of Spiritualist teaching and propaganda will be a gradual and perpetual separation of the people from all Churches and congregations whose ministers maintain and teach the endless duration of torment or punishment in the case of any one soul.

Except on this question, the teachings of alleged spirits and believers are as varied as those of men on earth. So much so, that very many mediums and believers, in despair of certainty, have become members of the Church of Rome. Yet most of those who have gone over to that Church, and multitudes who are churchless, would gladly have remained in their respective denominations if their teachers could have dealt kindly with them, and given rational grounds for the doctrines taught, and maintained an inquiring and conciliatory spirit towards the doubts and opinions of their hearers. The suggested attitude of the clergy towards Spiritualists may be summed up thus:

1st. As careful an examination of the facts as time and circumstances admit, that we may not condemn in manifest ignorance; remembering the

words of Solomon, "He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him."

2nd. A frank admission of facts, and a conciliatory rather than hostile or dogmatic attitude towards believers.

3rd. A rational presentation of Christian doctrine, so far as to show that the truths revealed are in harmony with the nature of man in his filial relation to the Father, and his fraternal relation to the Son, and in accordance with the infinite love of Almighty God.

4th. While frankly admitting any good in its teaching or influence which may be fairly claimed for Spiritualism, it is also our duty to show from the abundant written testimony of eminent Spiritualists that great dangers, physical and mental, frequently result from a too eager and unreserved submission to psychical control.

5th. To show that in the Christian religion, rightly understood, is to be found all, and more than all, of important truth that any spirit has ever taught from the beginning of the world.

MR. STEWART CUMBERLAND.

By the physical manifestations of which Spiritualists speak, they mean the power of calling up a certain body of spirits who are able to knock about tables, to play upon tambourines and banjos, to tie knots and untie knots, and, in fact, do a dozen and one ridiculous, contemptible things that no sane and reasonable spirit would ever dream of doing. There is another material phase of Spiritualism which I consider the most objectionable of all, and I refer to the so-called materialisation of spirit forms. By materialisation is meant the power of calling up our departed relations and friends in the same material condition as that they were in previous to leaving this world. Common sense tells us, and the Scriptures tell us, that those who leave this world rest from their labours—is it for any professional medium to call up those whom we love best to appear in the spirit for the amusement of fools and the enrichment of knaves? I have seen a very great deal of this so-called materialisation, and so far as my experience and the experience of my friends goes, it teaches me that the so-called spirit is invariably the medium, or a confederate, decked out in suitable spirit garments for the occasion. I set myself the task of endeavouring to detect a great many spiritualists in the act of materialising spirits, and a few months ago I went to a *seance* given by a medium named Bastein. The first night I went to his *seance*, an eminent clergyman was present, and recognised in the form which appeared his son; and I never saw a more painful exhibition, because anyone under such circumstances must necessarily be much moved. He jumped up to grasp the form, and the form disappeared in the cabinet, adding mockery to mockery by saying, "Good-night, father; good-night." I knew it was a fraud from beginning to end, and determined to expose it on the first opportunity. Two nights later I went in the company of Dr. Forbes Winslow, determined to see the night's manifestations. By-and-by a spirit appeared. Before they were allowed to appear, I may tell you, you were asked to hold your hands in a sort of semi-circle, in order that a peculiar magnetic chain which they state is necessary should not be broken. The reason you are asked to hold your hands is that you shall not suddenly jump up and seize hold of the spirit which appears. It takes about twenty minutes before the spirit can possibly appear. That time is required, they say, that the peculiar magnetism which governs the conditions of the production of spirit forms should have had time to develop itself. I tell you it is nothing of the kind, but it is in order to get the sitters in a state of expectancy, by which they can more readily recognise in a mop or a broomstick their maternal grandmother or grandfather. By-and-by a spirit appeared,

and stated himself most emphatically to be my brother. Very happily, I had not lost a brother, and a peculiar part of the business was, that the spirit as emphatically declared that he was my brother Willie. I never had a brother Willie, but I was determined that the so-called spirit should be allowed just as much rope as he chose to take. I asked the spirit if he would get a little closer, as I did not like my brother dodging in and out the curtains; but evidently he did not like the look of me, and clung closely to the curtains. I had prepared a plan of attack, whereby I should prove conclusively whether the spirit and the medium were one and the same. The medium was supposed to be in a trance condition in a room beyond. The spirit came out, and I squirted him in the eye with liquid cochineal, and then I grappled with the spirit, when he nearly broke my fingers in the struggle. But when the lights were turned on, we found that the medium, who was supposed to be in a trance condition, had his face covered from forehead to nose with the fluid cochineal, thereby conclusively proving to all sane and reasonable people that the spirit and the medium were one and the same.

With respect to the duty of the Church towards Spiritualism, I consider it to be a duty to aid in its exposure. There are two classes of Spiritualists—the dupes, and those who defraud them. For the one class we cannot but have pity, the other we cannot too strongly condemn. Spiritualism can be proved to be false, as a question of evidence, and evidence alone. It is not given to us that manifestations shall take place through the medium, because it has been said—and the Almighty Father has said it—that those who leave this world return not to us.

The Rev. H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH (Minor Canon of St. Paul's).

I AM a member of that Guild of St. Matthew to which Mr. Davidson alluded, and I think I cannot do better than spend my few minutes in saying something of its work. The guild is a small one, and was originally formed for the ordinary objects of a parish society. Circumstances changed; and the members began to look for new work. It occurred to some of them that a vast and almost untouched field of work lay all about us, in the large number of persons who had lost faith in Christianity, and with whom many of us were brought into constant contact. It was therefore determined, as an experiment, to use this organisation as an instrument for reaching those whom no Church can reach by the ordinary method, because they will not come within the range of a pulpit. They say, "You make a number of statements which we cannot challenge; you give us no right of reply." We thought that if the people would not go to the parson, the parson should go to the people; and accordingly we tried to establish, in a very small way at first, free popular lectures for the people. We found that lectures upon such subjects as "Liberty," "Morality," and questions in dispute as to the Christian religion, drew about one hundred to one hundred and fifty people, most of whom never entered a place of worship, or called themselves by any religious denomination. The principal feature of the lecture was that, at its close, free discussion was invited, in which persons of every shade of belief, misbelief or unbelief, have taken part. We have Jews, Quakers, Christadelphians, as well as Churchmen and Atheists, who meet together and do their best to thrash out their differences. One or two facts that we have learnt in thus dealing with Secularists in person exactly coincide with some of those which Mr. Davidson has told us he has learnt from Secularist books and papers.

For example, I entirely agree that Secularists' objections are mainly directed to modern corruptions of, and accretions upon, the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles. The later doctrines, as to inspiration and punishment for instance, are those which Secularists oppose. We seldom find, indeed, that Secularists are familiar with the Church's faith on such points. They seem generally to take for granted that Calvinism and Christianity are

identical. If we set forth any other view, we are not seldom told that it is our opinion, not the belief of the Church. We thus find it best to deal with broad principles, and to carry discussion back to the foundation of faith, rather than to join issue with Secularists upon the meaning of this or that isolated text.

But I must own that I most heartily agree with Mr. Harry Jones in thinking that we have ourselves to thank for much of the Secularist revolt against popular religionism. I cannot but feel that, in many ways, the Secularists are right in their revolt. It does seem to me shameful that when they set themselves to promote the material and social well-being of mankind, they should think that in doing this they are opposing Christ's religion. The fact is that we have not laid enough stress upon making *this* world happier and better. And when the Secularist tells us that Christianity detaches people from working to make the world better than they find it, by pointing to a heaven of personal comfort hereafter—has he not abundant justification in the popular teaching about "saving one's soul"?

To meet Secularism with effect, then, we must go back to what our Lord taught, and discard what men have said He taught. Let us show that "the kingdom of heaven" which He came to proclaim, was not some future arrangement by which a few were to be made comfortable, but a society for the promotion of righteousness here on earth. Let us declare that Jesus Christ was Himself a great secular worker; fighting against disease and premature death, teaching much about pure living in this world, but saying very little about the next. Let us point out that the Catechism of the English Church is one of the best Secular manuals ever put forward; that there never were nobler witnesses to the Secular war-cry of "Liberty" than the Church and the Bible—never more effective preaching of the gospel of "Equality" than in the ministering of Baptism; never so touching a witness to "Fraternity" as Holy Communion. In short, the truth which is in Secularism, and which alone makes it formidable, has been taught by our Lord and proclaimed by His Church; though we are to blame for allowing popular teaching partly to obscure it. Not until we assert, in due proportion, all the truth which is in Secularism, shall we meet it effectively. I cannot think we do this yet; and therefore I cannot quite accept Mr. Davidson's rose-coloured view of the situation. Let us insist, then, that our Lord is the great Secular teacher, and His Church the true Secular Society for promoting man's material and social well-being, and a good deal more. Then we shall be in a position to point out, in well-remembered words, that what is true in Secularism is not new, and what is new in it is not true.

The Rev. R. A. HATCHARD (of Shadwell).

I SUPPOSE I hold my position here to-night from the fact of the great debate I had with Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant some year ago, at the Hall of Science in London. I have met most of the leading Secularists in England in public debate in some form or other, and, although I believe there are some persons present who think there is no good in these public debates, I think they show the Secularist party, and particularly the working classes, that there are those who dare to meet the foremost Secularists at their own resorts. You have heard the subject so ably discussed to-night, that there is little for me to say; but I speak simply as one practically connected with most of the Secularists in London, and also various parts of the country. I think Mr. Davidson is wrong in one fact—viz., that the circulation of Mr. Bradlaugh's paper is small. Because, it is something like 20,000 a week—unless I am much misinformed. It is read, to my certain knowledge, throughout the length and breadth of the land by the working classes. A large number of the working classes are not much interested in religious matters, and the papers which they read—the Saturday and Sunday papers—are practically irreligious. Mr. Bradlaugh's paper—I say it with all deference to him—contains open blas-

phemy, and his Secular publications are a tissue of blasphemy and mis-statements.

Some time ago Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant published two volumes called "The Freethinker's Text Book." They were dissected in a paper called the *Shield of Faith*, by Mr. H. B. Cowper and another writer; and it was shown that they were full of the most fallacious misstatements, and, in short, that a large number of the statements could have been made only in gross ignorance, or they were wilful misrepresentations. These Secular opinions are not merely confined to the popular Secularists, but are to be found amongst the highest classes, and even in the universities there exists a large amount of active or latent scepticism. I speak in the presence of one who, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol recently told me, was the ablest authority on the subject in this country, our reverend chairman. The Bishop could tell you of the scepticism which exists in the higher classes. I have gone by invitation to these halls where the sceptics meet, and by the permission of the Bishop of London, and have met them on their own platforms to fight them before the people assembled there; and I have brought to bear the historical evidence of Christianity during the first three centuries, or you may possibly say during the first two centuries, and I have always found that not only Mrs. Besant, but all those with her, declined to follow me through the second or third centuries, because every authority you bring forward they profess to laugh at. What is required of the clergy in this country is to say as the Archbishop of York very ably did some years ago, in the "Aids to Faith," when he showed that this historical evidence could not be disputed. Learned scholars have written for the learned, but what is required is that the clergy, either in the pulpit, or by means of the kind that were spoken of by Canon Shuttleworth, should meet this Secularism. What is required is that the positive evidence of the truth of Christianity should be upheld, and that it should be made apparent to the people that all is not mere myth and fable. One of the friends of Mr. Bradlaugh, Dr. Aveling, is to be here in Newcastle-on-Tyne this very week to lecture. The Secularist lecturers constantly make the most unblushing statements to people who do not know better, and who take every word which will be said as gospel, and it is the incumbent duty of the clergy and laity to teach the historical evidence of the truth of Christianity, and which neither Mr. Bradlaugh and his associates, nor the most learned Secularists, can explain away or get rid of.

The Rev. C. LLOYD ENGSTRÖM (Secretary of the Christian Evidence Society).

AT the outset, let me say two words on *Spiritualism*. First, before Sir Rowland Hill's death, when he had long retired into private life, his spirit was asked, at a *séance*, to give his opinion on post-cards, and immediately expressed his warm approval. On this being reported to the octogenarian, he was at the same time amused and disgusted; amused that the medium should have killed him before his time, disgusted that he should have had an idea ascribed to him which (as it had not occurred to him during his official career) he really heartily disliked. And, secondly, there is this differentia between all such manifestations and the miracles of the Gospels, that the latter were all useful—the former are all useless; so that, apart from (so to speak) the genuineness of either, the very conception of a Bible miracle and of a Spiritualistic manifestation differ as heaven from earth.

And now, coming to a subject on which I have more claim to speak, the duty of the Church in respect to *Secularism*, I must first say a few words on the Christian Evidence Society (of which I am secretary), a subject which I should have preferred leaving to other speakers, but to which, as they were with one slight exception silent, I must refer, lest the audience,

though holding in their hands papers referring to the Society's nature and operations, should go away with the idea that there is no recognised organisation for meeting a crying need of the day. The Christian Evidence Society, then, encourages evidential instruction of the young, so as to guard them in advance against infidelity; provides lectures both in the open air and in Church institutes, schools, halls, etc., followed by free discussion; and publishes lectures on Christian evidence by the most eminent apologists of the day, such as his Grace the Archbishop of York. The committee is represented on this platform by Dr. Thornton and Mr. Walter Browne; and the Society has for its president the father-in-law of a third speaker to-night (Mr. Randall Davidson), I mean his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. And now, turning to Secularism itself, What is it? I will not enter into details as to the newspapers that represent it, because we have already had them, so fully and ably explained. Speaking in general, we may say that the language varies from that of "Saladin," a name of blasphemy, to that of Mr. Holyoake, from which Christians may learn much of the *mens naturaliter Christiana*. The *Freethinker* will destroy itself by its indecency. The *National Reformer* reminds one of some lines of Tennyson:

‘Sir Aylmer Aylmer in his Aylmerism.’

Charles Bradlaugh—Bradlaugh in his Bradlaughism—is its beginning and end, and the English people do not care much about Mr. Bradlaugh. The *Secular Review* and those it represents must be met with temperate and forcible argument, and, in the case of men like Mr. Holyoake, with a spirit of appreciation of their earnestness and a helping hand to lead them to the Light they love and are unconsciously seeking and believing in.

But of one aspect of Secularism, and that the most important, nothing has been said to-night. We have heard of the Secularism that is written and spoken: there is the abounding Secularism that is felt and lived. In the educated classes it calls itself Agnosticism, and means, alas! not merely not knowing God, but being content not to know Him. In the working classes it shows itself in a form familiar no doubt to most of my clerical brethren who work in towns. You go along a street of cottages; you enter one (it is a sample of the rest); the wife welcomes you with almost the refinement of a lady; the room, though small, is clean and neatly furnished; the children are sent regularly and well dressed to the day and Sunday schools. Does not this speak volumes for the sterling character and home affections of the husband and father? Yet he goes out of the room as you enter it. He is really respectable and well-intentioned, but he goes neither to church nor chapel; he lives for, and is content with, the present world. I may add that my own experience of this prevalent Secularism of life has been altogether confirmed by Mr. Mark Knowles, well known on Church Congress platforms. I came down with him in the train on Monday, and he told me that in the great Mission he has been holding at Northampton, and which has probably utterly broken the power of Bradlaugh there, he met with this *indifferentism, not Atheism*. What is the cause of it? It is you—it is I. What is the remedy? We must, first, and that is the easiest, preach the Gospel, bring the message of glad tidings; we must, secondly, and that is harder, pray—pray as the Lesson of this morning (Exek. xxxvii.) suggests—that these dry bones come together into respectability may become a living body; and thirdly, and this is the hardest of all, we must live such self-denying Christian lives as to persuade the unconscious Secularist to become a conscious Christian.

Let us meet the Malthusian teaching, which falsely promises a happier posterity, by the Christian purity of family life, which will make our children, with the "*Sana mens in corpore sano*," rise up and call us blessed. Let us meet an overstrained Altruism with "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." There is the precept, and there is what Secularism lacks—the motive also. To sum up the whole matter, let us meet the false-

hoods of Secularism with the scathing sarcasm of the Archbishop of York : let us encourage the earnest striving after truth of many a Secularist with the sympathy of Mr. Harry Jones and Mr. Randall Davidson.

JOHN FOWLER, Esq.

THE Church of England is a national organisation, called into existence to be an agent to further the truth of Christianity as laid down in the New Testament. The Church can derive no power or authority from any source but the Sacred Scriptures. Here is contained the grand scheme of human redemption, and the divine purpose is illustrated by doctrine and by counsel. The duty of the Church is to jealously enforce the truths of Revelation. Hence the question arises here, how do the truths and the teachings of Modern Spiritualism harmonise with the teachings of the New Testament? If they be founded on the New Testament, and in harmony with its facts, its philosophy, and its ethics, then it must be the duty of the Church to investigate its claims, and apply its advantages to the development of spiritual faith and the love of God.

As an organisation, the Church is based upon a certain number of cardinal truths, amongst which we find a declaration of the immortality of the human soul. This is the most essential fact in the Christian system of faith. If man be not immortal, the Church spiritually is useless, and a fraud; but if man be immortal, and the nature of that immortality be influenced by the acts we do here, it is most important that the Church should set forth the true purpose of life and correct living, that men may reap in another world the advantages which will flow from a truly-spent life. The weakest point, in a scientific and philosophical sense, which the Church has, is its affirmation of the immortality of man. The record alone is appealed to to prove this great fact, but men die, disappear, and are lost sight of to us, and the unbeliever challenges the believer to demonstrate, by natural fact, a natural and theological truth—that the soul lives when the body dies. The authority of the New Testament is assailed, and the influence of the Church, by a growing number, is unrecognised. Secularism and Atheism never had so large a following in this country before. The most intelligent amongst professional men have long ago ceased to believe the doctrine of immortality, and a large number of intelligent working-men laugh in scornful incredulity at the stories which are narrated and the doctrines taught from the pulpit. Every man must observe the present indifferent state of the intelligent public to the service and doctrines of the Church. Those who have had opportunities for observing the intellectual state of the country say that infidelity is on the increase. Now, what does the Church purpose to do in this matter? Of its seriousness proof is offered by the fact of this discussion. Until the facts of spiritual existence have been demonstrated, like Peter, who denied his Master, we want evidence; and like Thomas, we want to put our fingers into the prints of the nails. If demonstration was needed to establish the faith in the hearts of the disciples, demonstration is as much needed to-day, to establish its claims in the experience of the present generation. The fabric cannot be maintained. It will fall to pieces without the interior leavening power of the spirit. Narrow creeds and ceremonies cannot impose and influence for ever the minds of men. Therefore, Modern Spiritualism has appeared as a divine necessity of the times. It does not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to establish that which came aforetime, and to make the possibilities of spiritual growth and strength in the heart of man more possible. The extraordinary gifts of healing, of speaking, and of prophecy which the founders of the Church exercised, displayed the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal world. The blind were made to see, the sick were made whole, and the dumb did speak. The volume of heaven's wonders was revealed

to us by the inspired speaker. These spiritual gifts, so extraordinary and marvellous, were promised to be continued to the Church. Christ said to His disciples, "Greater works shall ye do, because I go to My Father." There is nothing inconsistent in the claims of Modern Spiritualism and Christianity. One is the expression and the development of the other. That which was phenomenally possible in primitive Christianity must be as needful and as possible now. Nowhere are these gifts declared to be withdrawn from the Church. If the Church had them in the beginning they are retained till now. The Church did not bestow them in the beginning, and the Church cannot take them away. Healing the sick, and the marvellous works which were done of old, were done in harmony with the Divine plan, and if men would only submit themselves to the same conditions, the miraculous vitality of the primitive Church could be resumed by us. These extraordinary phenomena to which the Spiritualist lays claims are of the same nature and character as those which were witnessed in the early Church, and they are calculated to meet the growing scepticism of the age by a complete defeat.

The Church should not stand aloof and denounce Spiritualism as a fraud. It will prove the Church's best friend. It will defeat the Atheist, the Secularist, and the Materialist—the three formidable foes of modern faith. If nature comes to the aid of faith, and establishes by phenomena the immortality of the soul—if it come to be written in scientific books as a truth demonstrable, there can be no room for fear or doubt. Every man will stand upon the hallowed ground of a realised fact, and upon the strength of that fact will his devotion be pure and his piety constant. It will add certainty to faith, and resolution to hope. Man will look into the shoreless expanse of eternity and see the hand of his Creator leading him to the grand goal of his immortal being. Fear and doubt are the strongest enemies to the believer's life in the sanctuary and the closet. The anxious inquirer ponders the problem, and cries in his soul for some objective evidence of the truthfulness of the Church's teachings.

Without modern Spiritualism the Church affords not this invaluable succour. It stands helpless before the onslaughts of the infidel. Time will not permit us to-night to detail the nature of spiritual phenomena as it is presented in your midst to-day. However, we may be permitted to testify to a few facts. We have known reliable and experienced men and women, bitterly opposed to the subject, have evidence presented to them of a most convincing nature. Departed friends have presented themselves and given undoubted evidence of their identity by a narration of experiences only known to themselves. Fathers have met children and children have met fathers, and have exchanged unmistakable proofs of a personal continuance of life. They have been recognised in the phenomena of materialisation. Their presence has been made known by the remarkable power of clairvoyance. Entrancement has developed a power of inspiration as beautiful as any which distinguished any age of eloquence. The healing art is practised with success to-day, and could be easily developed in usefulness if the Church applied itself to the study of the spiritual force of human nature. The inherent capability of the human organism for removing or alleviating suffering would be recognised as a source of stability to the Church itself. We do not say that there is anything miraculous or contrary to the laws of nature in these phenomena. Man originally, from the beginning, has remained the same. The marvellous works which were done by the Apostles can be done now. But nothing can be done now which is not in harmony with natural law. The sooner the Church brings itself to recognise this truth the better able will it be to struggle with its outward foes.

We have in our midst now sensitive persons who can be operated on by spirits, and made to do the will of an invisible intelligence. By acting upon the vital fluid of a sensitive, a spirit can control a medium. A medium is a person who is more or less susceptible to the will and control of another, and this susceptibility is increased by repeated and frequent exercise of the

power. Mediums are not all alike. Some have the gift of healing, some of speaking, some of writing, some for clairvoyance, and some even for speaking with tongues. Manifestations of these spiritual gifts are very widely spread over England. Thousands could bear testimony to its truth. The subject is and has been investigated by men of note in every walk of life. Scientific men, noblemen, literary men, and men of all classes distinguished for ability and learning, after a full investigation, have without hesitation attested the genuineness of the manifestations which took place in their presence. Therefore we say that a case has been made out on behalf of Modern Spiritualism to be recognised and utilised by the Church itself, that it may become strong to defeat its own doubts, and, in the full reliance of its hope, do battle with the hard foes which deny the immortality of the soul. If Spiritualists philosophically do not universally retain their allegiance to the doctrines of the Church of England it matters but very little. The Church, by fairly and squarely investigating the alleged facts, will bring together into one focus philosophers and thinkers who otherwise might have remained outside of the pale of the Church. To shelve the question by saying that Spiritualism is an imposition, displays either presumption or ignorance. All that we ask of you is to fairly and squarely investigate the subject without prejudice or partiality, and we doubt not but that soon the spiritual world, with its millions of happy spirits, will help on with enthusiasm the labour of Christian unfoldment, and give you those needful assurances so necessary to the Christian to do battle with the internal and external foes of everlasting truth.

**DR. EASTWOOD (President of the North of England Branch
of the British Medical Association).**

ONE of the speakers who has already addressed you has stated to you that the men of science are disbelievers in the Christian religion. It is my duty to state, on behalf of the medical profession, that medical men are, generally speaking, believers in the Christian religion, and that very few of us are either Secularists or infidels. I may claim some authority to speak on such a subject as this, as President of the North of England branch of the British Medical Association; and again, I may mention that the British Medical Association, which numbers amongst its members 9,000 gentlemen of the medical profession scattered throughout these islands and the colonies, commences its annual meetings by prayer and praise, and by public worship. Some years ago the Association met in Manchester, and numbered 1,100 members, and there a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Manchester, whom you have heard to-day, in this Cathedral. I may mention again that some half-dozen members of the medical profession are also members of the Committee of this Congress. This is sufficient to show that the medical profession as a whole sets its face against both Secularism and Spiritualism.

No one has yet spoken with regard to the medical aspect of Spiritualism. It concerns medical men seriously, as they have to take into consideration the brain work, the human mind, and the spirit as well—the whole man, bodily, mental, and spiritual, and without understanding the whole man as far as they possibly can, it is impossible to understand either bodily or mental disease. For mental diseases themselves are the result of bodily diseases, the result of diseases in the bodily portion of our structure, whether that structure be the liver or the brain.

It is believed, with a very few exceptions, that these manifestations of Spiritualism are not true—that they are false manifestations, and that the majority are really such cases as have been mentioned here this evening, and which are got up on purpose, and the mediums themselves are the spirits—that they are outside the spiritual part of our nature. Psychologists recognise that it has not added to our information in any way whatever, for the mani-

festations may be fairly explained by the knowledge we already possess, and there is nothing spiritual in what is exhibited. Some may themselves be deceived in the matter, and some may believe in what they exhibit, but they are at the same time deceived, and the manifestations which are brought forward are not true manifestations. The duty of the Church, then, is to preach Christ and Him crucified, and to warn against Secularism on every occasion, and with regard to Spiritualism, very much better to let it alone, and it will die away, as so many other false impressions have died away in the world.

MR. STEPHEN BOURNE.

MY chief reason for being here is the fact that some time since I ventured to contest the argument of Mrs. Besant that there ought to be fewer inhabitants. I was attacked by Mr. Bradlaugh, who placarded the streets of London with a letter to Stephen Bourne, and I came to the conclusion it was the duty of Stephen Bourne not to shrink from the conflict; and an opportunity being afforded, I published a few words of truth in the *National Reformer*, which called for a reply. I was compelled to purchase a great many numbers of the *National Reformer* looking for a reply which never came; but I became convinced that that publication was very much read, and that the fact deserved our serious consideration, and that attacks should be made on every occasion, not by listening to quibbles on various texts of Scripture, but by approaching the great truths of Christianity, and by showing that we possess that, which they deny to us, but claim to themselves, by sympathy with humanity, and a desire to relieve distress and suffering—that we are not content with preaching the eternal truths of Christianity, but that we are bent upon removing the physical as well as the spiritual and moral causes, which interfere with the progress of society. It is by the evidence given by our Christian life and Christian principle that we shall best meet the attacks which they bring against us.

With regard to Spiritualism, I presume to differ with the high authority who has told us that it is not worth inquiring into. It has been my experience, that those who have professed to deal with the other world have never been able to operate upon myself, because they have said I was wanting in faith; and I have found that if we had no faith they would not deal with us. There is nothing more mysterious in their exhibitions than what we can see at the exhibition of Maskelyne and Cook, who are professed conjurors; and so long as things are in that position their manifestations are not worth inquiring into. Again, we never find they have done anything useful. If Spiritualists possessed anything like the powers of communicating with spirits they profess, they would make their fortunes upon the Stock Exchange at any time they pleased. This proves the folly of our wasting our time in meeting them, because they will bring to bear an amount of ingenuity which will tax the powers of the wisest and the best of men, and it is not for the Church to enter upon that work at all. Let that be left to the scientists, but let us go on preaching the simple truths of the Gospel and striving to instil into the hearts of the people that which shall arm them against the attacks of the Spiritualists, and enable them to overcome all the armoury which may be brought against them.

*LECTURE ROOM, LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL
SOCIETY, TUESDAY AFTERNOON,*

. OCTOBER 4.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 o'clock.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT read his inaugural address, the same which he had delivered earlier in the afternoon in the Town Hall. At the conclusion of his address his Lordship said :—I am now obliged to return to the Town Hall, but the Archdeacon of Lindisfarne will kindly take the chair. The Bishops of Argyll and Meath are here, and will read to you the papers they have already read in the principal hall.

**THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO
CHURCHES IN COMMON WITH HER.**

The papers read earlier in the afternoon in the Town Hall on "The Relation of the Church of England to Churches in connection with her in Scotland, Ireland, and America and the Colonies," were read.

THE BISHOP OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES read his paper dealing with the subject as relating to Scotland.

THE BISHOP OF MEATH read his paper relating to the Church of Ireland.

BISHOP MITCHINSON read his paper on "The Churches in America and the Colonies."

THE CHAIRMAN : There is a rule that no question arising out of any paper or subject shall be put to the vote, but this is an exceptional meeting, and a vote of thanks will be proposed.

The Rev. R. DUNCOMBE SHAFTO, Whitworth, said : I have the pleasure to propose a vote of thanks to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and also to the Bishop of Argyll, the Bishop of Meath, and Bishop Mitchinson, for coming to this hall and re-delivering the interesting addresses to which we have had the privilege of listening.

The Rev. J. P. DE PLEDGE seconded the motion, which was agreed to unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN : It is exceedingly kind on the part of the Bishop of Durham to come here and repeat his address. This is an exceptional meeting, but in future the meetings will be held according to the printed programme.

*LECTURE ROOM, LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL
INSTITUTE, TUESDAY EVENING,*

OCTOBER 4.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF CHESTER took the chair at
7 o'clock.

THE ORGANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF LAY
WORK IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHURCH.

- (a) THAT OF MEN.
(b) THAT OF WOMEN.

PAPERS.

Mr. G. A. SPOTTISWOODE (Chattan, Axminster).

ONCE on a time, as fairy-tales say when they wish to indicate a time indefinitely removed from the present, in which the conditions of all things were entirely different from those we see around us—once on a time, I say, people thought and spoke of the clergy as the Church, and really believed that they were so. It was hardly imagined that the laity had either rights in it or duties towards it. But things are changed now. Everywhere we hear quite enough of the rights of the laity. To listen to some people, it is as much as can be expected if the clergy are now to be allowed even to remain humble members of the great body. Indeed, it is not long since a distinguished ecclesiastic maintained the paradox that “in the first beginning of Christianity there was no such institution as the clergy, and it is conceivable that there may be a time when they shall cease to be.”

I need hardly say that I do not stand on such a platform as this. People are very ready to speak of laymen's rights and privileges: we hear less perhaps of their duties and their responsibilities. I am here to speak of the two latter, though I would point out that our duties are indeed our rights, and our responsibilities our privileges. The Church is, as St. Paul teaches, Christ's Body, composed of many members, each having its own office. If one of these be absent or inoperative, the body as a whole is imperfect. But we may go further, and say with him that it is through the Church that God makes known His manifold wisdom. We shall not be going beyond St. Paul's teaching if we say that the laity also are called to a share in the great honour of co-operation with the Saviour in His redeeming work. This is a high, but it is also a true, view of laymen's work. In the inanimate world, all the material for the most exquisite mechanical helps to man lies around us at our feet, use-

less only because it is not set in order. Once let the ordering mind of man be applied to it, and man himself becomes a different and a higher order of being. In the Church the laity are this mass of material, with infinite potentiality of good, lying inert—*rudis indigestaque moles*. May it not be at least hoped that, with her unwieldy material set to work, the Church herself may show a beauty and a usefulness hitherto unsuspected, and may rise to that larger view of all things which is now forced upon us in every other department of life? But to come to the point: where shall we begin in the work of organising this lay power? Let us take an illustration from organic life.

The body has many organs, each with its own duty, place, and function. But it is the head which directs all. Without the head to direct, all would be discord and confusion. Now, the head of the body ecclesiastical is the Bishop. It is for the bishop of each diocese to begin this work, to form an ideal of it in his own mind, and to carry it out by directing the various organs to fulfil their proper functions. Before proceeding further, I must recall to your minds, as well as my own, that I am not here to speak of the organisation of lay work generally, but of the lay work of men only. Women's work, so nobly, so ungrudgingly given to God and His Church, will be treated of by readier pens than mine. I have to treat of the work of the rougher sex: where given, not less nobly given, but yet much more sparingly, than that of women. In justice to men, many reasons may be offered for this; but our subject is not how to draw out, but how to organise, the work which laymen are willing to give. What I am going to say is out of our experience in the diocese of London, a diocese consisting of the greater part of that collection of cities called London, and of the adjacent suburban and rural districts on the north and west. I suppose, therefore, that it is not too unlike the circumstances of Newcastle and the county of Northumberland, to make our experience useful on the present occasion. All organisation of laymen's work should be diocesan. The diocese is what we may call the tactical unit of the Church. From the bishop, as head of the diocese, must proceed the marshalling of the great but hitherto undisciplined forces which have to be drilled.

The bishop, then, will do well to call to his side a body of clergy and laity to help him in this work, and to be as it were his organ. His spirit and wishes can be breathed into this body through his chaplain, who would be the clerical secretary. There should of course be also a lay secretary. Let the first work of this body be to discover, through the parochial clergy, those laymen who are already doing an appreciable and effective amount of work in their several parishes. More perhaps of these will be found than was expected beforehand. We are all too much inclined to think we are the only ones left, and to forget the "seven thousand" others who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of the world and self. Having collected these names, let them be submitted to the Bishop, who will give each of these workers a letter of God-speed in their work; and let it be carefully explained at the same time to the parochial clergy that there is no intention of taking these men from their actual work, or interfering with the management of particular parishes, but only of a recognition on the part of the chief pastor of the diocese of the work so rendered to the Lord. A letter of this sort may seem to many a small sort of thing. To some great people, accustomed to con-

sort with bishops, county members, lords-lieutenant, and other such great folk, it may seem so ; but to the ordinary, often solitary, Church worker, it is a very different affair. To him it is a link with his bishop which he has never had before ; an encouragement and strength in his work which till that time he has never known. It gives him a kind of commission from the Church which instils into his ministrations power and vitality hitherto wanting to them.

The committee, then, will, in a short time, have a body of laymen banded together for the Church's work ; men on whom, broadly speaking, the Church can rely. The leaven will soon be seen to work. The standard has been raised, and volunteers will join. But there must be more organisation than this. In each archdeaconry, rural deanery, and parish, there must be what I may perhaps call a recruiting office ; there must be an officer—district secretary, or whatever he may be called—to explain, extend, and strengthen the work. There must, too, be a cordial welcoming of laymen on the part of the clergy, and a feeling must spread among the laymen themselves, from experience, that their work is really welcomed as a help, and not tolerated as an incumbrance. This body of lay workers will be composed, we may take for granted, of men filled for the most part with the Holy Spirit, with a fervent desire to do their best for the Church of Christ, but with a very inadequate grounding in the doctrines of the Church, and with spiritual gifts of very varying degree. For the ordinary lay helper, the letter from the bishop, acknowledging and accepting his work, is sufficient. Those who have higher gifts of preaching should be commissioned as readers. And on this point I wish to draw the attention of my hearers to the resolutions on this subject agreed to by the archbishops and bishops at Lambeth, on Ascension Day, 1866—fifteen years ago.

It is much to be desired that all our bishops should make these resolutions the basis of their action with regard to readers. I speak from experience when I urge the importance of the word "Reader" implying the same office and duties throughout the country. The effect of these resolutions is—(1) that the office of reader should be instituted ; (2) that admission to it should be by prayer and delivery of the New Testament without imposition of hands ; (3) that the office should be held until the bishop, by instrument under his hand, remove the holder therefrom, which he may do at any time at his discretion ; and (4) that the office should be unpaid. The commission empowers the reader (1) to render general aid to the clergy in all ministrations not strictly requiring the aid of one in holy orders ; (2) to read the lessons in church ; and (3) to read prayers and Holy Scripture, and explain the same in such places as the bishop's commission shall define. The readers contemplated in these resolutions are what we in London now call parochial readers, because our organisation has lately somewhat developed, and our bishop has under these same regulations of 1866 given a commission to a body of mission readers. These mission readers exercise their office, not in a particular parish, but in any mission to which they may be sent by the Diocesan Lay Helpers' Association. I need hardly say that they are never sent except at the request of the parish priest. Anyone applying for admission to the office of mission reader is required to pass an examination in the Bible and Prayer-book.

I may mention that all applications for readers' commissions, whether

parochial or missionary, are made to the bishop through the Association. If, as sometimes happens, a reader has not been previously an associate, he becomes so by virtue of his commission, and his name appears on the annual list. From what I have said above, it will be seen that in the diocese of London the work of laymen has already been organised to a considerable degree. I do not bring forward what has been done there in any boastful spirit, but lay it before this Congress as our brotherly contribution towards the extension of the Kingdom of God in other parts of our land. What we have done is, I think, good as far as it goes. It is certainly not complete; but what I want here to point out particularly is the spirit of trust and honourable confidence on the part of both bishop and clergy, towards the laity in which this Association was founded, and has since been carried on. It is a truly diocesan institution, in which bishop, clergy, and laity all co-operate, and in which no one has scrupulously weighed which factor has or should have the greater weight. The lay organisation of the diocese closely follows the ecclesiastical. For the whole diocese (corresponding with the bishop, and appointed by him) there is the committee of the Association. In each rural deanery there is a district secretary appointed by the committee as the rural dean is by the bishop. In each parish there is a parochial correspondent appointed by the incumbent. This secures the incumbent against the intrusion of any stranger in the affairs of his parish, and gives him the direct appointment of one of the officers of the Association.

I pass on now to the important point of improving the quality of the lay helpers, when once enrolled in a Diocesan Association, by giving them instruction in their faith and duties. In this respect there will be no doubt much difficulty in rural districts with scattered populations. Possibly in such cases help might be given by correspondence classes. But in large towns, centres of instruction might be arranged, which would be of great use. The need is pressing that we should improve in all possible ways the knowledge of our accredited agents both in the Bible and the Prayer Book. In our own diocese, we have every year, in one of the chapels of our cathedral, two courses of lectures, open to all members of the Association, one before Christmas and one after; one course being usually on some Biblical subject, such as one of the Epistles, or one of the Prophets, and the other on the Prayer-book or Church history. Besides these lectures, there is a class for learning the Greek Testament. But this year we have been able to develop the instruction of readers considerably, not only in our own diocese, but throughout the country.

Last autumn there appeared in the *Guardian* a letter headed "Training of Lay Preachers," making a suggestion which almost amounted to an offer, that the buildings of Keble College, Oxford, might be utilised in some manner for this object during the Long Vacation. A correspondence between myself and the writer resulted in the appointment of a committee to carry out this scheme. The co-operation of the authorities of Keble College having been secured, two courses of lectures were arranged for readers in London with the view of preparing them for the subsequent more extended course of instruction at Oxford. The offer of residence and a course of instruction at Keble was made first to the readers of the London diocese, then to the neighbouring dioceses

of Rochester and St. Albans, and finally to the readers throughout the country. In the event, thirty-six readers took advantage of the offer, eighteen from London, and the remainder from other dioceses. The college was open for five weeks from June 25. The residence of the men varied from one week to five, the average being over a fortnight. Dr. Boyd, Principal of Hertford College, was appointed Principal; Rev. A. L. Moore, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford, Vice-Principal; and many tutors and professors of eminence kindly volunteered their assistance in the good work. All the readers lived in college. The day began with service and meditation in chapel; two lectures, with private study, in the course of the morning; recreation, including visits to the various colleges, in the afternoon; at 5, Evensong in chapel, followed by conferences on Christian Evidences and similar subjects; and the whole concluded with a short service in chapel. Three "quiet days" were conducted by the Bishop of Bedford, Rev. Canon Norris, and Rev. H. Montague Villiers respectively.

When one considers the great social differences among the students and the interval in the theological scale between the highest and the lowest Churchmen, and compares the fear and almost distrust with which some entered on the course, with the cordial harmony and active zeal which pervaded one and all throughout the whole term, one would be blind indeed not to see that the good hand of God was with us in this work. Next year, please God, this course will be repeated, on the same lines, but with such improvements as a year's experience has suggested; and we hope to be able to invite all readers of other dioceses to a similar opportunity of instruction and spiritual edification about the July of next year. The qualification for admission to the Lay Helpers' Association in London is the being "a communicant in the Church of England, and qualified to give lay assistance in parochial work." The communicant qualification is, to my mind, vital. No lower condition than this should be admitted in a diocesan association which is intended to set forth a kind of model of what all Church workers ought to be. And when we say all Church workers, we by implication say all Churchmen, for all ought to be workers for the Church in one way or other. If the Diocesan Association sets a lower standard, lay folk will willingly conclude that that is the highest that is required of anyone. It is of course easy to get large numbers if you lower the qualification; but the loss is much greater than the gain. A body of only nominal Churchmen, however large, is of no practical use. To take an illustration from mechanics: Bodies attract one another in proportion to their mass, *i.e.*, their volume and density. In our present case, volume is represented by numbers, density by the spiritual fervour of the members. It may be seen at a glance how much more useful is a compact body than an unwieldy, merely voluminous one, even if the mass of each be equal. Taking this communicant qualification, then, as a basis, the one visible bond of union which has been laid down for us from the foundation of the Association is the annual meeting for Holy Communion in the cathedral of the diocese. I will acknowledge that in our case this is an ideal which we strive for, and only partially attain. Yet still, when our bishop is able to attend and celebrate, a large number are present, and we hope that many who are unable to attend, yet assist in spirit at the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving

which is being offered in the cathedral on our anniversary day. This anniversary, begun at the cathedral, ends with an evening service in the nave of Westminster Abbey. Other opportunities of common worship are also afforded to sections of the Association from time to time at St. Paul's, and these are followed by social meetings in the Chapter House, at which an account is often given, either of some foreign mission, as by Bishop Scott of the mission in North China ; of some Church institution, as when Dr. Maclear gave the history of St. Augustine's, Canterbury ; or of some work for healing the wounds of the Body of Christ, as when Lord Nelson spoke of the Home Reunion Society. Out of our Association has arisen also a choir, which gives its services for the anniversaries of any societies which may want such assistance.

It was one of the hopes of our founders that help would be given to the more destitute parishes of London by associates from the richer districts volunteering to work in the poorer parts. A variety of causes has hindered the realisation of such hopes. The great distance from west to east, the consequently great amount of time taken in the mere going and returning, the scruples of many of our members as to using conveyances on Sunday, the restless habits of the richer classes, many of whom are only in town for a few months ; the necessary periodical absences of some—barristers, for instance—all these have worked against effecting much in this direction. Indeed, we have found that even in the poorest districts, generally speaking, the best lay help is that which is home-grown. Yet in certain instances much has been done towards supplying the wants of the more destitute parishes.

I may mention another work which has been rendered possible by the lay workers of the diocese being banded together in an association—viz., the lay missions sent to various parishes. These, of course, are in practice of various degrees of efficiency and organisation ; but the typical lay mission consists of a mission reader at the head, with four or five other lay helpers around him and at his disposition. These assistants learn and gain experience under the head missionary, and in time become able to conduct one themselves. These missions are intended to lay the foundation of permanent mission work carried on by parishioners who have helped and been trained in the mission sent by the Association. The circumstance that all British seamen belong to the diocese of London has led us to begin a work for them, which we hope will bear much fruit in the future. It is but the little grain of mustard seed as yet. The Bishop of London has given the commission of mission reader already to one captain of a merchant vessel, and we hope by vigorously extending this work to organise lay help on the seas as well as on land. When once there is a nucleus of such a body of lay helpers in a diocese, with two or three really energetic men at the heart of it, there is no limit to the number of good works which it may suggest, foster, and carry out. There is no limit but the willingness of the workers. I have taken it for granted that I should most usefully speak of the organisation of the work of laymen, if I explained the way in which it has been—to a certain extent—organised in one instance. What we have done in London, you more energetic northerners can surely do here. I have said that I did not consider our lay organisation in the diocese of London perfect as yet. We have provided a recognised sphere for the energies of the active

layman; we have developed out of him, in strict accordance with old Church rule, the reader, with the two varieties of parochial and mission reader; but if there appear to be still wanting to us an office with something of more permanence than that of reader, and yet stopping short of Holy Orders, it is to be found in the ancient order of subdeacons, an order to which, if bishops will but be bold and laymen patient, I venture to think that some of our mission readers will, before long, be fit to be promoted. Something of this sort must be done, and I earnestly appeal to those who are over us in the Lord that it may be done in no new-fangled way, such as dividing the diaconate, but by a return to the old paths of the Church in which she trod in the days we are taught to look upon as her best. The dry bones of our Church are not only being shaken and their flesh coming upon them, but they are standing up already a very great army, and the rulers of the Church must give them a discipline and a work to do unless we are all to end in confusion again.

An instance of this came before me only the other day as I was writing this paper. A clergyman showed me an extract from a country newspaper containing an account of the first sermon of a preacher of the "Free Church of England" in a distant county. The preacher had been a useful member of our Association, a communicant in the Church of England. He felt in himself real gifts of preaching, and would have been glad to exercise them in his own Church; but other hands than ours were held out to him, and he is now, unwillingly perhaps, aiding the latest of our "unhappy divisions." There is one point I must not leave untouched. It is an inevitable consequence of the establishment of a really vigorous Diocesan Laymen's Association that a proportion of the good men it attracts to its ranks will be indirectly drawn on towards Holy Orders. These will be men who, in many cases, without such an association, would not have had an opportunity of giving effect to their wishes. They will be men of a different class from that which has hitherto furnished the majority of our clergy. We cannot help this. The Spirit bloweth where it listeth. So that one consequence of such associations as these will be an increase in the candidates for Holy Orders, and a call upon us that these new candidates shall be as fully educated as former ones before they are admitted to the dignity of the priesthood. But I have already crossed the Rubicon of my subject.

The Rev. GEORGE FREDERICK PRESCOTT (London).

WOMAN has her special place in family life; so too in the ecclesiastical family, but with an additional incitement to action, viz., the demands of Christian charity towards all, good or bad. Woman can do what man cannot, through her superior tact and instinct, her tenderness and natural winningness. But if skill and experience are added to these innate gifts, her value as an agent is priceless. The clergy would be the first to acknowledge the immense assistance rendered by district visitors and unprofessional helpers in parish work; but often do they keenly feel the need of some more experienced, trained, and devoted agency. It is no real disparagement to volunteer aid to assert that

there is something better. Each trade and profession in life exacts of its members a technical education. Spiritual work, on account of its peculiar difficulties, requires it even more. The odds and ends of time, the moments stolen—often at the cost of great self-denial—from the demands of home life, valuable as they are (and we have no wish to surrender such services), yet cannot meet the whole case.

It is not to be expected for a moment that evening work or nursing infectious cases can be undertaken by those who have household or parental duties to discharge. May it not be assumed for granted that the Church stands in need of trained women in her parochial, charitable, and missionary works on the same principle which now requires school-mistresses and nurses to be certificated—women who shall take up the various departments of her work as their life's calling? Several classes of female workers are in existence. (1) Bible Women (sometimes enthusiastically styled "the missing link"): The principle which underlies this system is altogether independent of Church authority and Church doctrine. Without denying the usefulness of such women, it is enough for our present purpose to say, that as they are not necessarily even members of the Church, we may set them aside in any enumeration of Church workers. (2) Parochial Mission Women: These are necessarily members of the Church, but generally lacking in any distinctive training; and, though most valuable in some unmanageable parishes, do not come under the category of trained agents. Among trained women come (3) Anglican Sisters of Mercy: Women bound together in communities, trained in habits of devotion, in technical skill, in a variety of good works.

This system has now taken deep root. The Sisters have done, amid prejudice and obloquy, a work for which the Church must ever be grateful. As nurses, for example, those of East Grinstead have ennobled their calling. In the management of penitentiaries, we cannot forget the names of Clewer, Horbury, All Saints', and Wantage. In schools and district work they have done admirably. Yet the sisterhoods have characteristics which raise an objection in the eyes of some. I mean not on the score of a Romanising tendency, for there is nothing in the essence of a sisterhood which connects it with the Roman Church. Sisterhoods exist altogether un-Roman in their whole aim and constitution. But objection is felt, not without some foundation in fact, by some of our bishops and sound Anglicans to the independent attitude which sisterhoods often assume towards episcopal authority. For though the visitor is usually the bishop, yet the rule of the community is the law to it, and not episcopal authority. Their work is undertaken and executed, I believe I am right in saying, irrespective of episcopal mission or control. This seems to many a flaw and loss in their position, for thereby they fail to stand as a branch of ecclesiastical organisation. (4) There is a further system, that of deaconesses, for the recognition and general adoption of which I would now plead.

A deaconess may be defined to be an educated woman, trained in all departments of ecclesiastical work, well grounded in religious knowledge, given to good works and devotional habits, imbued with the spirit of Christian faith and love, dedicated to the service of God as a profession, and solemnly set apart for the same by the chief ministers in the Church. Historically there can be no doubt of the existence of deaconesses, as

an order, in the primitive Church, and this is no slight recommendation for a church glorying in her harmony with primitive custom and doctrine. Deaconesses are spoken of as co-ordinate with deacons in elder times, though subordinate to the clergy. For some centuries the order was in abeyance in the Western Church, but it has been revived again in a somewhat different form in Germany. This connection with the Lutheran and Protestant communities would probably obstruct the revival of the order in our own Church, as if it savoured too much of Protestantism; as, on the other side, sisterhoods would be thought to savour of Roman Catholicism. But in neither case is it fair or wise to condemn an office because its name is held by those with whom we disagree. The fact that the deaconess's office is primitive is a convincing argument for its restoration. The deaconesses for whom I speak are trained, and after due examination of their qualifications are formally set apart by the bishop, as representative of the Church, with prayer and laying on of hands. We exact no irrevocable vows from them; but yet they pledge themselves to the life of their adoption, they dedicate themselves unreservedly to their Lord, with no ulterior design of relinquishing their profession when they grow weary of its restraint.

Deaconesses may either form themselves into a community, sending forth branches as their work extends, or may adopt an independent line, after they have been called to the holy office. The member of the community might, as in the case of sisterhoods, work at a distance from the central home, but would enjoy the evident advantage of association with kindred spirits, and would feel that she has a home to which she might look, as age or infirmity creeps on, as an asylum for her latter days. The question of maintenance has of course to be met. Such ladies would often be without private means; and, therefore, if acting independently, would require a stipend to which they would be entitled as much as a clergyman would be: while, if acting as members of a community, they would be satisfied with mere maintenance, and would contribute as far as possible from their private resources. The "order" which I advocate would be based on the Catholic principle of our own Church, restricted to no extreme party, and on this account likely to approve itself to those who admire moderation, deference to authority, and conformity to primitive usage. Experience, as Chaplain of the London Diocesan Deaconesses' Institution, has shown me how cordially such women would be welcomed by the parochial clergy. They would be admissible in parishes where, from a variety of causes, Sisters of Mercy would not be acceptable nor the Bible woman tolerated: and they would be shielded, not only by the sober uniform which is found so great a safeguard and protection, but by the ægis of Church authority, and prove most valuable to the parish priest, to whose authority alone they would be amenable while employed in his parish.

The need is great—the call is loud—only the women themselves are wanting. Yet must there be numbers of ladies, whom a little training would fit for the work, who are held back by no family ties, no dislike of the office, for they are virtually deaconesses already. If a public emergency were to arise, as e.g. in the Crimean War, women of gentle blood would offer themselves in numbers for the nursing of wounded, or any similar work. Why then come they not forward for systematic authorised work in the Church? Is it shyness? Piety is naturally shy

of publicity—may it ever be so!—but here is little publicity, and if it is the Master's voice that calls, shyness should be overcome. Is it opposition from friends? Such friends should pause before they do anything to quench the Spirit, and dissuade others from adopting a life to which they themselves do not feel a call. Is it sense of unfitness? Let them submit to training. Woman can make herself proficient in arts and accomplishments, and can easily adapt herself to work which is so much more useful to her fellow-creatures. Surely the Church would receive a marvellous impulse, if large companies of such trained Christian ladies were to be spread over our various parishes. Never before has there been opportunity like the present for the work of woman in winning souls. We are calling loudly and praying for more clergy. We should pray for more deaconesses too. Additional curates could hardly take up labours in which women would command success. At all events every additional deaconess would so far set the clergy free for more of their proper ministerial work, as well as prepare the ground where the priest might scatter the seed of the Word. The Church of our fathers and the Church Catholic would gain largely by the revival of this order.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. J. F. KITTO.

TO discuss the whole subject in fifteen minutes would be impossible, I shall therefore leave untouched the subject of *Diocesan* organisation. I leave also the subject of lay-workers in religious orders, and sisterhoods, and all others, whether paid or unpaid, to whom Church work has become the main business of life. I speak only of that which falls more within the range of my own experience, the organisation and development of lay work as part of the parochial machinery, and as it concerns all classes of voluntary, *i.e.* unpaid workers, however small may be the portion of time which they are able to give to the service of God.

I. Our parochial organisation should be comprehensive enough to embrace every variety of work, and to include workers of all ages, stations, and capacities. Some societies are exclusive, and their rules are framed accordingly. A lay worker's association should aim at gathering as many as possible within its grasp. And this for several reasons. (1) Because the work to be done is so vast as to require the co-operation of all. The field is the world. The world is to be won for Christ. I hope that in these days there is no one who supposes that this is the business of the clergy alone. The work of the Church is the business of all her members, and it will not be accomplished unless all who love the Lord work together for this end. (2) Because the work is so varied as to afford the opportunity for the employment of every kind of gift and capacity. Of course it must be so, if the various talents of different persons are all to be used for the work of God. But on this point I shall have more to say further on. (3) Because to work for God is the duty of all and the privilege of all. No one must be allowed to say, "There is no place for me; there is nothing which I can do." "Son, go work in my vineyard," is the message to all. There is no room for drones in the hive of Christ's Church. And work is a privilege. Service is the reward of love. "Lovest thou Me, feed My sheep." (4) Our organisation must embrace all, because work is a means of life and health and blessing to all who undertake it. Working for God is a means of grace which the pastor should seek to provide for all his flock. And work stimulates interest and provokes enthusiasm. When you can induce a man to aid some cause

which he has been wont to criticise, you not only secure his co-operation, but you disarm his criticism. It is impossible to maintain an attitude of cold and languid indifference towards a cause to which we are giving an earnest and thoughtful service. There would be less apathy in our ordinary congregations if there was more work. This then should be our first aim, so to organise our Church work as to find a place for everyone, and to give to everyone his work. We may not at once accomplish all that we desire, but we ought at least to desire that every communicant should be a worker.

II. But in order to succeed, we must recognise and assert certain clear principles. (1) We must set forth a high motive for the service which we claim. It is God's claim which we advance ; it is God's call which we make ; and thus work becomes a serious and solemn responsibility. There is a real danger which most clergymen have experienced, lest the feeling should grow up that the workers are conferring an obligation upon the clergy. There has been, I believe, too much condescension to this imperfect motive of action, so that the children come to school, the people come to church, and the workers undertake work, only to put the clergymen under an obligation. When that desire ends the work is given up. It cannot be declared too plainly, or too constantly, that love to God and a desire to glorify Him is the only motive which can make our work for Him useful to ourselves or valuable to others. Nothing but this can elevate the work from the dull drudgery of a dreary service, to the dignity and joy of labour for the Lord. (2) Then, again, in order to succeed in gathering all kinds of workers, we must make clear the fact to which I have already referred, that there is an infinite variety of work to do for God. It must be understood that we do not want all to engage in the highest spiritual work ; and that for those who do not feel qualified to undertake the work of a lay reader, or Sunday-school teacher, there is some humbler post which they can occupy, and some less arduous service to fulfil. It has been too much the fashion to look only to the higher classes, and to the well-to-do members of our Church to do the work of God. I believe this to be a grave mistake. Of course persons of leisure, wealth, and education have a greater responsibility, because they have larger opportunities of service ; but let it be understood that we want the help of all, and are ready to welcome to our working band the weakest and the humblest who may desire to advance the cause of Christ. The widow's mite was a gift more acceptable than all the offerings of the great and wealthy, because it involved a greater sacrifice and showed a deeper love. It was all the living that she had. And who can doubt that the lowly service rendered by some labouring man to the cause of Christ, and rendered by the sacrifice of his hard-earned day of rest, is of at least as great value in the eyes of the Master, as what may seem to be the higher and holier service of those who can consecrate their whole lives to His glory ? I am sure that working people are often deterred from making offer of their service because they feel that the offering is small, and they fear that it will not be welcomed. But show them that there is a work which they can do, and that you really *want* their aid, and you will often find them the most valued and successful workers. Sometimes, indeed, I have been sorely puzzled and perplexed to know what work I ought to give to an uneducated and, perhaps, unpromising volunteer ; but I have made it a rule with myself never to refuse the offer, because I regard it as a part of my duty to find some suitable work for all who desire to render service to the Master.

III. For the organisation and development of lay work, the machinery should be simple and the plans clear. I have known some societies with systems of rules so complete and elaborate, that an Act of Parliament or deed of conveyance would be simple in comparison. This is very burdensome to ordinary people. What we want is not elaborate machinery and cumbersome laws, but effective work.

(1) Let all who are already engaged in any work for God be invited to form themselves into an association for mutual strength and encouragement. Work is the basis of union : let love and devotion be the bond. Be

ready to recognise any work, however humble, as a title to membership, so that while your association would include a few who would be qualified to teach, or even to preach, it would extend its help also to those who were engaged in such simple services as the carrying of a few flowers to the sick, or the helping at social meetings, or perhaps fetching an absentee to church. I cannot press this point too strongly. The workers' association is not a company of a select few, but a meeting-ground for all. My own friends have sometimes expressed surprise that I should be content to admit work, apparently trivial and unimportant, or even secular, as the ground of membership, but I have learned to be just as thankful to enroll the baked-potato man who only distributed hymns or notices at an outdoor service, as the banker's clerk who was able to take a principal part in the preaching. Do not despise the day of small things. Welcome the humblest offering which is made to God, for the motive makes it great. The paper issued from the Bank of England is of no intrinsic value, but stamp it with the impress of the bank from which it issues, and it becomes precious, and passes current through the kingdom. Stamp upon the lowly work the impress of the lofty motive, and it becomes of priceless worth, for it is consecrated to the Lord.

(2) When the association has been formed, there should be periodical meetings, not too frequent, at which the work of the various branches may be reviewed, any openings for fresh workers indicated, and new work discussed. To these meetings might be invited some whom it was hoped to influence to become workers. If desired, and in large parishes it might be desirable, a committee could be elected from the members, who would meet more frequently, and form a parochial council of the very best kind. A list of members could of course be kept, and this list might be printed at very small expense, and given to each member. But the clergyman must be always on the watch for workers, and it will often happen that he will have to wait long and patiently.

The general duty will of course be urged upon the congregation; but pray let us beware of mere general invitations. If it were not notorious, it would seem perfectly marvellous, how large an amount of general observations, or even general invitations, our ordinary congregations can bear, without anyone seeming to be much affected by them. Let your appeals be personal and direct. Especially at the time of Confirmation the duty should be pressed. Something you ought to do for God. What shall it be? What time can you give? But let us be careful to adapt the work to the worker. Much harm is done for want of care on this head. If an inexperienced labourer, who happens to be out of work, applies to me for employment, I do not offer him my watch to mend because it needs repair; nor does it follow, because a Sunday-school class happens to be vacant, that your latest volunteer is just the person to whom to entrust it. He may put the whole machinery of your school out of gear, and do you irreparable damage. I have found it useful to have at hand a list of various kinds of work, and to offer to any new candidate a choice from the list, which contains twenty-six varieties of Church work, and which might very easily be enlarged.

(3) Let us be careful when a new worker is appointed not to leave him entirely to himself, assuming that he will acquire power to perform the duty by a sort of intuition. Nothing can be more cruel than to leave a young Sunday-school teacher, for instance, wholly without guidance or instruction. He will find many unexpected difficulties, and will want help. And if we cannot ourselves perform this office for all our workers, at any rate let us see that each new candidate is put under the guidance and supervision of some more experienced member of our band.

(4) Let us learn to make full allowance for imperfect service. Human nature is weak, even when the spirit is willing; and perhaps the workers who are most ardent and zealous are most liable to fall into mistakes. Sympathise with them, and help them in their difficulties.

(5) Let us learn to *trust* our workers. Do not let them fancy that we expect them to make mistakes or fail. Let us show them that we can trust them to do their best; and do not worry them with perpetual interference

and direction in every detail. The restless and fussy activity which is for ever suggesting to other persons improvements and alterations in their way of working is, to say the least, very perplexing and embarrassing.

(6) Let the work be real work, and show that you expect it to be honestly and faithfully done. Try to maintain a high standard in this respect, and do not allow the work, however humble, to be lightly neglected without remonstrance.

(7) Let us seek to lead our workers on from one step to another, from a lower stage to a higher in Church work. The young man who modestly begins by taking the lowest class in the Sunday-school, may develop into a lay reader, holding the bishop's license to preach. The young woman who timidly began by taking a few flowers to the sick, may grow into an active and thoughtful district-visitor.

(8) Let us take care not to lose our workers. Constant leakage will soon empty the largest vessel, and continual defections will soon dissipate your working band. Some losses there must be, from the inevitable changes of human life; but we of the clergy ought at least to be able to give a satisfactory reason to our own consciences for every loss.

Such plans as I have ventured here to detail will require great pains and demand constant care, but the result will abundantly repay the effort. My own ministerial lot has been cast for many years amongst the masses of the poor in the East of London, from amongst whom it might appear to be most difficult to maintain an active band of Church-workers; and I could tell many a tale of self-sacrificing service amongst the poor which would put many of us to shame. If in such a parish as Whitechapel a band of nearly two hundred and fifty workers could be collected, no one can plead that there can be any impossibility in securing lay workers elsewhere. Every fresh worker is a new centre of influence and power; and every band of workers is a support and strength to the parish and to the Church. If any exceptional occasion arise, a special mission or a season of special distress, you have a band of zealous men and women, accustomed to work together, on whom you can rely to meet the emergency. And great as the anxiety and toil may be of supervising your working band, there is no plan which carries out so far the influence of the clergyman; and when we come to look back upon the records of our ministry, I believe that there will be no department of our work as ministers for which we shall feel greater gratitude to God than for those whom He has given us to train up in working for His glory, and of whom we may thankfully say, "Ye are our crown and our joy."

The Rev. E. A. HILLYARD.

My Christian brethren, I want to call your minds back a little bit to some words that occurred in the admirable paper which we have heard in advocacy of deaconesses. I recognise the charity and large-heartedness of it, and recognise it most thankfully. It comes from the advocate of a system opposed to that which I am about to advocate; or, rather—not to be offensive—from the advocate of a system that would run side by side with that which is dear to me. There is room in all such large towns as this of Newcastle for every organisation which can be raised by the earnestness of the Church and her laity for united Christian work. But of that with which I am most connected I must perforce speak. There was one remark that fell from the speaker, to the effect that the bishops objected to the independent spirit of the sisterhood, which apparently held aloof from episcopal authority or episcopal visitation. Now, I think there are one or two things which the Church at large ought to know on the subject. There is a paper published which, to my mind, throws a great deal of light on the question—a paper on "The Communities of Women," which was published as long back as 1872,

by Messrs. Masters, and proceeds from a pen that is competent to the task. If you refer to the paper, you will find assertions and proofs in support of them, that in olden times, many, many centuries ago, the bishops of the Church never dreamt of investing the nuns of the period with a veil, or receiving their vows, except as a special reward for special virtues, or as a special mark of honour and esteem. As a rule, at that time, they were independent of episcopal authority, and were connected with the Church, as all you people are connected, through your priests upwards to the bishop, and so forth, by your baptism into that Church life which is the source of your strength. Now, the question of course of episcopal supervision and episcopal visitation is a very delicate one to speak of, but nevertheless, one has to speak earnestly and simply and plainly upon that upon which one speaks strongly. Do not suppose that sisterhoods as a rule are either independent of bishops, or that they are disinclined when they get the right bishops. I shall stand forth myself as the strongest advocate for the episcopal visitation of all the sisterhoods when the Church body at large has the hand in their appointment. When the Church at large nominates her bishops, then perhaps we may confide in every appointment with very little difficulty whatever.

But, there are sisterhoods who have no such scruples about episcopal visitation and authority. I may read to you a word that comes from a speech of a great bishop who has departed to his rest, namely, Bishop Selwyn, who said: "There is scarcely any matter which can be more important after the similar, but higher questions of the ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons. I have therefore submitted the rules of the sisterhood to my coadjutors that I might compare their opinions with my own, and have obtained the result in writing on the subject of the objects of the sisterhood as set forth on page 1. I entirely agree with Bishop Hobhouse, 'That they are wholly in accordance with the mind of Christ and of the Catholic Church, and therefore with the mind of the Church of England.'" The sisterhood with which I have the happiness to be connected was under his supervision, and under his episcopal visitation, and was therefore an instance of what I say—that the sisterhoods are not jealous of an episcopal visitation, but that they are often applicants for episcopal visitation, and that episcopal visitation is refused. There is a sisterhood in existence that at one time of its existence made an annual request to the Bishop of the Diocese for his sanction, and for his supervision, and for his visitation, but it was either denied or the letter was neglected or unanswered. Those facts stand side by side, and while we are speaking of the disposition of bishops, it is only right that we should speak of the disposition of the sisterhoods. At the same time I addressed myself rather to the subject of sisterhoods, and I want to impress on you one idea, which perhaps may clear away a great many cobwebs from lay minds, and perhaps from some episcopal minds, and that is that a sisterhood is nothing but a religious family of lay people who have pledged themselves to live under a rule. If they see fit to live in the seclusion and sanctity of their own house for which they pay, why are we to say why they should submit to an inspection which we should object to in our own houses? We know perfectly well there is a prejudice against the vows taken by sisters, but it should be remembered that a vow of this kind is taken to the rule, and that clears up many questions that arise on this subject. A sister who enters the community pledges herself to obedience to a rule of life, and not necessarily to any particular thing which may change every year, or two or three years. She pledges herself to lead a self-dedicated life, and in consequence of that she binds herself with others to lead a certain life of very great prayer, and such work as may be adapted to her.

There are two things to be borne in mind: that the sisterhood is a religious family, which has its rights like an ordinary family, and that the members are bound together by a vow to a rule. I remember that Bishop Selwyn, when speaking to me about the prejudice against vows, said there could scarcely be a tenable objection to vows when it was remembered that Christian life was begun with a vow, renewed in after life; that a great portion of

the women themselves pledged themselves most willingly by the marriage vow, and that the order of the priesthood had its most solemn vows. When the religious life seems to be permeated with vows it is scarcely fair to make the vows an objection. The fact is, there has been great misrepresentation of the power of superiors and priests and sisterhoods; and the misconceptions, colouring very low styles of literature, tract and otherwise, have gone broadcast out into the world. What answer have we to give to this misrepresentation? The answer to it is the work of the institutions that exist, and that answer is one that must have its weight. I may be pardoned if I speak of anything that is personal to my own experience, but I think personal experience is that which is most useful at Congresses. If I were to speak of my own experience, I would say that five years ago I commenced my ministry at Belper, under very peculiar opposition, and one feature of this opposition was on the ground that I was connected with a sisterhood, the sisterhood of St. Lawrence. The place was flooded with tracts of a most unsparing character, with the intention that life for these sisters and myself would be rendered intolerable. I look back upon that period with gratitude to Almighty God for the answer these sisters give to-day by their self-devotion and work. I can only adduce one point which perhaps would be better than anything else. In a Methodist chapel, in the parish in which I live, the preacher said that he thought these were women who were called Sisters of Mercy, but from his experience of their work in the parish, he would prefer to call them Angels of Mercy. I think that, from a Nonconformist mouth, ought really to shame many so-called Church people who look with prejudice upon the sisterhood, simply because the habit is strange. Experience tells us that the habit is a protection. It ought not to be lost by those who are organising women's work, that a society can train as nothing else can train, to work in the proper spirit, and to provide for the permanency of the work. Elizabeth Fry may visit the prisons, but after Elizabeth Fry is dead, there are no successors to her work. Had she been an inmate of a sisterhood, she would have taught her mode of visiting, and her spirit would have been caught by her sisters, would have been a tradition in the house; and, in consequence, her work in prisons, which died with her, would have been continued, and would have been the spirit of these institutions, as nursing work is the spirit of Grinstead, and penitentiary the spirit of Clewer. You catch in the sisterhoods that permanence because the aged sisters, as they are rendered incapable by age or infirmity, are bound by the rule, either as novices, mistresses, or whatnot, to train the juniors in the work of which they are mistresses. Do not lose sight of one fact, that like the priesthood, the sisterhood must have the devotion to the Almighty, and they have work to perform which devolves upon us all, whether male or female.

The Rev. D. B. HANKIN (St. Jude's, Mildmay Park, London).

It is said that when the saintly Hooker lay a-dying, he was found rapt in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse. A friend of his inquired his present thoughts, and Hooker answered that he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in heaven. And, oh, he added, that it might be so on earth! He has that for which we still endeavour. We live in the days of the Judges, when every man does what is right in his own eyes. Obedience, order, and peace in the Church of England seem to have fled away, and the builders of the spiritual temple have too often to work with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. And yet, at the same time, we have much cause for thankfulness, in that we live in days characterised by great religious earnestness, when trenches for the living water are cut by loving hands in every possible direction, and upon the principle laid down by the Master

—"He that is not against us is for us." We of the Church of England should rejoice with those who are reaping grand spiritual harvests, though they worship not with us, and submit not to our ecclesiastical yoke. From the bottom of my heart I thank God that at last the fact is recognised, that if the terribly real battle between heaven and hell is to be successfully waged, it must be done by the rank and file marching on shoulder to shoulder, and not simply by those who occupy the more responsible position of direction and command. There are literally thousands of earnest-hearted and spiritually-minded laymen at this moment working in England, men apt to teach, possessing undoubted qualifications for the work to which the Lord has called them; and while we talk and plan, and plan and talk, they are solving the problem how the glorious Gospel can be brought to bear upon the perishing masses of this so-called Christian, but practically well-nigh heathen land. The question naturally occurs to those who are tenderly and conscientiously attached to the Church of England, whether these pious laymen are building up the walls of our Zion—whether their efforts are calculated to benefit that portion of the Church of Christ which is established in this land. To such an inquiry I unhesitatingly return a direct negative. With the revival of spiritual life amongst us there has revived also a wonderful spirit of lawlessness, a breaking away from long-established customs, a wandering from the good old paths, a morbid craving for novelty, a restless dissatisfaction with the Church of England, and an utter forgetfulness of the Apostle's words: "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves." I am within the mark when I say that in London at the present time there are thousands of what are called "unattached Christians," boasting that they are free from all ecclesiastical systems, repudiating the ministry, meeting in rooms to break bread, taking upon themselves to baptize one another, and looking with considerable disfavour upon the Church of England.

Well, I would far sooner gaze upon such a spectacle—however distressing in some aspects it may be—than at nothing but the torpor and rigidity of spiritual death; they are on the Lord's side, and as dear to Him as those who are happily folded. But the question I desire to answer is—Can nothing be done towards lengthening the cords of the Church of England by a properly accredited system of lay agency? 1st. Would such an effort be scriptural? 2nd. Is such an effort necessary, and why? 3rd. How shall it be carried out?

1st. That such an effort would be scriptural must, I think, be ceded by all. No lengthened arguments are needed to prove it. Under the Old Testament Dispensation, when any improper interference with the priestly office was so severely punished by God, the ministrations of pious laymen for the purpose of rekindling the flame of national piety were honoured and acknowledged by the Most High, and perhaps one of the most glorious revivals of true religion that ever took place—I refer to that in the reign of Jehoshaphat, King of Judah—was connected with the efforts of pious laymen, who went through the land, along with the priests and Levites, carrying with them the Book of the Law of the Lord, out of which they taught the people, and so won them back to the service of the Most High; while under the New Testament Dispensation we learn from the Acts of the Apostles that the Church of Christ broke forth on the right hand and on the left in consequence of the irrepressible zeal of those converts, who, when scattered abroad, went everywhere, preaching the Word. And that this was not an irregular proceeding, not to be repeated in future times, we gather from the language of the Bishop of Jerusalem, when writing to Jewish converts some thirty years afterwards. He says, "Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth and one convert him"—no reference can be supposed to be made to the efforts of the regular ministry, the expression "and one convert him" forbids the idea. To attempt the recovery of a lapsed soul is the blessed privilege of every child of God.

I pass on to the second inquiry—Is such an effort necessary, and why? The most obvious reply undoubtedly is that the efforts of the ordained

ministers of the Church are utterly unable to cope with the spiritual destitution around them. In most well-worked parishes, I suppose purely philanthropic measures are successfully carried out. The soup-kitchen gives forth its savoury messes without stint during the winter months—the coal club—shoe club—blanket club, each in turn does its appointed work ; but however successfully the earnest-hearted clergyman may work these channels of benevolence, he will yet feel that they do not adequately meet the pressing anxiety connected with precious never-dying souls. My people, he says, again and again perish for lack of knowledge. I am moved with compassion as I see the many of my flock scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd. This, then, is the most obvious reason for the development or constitution of a far wider system of lay agency than has as yet been seen amongst us.

Another reason, and this not so often remembered, is the extreme difficulty of uniting in one man the pastoral and evangelistic offices, and one reason, I believe, for the weakness and inefficiency of the ministrations of many, is their attempt to combine the two in every sermon they preach. I have read somewhere that "It is found in foreign missions that if you give a missionary the pastoral care of a congregation already gathered, his proper missionary work is first hampered by it, and then gradually ceases. The same man cannot do the two kinds of work effectually. The evangelist requires fire, life, energy, a warm heart, a ready tongue, a vivid imagination. He must repeat himself in every sermon he preaches, deal well-nigh exclusively with the first principles of the Christian Faith, and linger o'er the old, old story with fond and touching affection. But the successful pastor is a man of study. He has to feed the flock committed to his care, expound to the semi-enlightened neophyte the way to God more perfectly, to edify the body of Christ, to build them up in their most holy faith, so that there be no place left among them either for error in religion or for viciousness of life.

I come now to the third point. Is any system of lay agency in the Church of England feasible, and how shall it be carried out? I am quite sure that we must not ignore what has already been accomplished by this means. We must not speak as if the employment of lay agency in the Church of England had not met with approval both human and divine. Our district-visitors, our Sunday-school teachers, our churchwardens, our sidesmen, have all contributed to the Church's treasury, and tens of thousands will at the last day rise up and call them blessed ; while in the diocese of London, some three thousand lay helpers, incorporated into a regular body, are doing much real work for God : but we must acknowledge that for a long time past we are losing ground—gaining ground, thank God, in one most important sense—viz., the increase of real religious earnestness and life amongst us with corresponding results, but losing ground when we contemplate the large number of awakened souls who are finding pasture-ground in religious bodies outside the pale of the Church of England. What are called unsectarian agencies are now vigorously at work, at any rate in large towns : they are influencing for good those whom we, alas ! leave by the roadside, and forming them into bodies wholly independent of the Church of England.

There are times, brethren, when the fate of an empire depends upon the valour and intrepidity of her rank and file ; there are other times when it depends upon the promptitude and sagacity of those in command. I truly believe that at the present time the very existence of the Church of Christ as the Established Church of this land depends more upon the nerve and intrepidity of the bishops than upon the zeal and endurance of either clergy or laity. The power of organisation has not been bestowed upon us all. Many a clergyman does his work well, and yet he may be entirely unable to weld together, for united action, any large body of men and women. We look naturally to our fathers in God to come forward and control and guide the restless energies of well-meaning men, and by wise and loving counsels direct them into those channels which we believe to be most for the glory of God, for the zeal and permanent good of those affected by them.

How often have I longed that the bishops of our Church would come for-

ward and lay violent hands upon some of those lay evangelists who are doing such real work for God at the present time. Most of them are young and untaught, but full of life and love, zealous for God above many of their equals, and, as I can testify from intimate acquaintance with them, marvelously blessed of God to the conversion of the ungodly : and yet in most cases they have no Church principles whatever, to them one organisation is as good as another ; simply through lack of knowledge they are undermining the walls of our Zion and weakening the cause of our Redeemer by perpetuating, and in not a few cases increasing, the number of those divisions against which He prayed with well-nigh His dying breath. Now, without quenching one spark of their zeal, they surely might be taught that the Church of England has a stronger claim, a diviner claim upon the sympathies and affections of the people, than any other of the religious bodies which exist among us.

I believe that if the bishop of each diocese would unfurl the banner and invite earnest evangelists to rally round it, hundreds in each diocese would gladly come forward and be thankful for the faithful advice and counsel given to them, which would lead them to unite with their teaching certain Church principles which would give a fulness and completeness to their work which at present it lacks. We want in the Church of England a real "Salvation Army," under the immediate guidance and supervision of the bishops, responsible to them and them alone, receiving their authority to work, and plan of their campaign alike, alone from them—men, ay ! and women too, who are trained to aggressive warfare, very different perchance in social condition, but alike in this—enthusiastic in their expectation of what, under God, they will be sure to accomplish ; men and women who will be willing to go amongst the very lowest of the people, afraid of nothing but sin ; take them by the hand in true and tender sympathy, and place them upon that elect living stone which has been laid in Zion as a sure foundation for such as they.

It would ill become me, hailing, as I do, from Mildmay Park, in the north of London, to overlook, as one great means of the recovery of the lost to the true dignity of their high calling in Christ, the agency of women. No organisation for the conversion of the multitude to the faith of Christ can be complete without it. And those only who toil amongst the densely peopled parishes of our large towns and cities know how much the Church of Christ is indebted to these effective ministrations of pious women. We are living in the last days, when God has promised to pour out His Spirit upon all flesh, when it is especially said that upon the Lord's handmaidens the heavenly blessing is to rest and they shall prophesy. And certainly there seems to be just now a very full accomplishment of this prediction. From the gilded palaces of India to Bible mission work in St. Giles's, there may be heard the gentle voice of woman unfolding in simple language the sweet story of redeeming love, and amongst the brightest jewels in the Redeemer's crown will be found those who were placed there by the instrumentality of women. Who will be so bold as to deny this? With the parish of St. Jude's, Mildmay Park, there is connected a large Deaconesses' Institution, presided over by a lady upon whom God has bestowed those gifts and graces which fit her for the work to which He has called her. From it there issue forth, day by day, some sixty or seventy staid deaconesses, working for God in different parishes of London—accompanied oftentimes by a younger sister called a probationer. They wend their way to their mission-rooms—centres of life and blessing to very many—and there, by holding mothers' meetings, night-schools, evening classes, and meetings of every description, both for men and women, they practically solve the problem how best to rescue the fallen, and win them to the service of the Lord.

It has been asked again and again if the deaconesses' work at Mildmay is Church work, and is it under any episcopal supervision? I most distinctly claim it as such—as work done upon the lines of the Church of England. And while the salvation of the lost, the elevation of the degraded, are its primary objects, yet the enrichment of the Church of England by means of

its representatives is, I know, dear to the heart of the gifted lady who arranges and controls the large machinery connected with it. None are accepted as members of the community but communicants of the Church of England, and no parish is entered by them except at the request of the parochial clergyman, nor any work carried on without his sanction. One of the most interesting branches of their work is the management at headquarters of their night-school for men, where year by year some 400 or 500 men and lads gather for instruction three times a week, and the order and discipline of that school is something which, when once seen, is never forgotten, wholly secured and maintained by the tact and gentleness of their lady teachers. In one year 186 trades and occupations were represented. Amongst these were as follows :—Sailor, potman, Civil Service clerk, ivory-carver, sweep, policeman, cats'-meat man, bricklayer, lamplighter, Custom House clerk, *cum multis aliis*. The last half-hour is given to Bible-reading, and then it is that the real work for God is done, not a few conversions to the faith of Christ taking place every year through the instructions then given.

A respectable working-man, lately giving an account of his remarkable conversion to a friend, spoke of himself as a professed infidel when he entered the school, so reckless and hardened that he had been accustomed to stand up in infidel meetings and "make mock prayers to get the Christians laughed at." "If any man" (these are as nearly as possible his own words), "ever tried the patience of a teacher, I did. I brought all the cavillings and questions I could think of to trouble her, and wear her out, but it was all no use. I had made up my mind to put an end to religion—in my class at least—but lovingly and patiently she held on, and at last I broke down. I did believe in God's love for me, and now Christ is my Saviour, and for two years I have been trying to serve Him."

Now, what I should like to see in every diocese is such an institution as the Mildmay Deaconesses' Home, at the disposal of the bishop, furnished by ladies who are willing for a time to withdraw from everyday life and work whole-heartedly for God. Remember that the only deaconess spoken of in the New Testament was one who had not altogether withdrawn from secular life. Phebe was a woman who had business in hand, a head to transact it, and sufficient spirit to travel from Greece to Rome for that purpose. She was a succourer of many, and therefore had not given up her property to a common stock; but so zealously did she work for God, and so faithfully did she carry out the Apostle's wishes, that her name is handed down to us as worthy of commendation till the end of time. I feel sure that there are hundreds of well-disposed women, with time and means at their command, who would gladly for a time unite together at the invitation of their bishop for work for God. They might be bound together by very simple rules: wear a very plain, distinctive dress (found by experience to be absolutely necessary), and if they pleased retire after a short period of service to make way for others, who would be willing, even as they, for some few months in the year to labour amongst the poor under episcopal guidance and direction. They should be simply pioneers in the cause of their Master, breaking up the fallow ground and sowing the good seed—content that other hands should reap the blessed harvest—retiring from their scenes of labour (except in some rare instances) directly the usual parochial machinery was able to undertake the work which they had commenced.

But here I must stop, not, however, without expressing my solemn conviction that "Ichabod" may be written upon the portals of the Church of England if something is not done very speedily to gather in the masses, and connect by means of lay agency with the Church of their forefathers those who unhappily have drifted away from it. There is work to be done somewhere and somehow by every man, woman, and child that bears the name of Christian. The world is to be blessed and saved by the Church, the Church is to be the living channel along which the living water is to flow, the means of life and salvation to those dead souls around us, whose unsatisfied thirst but too plainly proclaims that they are still far off from God. O Spirit of

the living God, descend upon all Thy people now ; arouse us from our indolence and carnal ease ! Help us to live for eternity, to seek the good of Jerusalem, and so to pass the time of our sojourning here on earth that we may glorify Thy Holy Name !

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. J. C. COLE (Upton).

THERE are two points which will perhaps have to be answered in connection with the subject of this evening, that is, What do laymen themselves want ? and What does the Church generally want ? It would perhaps be a very difficult question to answer what the layman wants. I don't take the case of a parish which is in an excellent condition, and which has an energetic clergyman, or one who stands out from among his fellows as a man who is able to command the willing obedience of others. We know that there are not many who are such. There are not many such in the world in any occupation. Most of us are very ordinary men, ordinary clergymen, who try to do the best we can with our parishes. Now, I will put this question : What is the thing which we find most to contend with in our parishes ? I would point to a rural parish, not a busy town parish with all its forms of life and sin ; but a rural parish, where people are living their ordinary lives. I come from the West of England. I have served the greater part of my life as a clergyman in the West of England. I am in Somersetshire now, but I have been in Cornwall, and I have been in a parish where there have been some five hundred people, and in that parish there were four or five mission stations or chapels which did not belong to the Church of England. They were occupied by those who in some way had intruded themselves into the position of the Church of England. But to come to the question, I say the greatest thing which we find in our parishes, and which is the greatest stumbling-block to the work of a clergyman—that is an ordinary clergyman, one who is willing to do the best he can for his Lord and Master and for the Church—is that of Dissent. Now with this formidable difficulty in his parish, what is a clergyman to do ? I am sure if any laymen here would transfer themselves in imagination into a West-country parish, where the Bible Christians or the Primitive Methodists are in full vigour and full force, they would be very much puzzled to know what to do. And so I say that if you look at the question only from a layman's point of view, it will be a very difficult question to say what organisation we are to have in the Church by which we shall be enabled to meet this great difficulty of an alien organisation growing up within our parishes. Well, you know in medicine there is allopathy, and I think what is called homœopathy. The system of the latter is that like cures like. That is a very old doctrine,—a doctrine of the ancient world. What I should like to say is that the latter ought to be the way in which we should seek to cure this great evil of a foreign organisation in our parishes.

Let us then have a similar organisation to what the Bible Christians have, and what is the essence of that organisation ? I say it is a lay ministry. I don't know whether you may know that among the long and tiresome speeches which were spoken, amid the admiring sympathy of those who heard them, in London, at the Wesleyan Conference, there was one very remarkable speech made by a layman belonging to that Conference. He did not scruple to tell his fellow-worshippers what his own opinion of the ministry was. He said the basis of the ministry, although they had bishops and other grandees—the basis of the ministry, he was bold enough to tell them to their face, was the lay element. They themselves formed the local ministry, while the bishops with their grand names were only the itinerant ministry. That of course cannot be the case in the Church of England as things are at present. It cannot be expected that we should be anything less than local ministers ; but cannot we have the itinerant ministers ? And could they not be laymen ? The paper with which this subject was opened drew a metaphor from the natural world ; I also would reason upon an analogy in connection with our lay ministry. Turn back to those misused and ill-spoken of ages, the mediæval times

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we are accustomed to scoff at, and to think that those who lived then lived in benighted ages. I sometimes think that they were far more enlightened than we ourselves are. As I was coming to Newcastle I stopped at York, and I went into York Minster for the first time in my life. And as I looked up to that glorious distance which separates the earth from the roof, I could not help thinking, "Was it an English Churchwarden who had anything to do here?" I said to myself, I could not answer that; but I thought there must have been, at any rate, some men who had very much greater hearts than we may say the Churchwarden of the last thirty years, at any rate. There must have been people living when those buildings rose towards the sky, who had at any rate a wonderful feeling of devotion and love towards their Church. Let us have a lay ministry as they had in those mediæval times. Would I advocate that we should go back altogether to those times? No; let us keep the principle which lay at the basis of their institutions, and let us try to modernise it. We need not have friars and monks in our days, that is if they are unsuitable to the ways and life of ordinary people; but the spirit we can have. We can have a lay ministry as the whole Church had originally. Now as to my other point of analogy, I return to my little village, and see the Bible Christian's chapel there, and I know that there are a series of local preachers coming Sunday after Sunday. What fills that little chapel? why do they turn away from the excellence and goodness of the Church of England? Why do they want so much coaxing to go to Church, when they go so freely to the Bible Christian's chapel? Is it not because of the local preachers who come Sunday after Sunday? (Time called.)

COMMANDER DAWSON, R.N.

MR. SPOTTISWOODE, in his paper, has told us that there are 3,500 men who are members of the London Diocesan Lay Helpers' Association, of whom 140 are lay readers. That seems a large number to speak of, but to my mind there ought to be ten times that number; and even then we should have a very small number, in proportion of what there is to do. The diocesan organisation has been in existence for about twelve years. Its objects have been, first, to improve the quantity of lay helpers, and, next, to improve the quality of lay helpers by developing their spiritual life, and also by improving their knowledge. For twelve years the society sowed their wild oats, and went through a great many fallacies, but I hope we are now getting on to more sober ground, and now know what may reasonably be expected of lay helpers. Among the fallacies was this—that a clergyman expected to find a full-fledged lay helper full of zeal and theological knowledge, with capacity for preaching and I know not what, and that he would be found standing in some far-off part of the parish. That is not where you will find your lay helper. The proper place to look for your lay helper is at the Communion-rails. If the Communion-rails do not give you faithful and zealous lay helpers, your ministry cannot be worth very much. Having now got your lay helper, I want to ask, what should you reasonably expect of him? I think you ought to reasonably expect of him zeal, spirituality, subordination, punctuality; but I don't think you ought to expect of a lay helper knowledge, training, and oversight. These last three things your lay helper has a right to demand of the clergy. Let the clergyman find his lay helper, and implant within him those things which are wanting in him. In connection with lay help, we have learnt a few things in London; above all, we have learnt modesty. When we had gone on working face to face for some years with sin, and misery, and poverty, in all their phases, in the poor parishes, it rather took the back-bone out of our good opinion, and we began to look at our work from a more sober point of view. The lay helpers found they could only work perhaps two or three hours in the course of the week, and when we compared the work with the faithful and zealous and self-denying ministry of the clergy who devoted all their time to the work, we came to think that we had done very little indeed; in short, we became more modest. The great point I want to lay before you is that we lay helpers in London found that we wanted instruction—that we required

to know more. I was at times sent by my vicar to do odd things, but I had always this advantage—I had an excellent vicar to whom I could always fly for instruction and advice. This brings me to the point which I wish to emphasise, namely, that the clergy should always keep their lay helpers well in hand, and constantly give them the benefit of their experience and teaching. In the course of my visiting, a year or two ago, I came across a man who I found knew a great deal more about the Scriptures than I did. He had not been in a church for twenty years, and had not, in fact, attended any religious ministrations. This man, who belonged to the working-class, had once been a Sunday-school teacher, and had apparently not been looked after by his vicar. He at one time used to go to Mile End Road, in the East End of London, and there preach the Gospel to men of his own stamp. On one occasion, when he was thus preaching, a posing question was put to him by some one in the crowd, and because he could not answer it, this man, from that time forth, ceased to teach or preach. His faith was shaken, and thenceforth he ceased to do the good work he was then doing. But if that man had had a vicar to whom he could have resorted for advice, his faith would have been saved. I wish to be allowed to press upon the clergy the necessity for doing their best to teach lay helpers, and to make them more qualified for the work. The London lay helpers have lectures, they have their classes at Keble College; and a similar course might be taken in nearly every diocese in the country. In country dioceses this work could be done in rural deaneries; it would be worth while good men taking classes, as was done in London. School Boards are in these days doing excellent work among the lower classes, and it is essential that the Church should not send out ignorant people to do the work. It is still more needful that the lay helpers should have the Spirit of God in their hearts; it is of course taken for granted that they have love of souls in their hearts. Don't throw cold water on this subject of lay agency, but do all you can to make all people God's people.

H. C. RICHARDS, Esq., Barrister-at-law (London).

THE line which I should like to take up on this subject of lay work is perhaps in one respect more extended, and in another more restricted, than the addresses which have already been made. I feel it is necessary that the Church of England should go into the highways and byways, and compel people to come in. If we do not do that, they will join other bodies. I regret that in the pulpits of some of the outside denominations there seems to be a hostility to the Church of England. With regard to the work which is being done in the streets of large towns, I would point to the Salvation Army. I do not decry the work of that body, but I do deplore its vagaries, and particularly much of its literature and language; but after all, I cannot help remarking that the Salvation Army are attracting a class of people whom our parochial clergy would give their very ears to get into their churches. The Church of England must have nothing to do with any persecution which is directed against that body.

What is good in it we must accept, and I would to God that we could transplant it into the Church itself! What is evil in the movement I feel will be overcome in the Divine Providence, and that good, after all, will result. When we look back to the Evangelical revival in the Church, we are perfectly well aware—at least those of us who took part in it—that the days of persecution are not gone even now. The work we want to do is something outside the parochial system. The parochial system is a very fine ideal, but I do not think that by itself it is perfection. My good friend Mr. Spottiswoode has spoken much of the bishop's sanction; but I am pleased to think that there is not a bishop on the bench who would refuse his sanction to lay work. But I cannot help realising the fact that in some country districts there are still vicars who put up their backs against lay work. As far as our town populations are concerned, we must, in order to attract what we may call the needy classes—the lower strata of society in our Church—we must go outside the Church itself. Many of you, in going into churches in poorer districts, must have been struck with the small number of

the faithful laity there assembled for public worship ; and then going into some hired hall, must have been astonished at the number there assembled to listen to some laymen whom the majority of Churchmen have never heard of before. I have known the most eloquent of English preachers advertised to preach in a poor parish, and not twenty of the real inhabitants attended to listen to him. If however a Mr. Brown or Mr. Jones, quite unknown to fame, were announced to preach in a music-hall or a vestry-hall, people would flock in crowds to hear him. They would go because it was a hall, and there was none of the decorum requisite which is supposed to be a *sine qua non* in church. If some of our leading preachers would go and preach in vestry-halls, or even circuses, they would secure the very congregations which at present they cannot get at. In time, when the people who attend these places realise the depth and the holiness of Christianity, and the divine principles which our Church teaches, they will attend the services of the Church. But they must be educated up to that Church. There is so much room for evangelisation that there need be no fear of the ground being over-occupied. In the train of thought which the Bishop of the Diocese indicated to-day, let us not copy the mistake which has driven out the Wesleyan body, who were, after all, but Churchmen unattached. The younger ministers tried to alienate the Wesleyan body, but there were many friends of the Church in that body. Should the evil days of Disestablishment ever overtake us, there will be numbers of country churches and parishes where it would be impossible to support a resident minister. With a revised order of the sub-diaconate, the weekly if not the daily prayers and sermons of the Church might be given by them, whilst once a fortnight, or at the least once a month, a duly ordained clergyman might come round to administer the Sacrament. The wants of the age must either be met by the Church, or reached by alien forces. Social revolutions will work good or ill to the Church of England, according to the way they are treated. We must not be too conservative in our Church work ; our work must be liberal and extensive, and above all it must be Catholic. It must be Catholic in the maintenance of the faith of our fathers, and we must walk in the lines of the primitive Church ; we must thank God and take courage. Let us consult the people and interest them in Church work, and remember that we must go outside our own parishes to bring all into the fold. There is work to be done, and the Church will fail in her duty until she can claim every soul as her own. This is her work, and it is a great, noble, and grand work which we all have to fulfil.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON OF ELY.

IT must have done our hearts good to have heard a lay reader of thirty years' experience and a lay reader of some three years speaking so heartily and so wisely on this question. I think the views of these two lay readers should be laid to heart by us clergy. There can be no doubt that there are immense populations at present outside the reach of church or chapel. It is said that two or three per cent. only of the working-men go to any place of worship, and go where you will, in town or country, it is a most painful thing, first, to hear of the amount of Dissent, and next, to hear of the amount of indifference among those who go nowhere.

And what the laymen have been telling us to-night is true—we must extend our system. We must go beyond the old parochial system. We must go even beyond the pastoral of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A plan which the bishops agreed upon some years ago was that of lay readers. That might have been a very good plan for that time, but we want a more extensive plan now. I don't believe that the people are irreligious in their hearts. We had a statement by Mr. Mark Knowles, at a meeting last night, about his experience at Northampton. He, with many other evangelists, has been holding hundreds of services, and making household visitations ; and he declares—and he declares after statistical inquiry—that the majority of the working people, even of Northampton, are not Atheists, but are, in a certain sense, religious people, and, I think, want to be reached by agencies which the Church

of England does not possess. I say in passing—all honour to the Pastoral Aid Society, which many years ago pointed out the necessity of lay agency. But then the Church was not prepared for it. It would have what was called the Scripture-reader system. All that a Scripture-reader was allowed to do was to take a Bible and read it; he could not open his mouth in explanation of the Word. That was when I was a young man—thirty or forty years ago. Now we have got beyond it, and I think we want a very extensive system of Evangelists, and we don't want to be particular at first in the men we employ, provided they are godly men, and, of course, communicants. If we can get godly men, even if uneducated, let us employ them—some in the courts, some in the highways, and some outside while the Church services are going on. The Bishop of Bedford and Suffragan-Bishop for London, in his work in the East End of London, found that the old parochial system, and the old Prayer-book service, however beautiful and delightful to educated church-goers, was unsuited and insufficient for the uneducated poor. And so he has asked the Bishop of Carlisle and other eminent prelates to go to preach to the people in coffee-houses and in other places in which they will go to hear the Word. What is wanted in the East End of London is wanted in other places. Go into some of the courts and alleys of Newcastle, and see the poor people, and ask whether it is possible to bring them into your churches by saying "Dearly-beloved brethren," etc. They cannot understand the Prayer-book. I am glad to think that voluntary schools are preparing the people to understand such books as the Prayer-book, but we must not wait until all the people are perfectly educated. Go out into the highways and hedges and teach people, and gradually, by raising their spiritual ideas and spiritual feelings, and purifying them, you may get them to go to the house of God and worship there in the beauty of holiness. I do maintain that our present system is altogether too narrow, and that we should be most grateful to the Archbishop of Canterbury for at last putting out a pastoral to rouse the country. Let us take men of all schools—the Low Churchman, the Broad Churchman, the High Churchman, and the Church of England working-men. Let them think of the larger things of the Gospel before they think of the little ones. I am persuaded that what we want, under God, is to try to carry forward that which it would have been well for us if we had carried forward or assisted in more than one hundred years ago. What did Wesley want? He wanted a great system of lay preachers. You know what has been written on his tomb. He did not want another Church. He wanted to do that which we want, and, please God, what we will do now—to bring, by diocesan societies, by rural-decanal agencies, by ordained ministry, by lay evangelists, etc., all within the limits of the Church of England—to bring out every spiritual gift which it has pleased the Holy Spirit to distribute among the members of His Church.

A. SARGANT, Esq. (Secretary of the Church of England Temperance Society).

MY apology for taking part in this discussion is that I think you should have the experience of one who has had a considerable share in the lay work of the Church. I am at present a member of the Bishop of London's Lay Helpers' Association, and I also hold a commission for lay work in the Diocese of Rochester, in connection with the popular services in the Royal Victoria Coffee Palace in the New Cut, London. I think, in the first place, I might venture to address a word to the clergy present. I wish to press upon them the great importance of frequently giving a little more attention to the matter of *personal invitations to laymen* in their congregations to come and take part in this work. They would then bring out plenty of lay help. Very frequently I have attended services on behalf of Sunday-school festivals, and so on, and often when I have heard an appeal from the pulpit to Sunday-school teachers, a response has been made, and I think that the request for lay helpers would be still further responded to if every clergyman in his parish would form a Lay Association.

The great secret of success in this matter is to find something for everybody to do. The Society which I represent has perhaps done more to bring out and utilise lay help than any other organisation you can mention—I mean the Church of England Temperance Society. We have laymen amongst us who have come from the ranks of the working-classes—men who have made this matter of Temperance the first step to the higher life of a Christian. These men are now found teaching in the Sunday-schools, at the corners of the streets, and taking their part in popular services by leading hymns and so forth. The more the clergy show their personal sympathy with the work of laymen the more they will be surrounded by a band of earnest workers. If clergymen want work done in their parishes they have only to throw out the hint to these men, and they will be the first to do it. Allusion has been made to that peculiar body the Salvation Army, but whatever may be the faults of that movement it has one good point—it *fights the drink*. As one speaker has said here to-night, what we want to do is, if I may so express it, to prepare the way for Church services by having popular mission services.

I should just like to lay before you one or two particulars of an experiment in South London, in connection with the Royal Victoria Coffee Music Hall. This was formerly one of the black spots of London; it was the old Victoria Theatre, and it is said that this place has spread more ruin among young men and girls in London than any other twenty places put together. Some time ago a company was formed to utilise this hall for temperance purposes, and in connection with the evening entertainments came the question as to how the place should be used on Sunday. Proposals had been sent in, both by the Secularists and the Sunday League, for the hire of the hall. I heard of this, and at once communicated with the good and noble Bishop of Rochester. He said, "If there has been a proposal of that kind, telegraph that you will take the hall for four months, and pay any price they like to mention for it." We did so, and have now secured the place on lease for three years for Sunday evening services. We are in the habit of gathering in between two and three thousand working-men, who listen, in all its simplicity, to the Gospel message. My friend Mr. Kitto has preached there, and we have men of all schools of thought who occasionally take services. In fact we know nothing of the *odium theologicum* difficulty.

At first the local clergy made some objection, because, they said, their people went there instead of to church, as we got all the popular preachers. Now, however, no one is found to say a single word in objection, because many of the persons who attended the services in this place have become members of regular congregations. We do not want to empty churches, but what we wish to do, and what we are doing, is to prepare men to become members of Church congregations, and I think the best way to do this is to popularise the Gospel. Everything depends upon bringing the Church to the front; and I am certain of this, that if people are to be won for Christ it must be done by *personal contact*, and to this end lay help is most important.

The Rev. ROWLAND ELLIS.

MR. SPOTTISWOODE reminded us in his opening speech that the clergy alone are not the Church; and the truth is now beginning to be thoroughly understood, that as in the body physical each member has its own distinct functions, so in the Church there is work for all, and the member who is not a working member is not a true member of the Church. It has been my lot and privilege to work in that part of the Church of Christ where we have to deal with two languages—I mean in Wales—and as the supply of clergy is not equal to the demand, you will see how necessary it is to have lay help. I feel thankful for the help I get from true-hearted laymen to conduct mission services, cottage lectures and other work. We have been told of the masses of the population that are outside the influence of the Church, and we want to draw those masses into our churches. We want to bring the influence of the Church to bear upon them. Why should

we not have half an hour before the ordinary services of the Church—bands of laymen going out into the courts and alleys of our towns, and the byways and hedges of our rural districts, and asking the godless, those who have erred and strayed, to come to worship, and by loving words and earnest persuasion compelling them to come in? We know what the result of such a course as this is in the time of special missions. I have known earnest laymen go into the lodging-houses, and even bring tramps to mission services. That shows what can be done by lay agency. Why should it not be done ordinarily? But our churches must be free and open at all times, as they are at the time of missions. When a mission is over you too often go back to your pew system. I say you can never get the masses into your churches unless the churches are free and open—unless you make the people feel that they are welcome, and that within the Church all are equal, the sons of the self-same God and heirs of the self-same heritage. Mr. Kitto, I think, told us that we should find work for every communicant. Now there is one way in which all can help. Let there be in every parish a society or guild, or whatever you like to call it, for intercession. This society or guild should be gathered together once a week merely to kneel and ask God to bless the work in the parish. There is no one who can say, who dare say, I won't join in this work of intercession. You would thus provide work for everybody, and true prayer perhaps requires more effort than any act of our life. It is a work. If the old saying is true—*laborare est orare*, the converse is equally true—*orare est laborare*.

The Rev. R. HERRING (Morpeth).

It is my misfortune to come late on the list of speakers, but still having had considerable experience of the North of London in the matter of hospital and night-school work, it may be of value to relate some of the results of that experience. I wish especially to speak upon the organisation of lay help in the Church of England. It would be well for us, in this respect, if we took a lesson from the Nonconformists on the one hand, and from the Roman Catholics on the other, for the success of those people depends very much on the wonderful organisation adopted by them, which brings in all the lay power possible. Among the Nonconformists, there is a very minute system of organisation, which interests everyone connected with the churches in the work they desire to carry on. We all know that among the Nonconformists there are elders and deacons, and the work is so arranged that every member of the congregation is interested in the organisation of their churches. A similar lesson is, as I have said, to be learned from the method of work adopted in the Roman Catholic Church, where the people are interested in the services of the Church and in the many Church agencies. Those who remember that earnest worker in the East of London, the Rev. Mr. Lowder, will know that the secret of his success in the lowest parts of London, was, that he gave everybody something to do. These, in fact, are his own words which I have heard from his own lips, and which I shall never forget. The results of that system were, that before he died, that lamented clergyman had gathered around him a strong body of lay helpers, who mourned his death at that grand funeral which some of those now present had perhaps attended. In our night-schools we have many opportunities of gathering together bands of earnest young men, from whom we can obtain a strong body of lay helpers.

Another means of securing lay help, and of enlisting the assistance of the young men in our midst, is the establishment of what is known as the "Institute." The institutes which are so common in London are of great value. They stand in the place of the club, where young men meet who have just left school. These institutes are much appreciated by young men. They keep them from lounging about the streets and the corners of public-houses, and afford them an agreeable shelter in the dark evenings of the winter. By these institutes, which afford secular enjoyment to young men, the clergy are enabled to attract the sympathy of these youths to themselves, and from their midst they frequently draw their superintendents and teachers. I would also add a word about choirs. These, and night-schools, are very important. By

them our young men may be passed on and on, and organised to read lessons in the church, visit, and do much other useful work. What we want so much is not lay preachers, but lay workers. With regard to women's work, I cannot say much. I do know, however, that there are ladies who sacrifice their lives to work. I have worked with them in hospitals, and have been able to witness the value of their influence in the sick wards of London. I have also known their value as visitors to the sick, taking upon themselves heavy labours, when instead, they might have been satiating themselves with every kind of pleasure. I have known many ladies engaged in this great and good work of self-sacrifice, and many others would follow in their steps if they were only invited to do so.

C. POWELL, Esq. (Secretary of the Church of England Working Men's Society).

I CANNOT leave this Congress Hall to-night without bearing the humble testimony of a working man to a fact. That fact is, that there are at the present moment many thousands of laymen of the labouring classes banded together for the spread of Church principles among their fellows. It has been said that the nearest way to a working man's heart is by his stomach; with that view, there have been in the past many plans tried in order to get the working classes into the church. Scores of coal-tickets have been given away, blankets have been given to families when cold weather came round, and endless quantities of soup; but that is not the way to bring the working classes back to the Church. The working class is independent of spirit, and does not like any attempt to be brought into the Church. Men want to go in for pure conviction. What has been successful in bringing working men to the Church has been the exercise of common sense. During the past forty or fifty years we have seen churches throughout this land made free and open, and working men have been made to feel that in the Church of God all are equal. When they have looked into a Church and seen the big pews and cushioned seats, they have said, "This is no place for me," and they have gone to some of those countless sects where they thought they could get true religion. I honour the Dissenters for the zeal they have shown in the past.

When the Church of England was fast asleep, the Dissenters were awake, and did their very best to provide what they termed spiritual food for the poor of this land. But now, thanks be to God, our churches are free and open, our clergy have descended from the high pedestal upon which they stood so many years; for they have made the working people as brothers, and let them feel that they are as much an integral portion of the Church of England as is his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

There is another thing that has commended itself to the working people. There was once an advertisement of this sort put in a paper: "Wanted, a young curate. Hard work and no pay!" It was responded to by a young clergyman, who came to visit the people and see what kind of work it was which he hoped to undertake. After being shown round the parish, on taking leave of the rector he said, "You do a thing here which I never saw before. You actually shake hands with the poor people." Working men like to know that they have one to recognise and feel for them. I told you that there is in existence a society, containing five thousand *bona-fide* working men, to help one another to come into the Church. There are many ways working men have of reaching their fellows which our bishops and clergy have not yet found out; they go the wrong way about their work. But when the workmen in the factories and workshops see their fellow-workmen taking an active interest in the affairs of the Church they say, "Well, if the parson is paid for visiting, Tom Jones is not. There must be something in it after all." One way of getting the working class back to the Church is to enlist their sympathy; then they will co-operate with the clergy to do that which they are longing to do—namely, to restore to the fold of our mother the Church, the countless thousands of those humble sons of toil throughout the land who have been in times past driven from her. I leave you with the earnest hope that in our work we shall have the heartfelt prayers of all members of this Congress.

The Rev. M. OSBORNE.

MAY I be allowed to give a few experiences from pastoral life in favour of the restoration of one or two minor orders of the Church? In many parishes the rector or the vicar is the only minister. He is alone, and in case of physical weakness or sickness, not only is he in a dilemma, but the parishioners have to suffer also. I think that for emergencies such as these proper provision ought to be made; and I would suggest that in every congregation there should be some properly qualified man, whatever his name may be—deacon or subdeacon, and I plead very earnestly for the restoration of both—ready to assist the clergyman in divine service, and at times when sickness or other cause prevents the clergyman from taking his full share in the Church service. Take the common case of a clergyman being ill. Very often there is no one at all to take his duty, and the country has to be scoured for miles round for some one to take his place. The case, however, is quite different amongst our Nonconformist brethren. Supposing the minister to be ill, one of the deacons takes his place. Is it not perfectly monstrous that after eighteen centuries of Christianity, in many parishes there is no one besides the vicar who is authorised to say a few prayers, read a sermon or a homily in cases such as I have mentioned? In mediæval times such difficulties would have been simply laughed at. I plead again most earnestly for the restoration of one or two minor orders of our Church.

The Rev. F. LAURENCE.

I WOULD remind the Congress that Mr. Shuttleworth's Young Men's Friendly Society, which had been tried at York with great success, is capable of indefinite organisation.

TOWN HALL, WEDNESDAY MORNING,

OCTOBER 5.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

**THE LIMITS WITHIN WHICH VARIATIONS OF
RITUAL MAY BE PERMITTED.**

PAPERS.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF DURHAM.

It may, I suppose, be stated without much fear of contradiction, that the general feeling of devout members of the Church of England would until lately have been opposed to the idea of attaching any great importance to questions of Ritual. They would not have commended themselves to the mind as ranking among the primary objects of religion. "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," is an intuitive religious and moral conviction, which has often been worked out, whether logically or not, to the conclusion that sacrifice and every kind of Ritual observance are unimportant matters; and hence many sincere and good men will be found ready, here as everywhere, to echo the feeling commonly expressed, that religion is degraded when it attaches any high importance to rites and ceremonies. This feeling, however, can hardly, I venture to think, be that of the thoughtful student of the history of Christ's Church or religion. It is perfectly true that the paramount objects of religion are personal

holiness and morality, and, as tending to these, sound doctrine ; but as it is no less true that the convictions of religious men express themselves in their public worship and are assisted by it, so the character of worship has always had a great influence, and has at once influenced and indicated the character of religion. Thus, one type of the religious mind is most affected by a simple, another by an elaborate and even dramatic form of worship ; and though this to some extent may be explained by differences of temperament and even of race, yet no one will doubt that, whichever of the two may be right, the worship of the Roman Catholic Church and the public worship of the Calvinistic Churches in France and Switzerland are based upon different conceptions of public worship. If, then, we find at the very outset that differences in the forms of worship usually indicate some differences in the minds of the worshippers, it becomes at once a most interesting question—what scope may be allowed to variety of Ritual within one and the same Church ? And the interest is greatly increased, and no doubt the problem made more difficult, where we have to deal, as in our own case, neither with a Church like the Roman, where the principle of Church authority is very strict, nor with smaller and more compact bodies like many of our Dissenting sects, but with the large National Church of a free people, in which divergences of opinion may naturally be expected. To say that the Church of England is this, is only saying in other words that it embraces thousands of earnest men of very different tones of mind, and by no means disposed to submit their convictions to ecclesiastical authority. For in this respect, however little some of us may like the word, we are all really Protestants. The highest Ritualist, as well as the lowest Calvinist among us, if there are any here who will answer to either name, will protest with equal vigour against any interference with what he considers (rightly or wrongly) his conscience.

And as I have lighted by chance upon these terms, let me say once for all that in what follows I don't intend to utter a word of blame to either party in the Ritual controversy. I have no wish to hide my own opinions, which I dare say will be apparent enough ; but I know full well that there are men of the highest goodness on both sides of this question, and I intend to treat it as far as possible simply as an historical and argumentative one, and to give my reasons for believing that it is consonant to the practice of the best ages of Christianity, and is required both by the history and circumstances of our own Church, and still more by the spirit of the present age, to allow, nay to encourage, a very large amount of freedom in the Ritual of public worship. I believe that in doing this I shall act in the spirit of our Article, which says that "ceremonies have always been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversities of times, countries, and men's manners ;" but I hope that no word will fall from me of censure upon those with whom I may disagree in opinion, but whom I shall not forget to be brethren in the same Church. In arguing, then, for a variety of Ritual, let me first say a few words on the practices of the early Church.

The history of Ritual has not till of late years attracted much attention among ourselves, except in reference to the controversy with Dissent ; but I can at least point to one work of real learning on the subject—that of Dean Comber, on Liturgies, which emanated from my own cathedral ; then, by reason of its copes, the last refuge of Ritualism in England, for

in Comber's time at least five copes were habitually used in the weekly celebration at Durham. Comber begins with a statement which seems much to our point, from what he calls Bishop Jewel's "never to be enough admired 'Apology,'" which asserts broadly that "the English Church has come as near as ever it could to the Church of the Apostles and the old Catholic Bishops and Fathers," and that "we have directed not only our doctrine but also our sacraments and our form of public worship by their rights and institutions." And he then shows with much learning, as against the Dissenters, the existence of formal rites and prayers in the Church of the four first centuries. But in the ~~course~~ of this he also shows us that this Ritual was extremely diverse, that, as Bingham ~~writes up the matter~~, "*every bishop* had at first the power and privilege to compose the worship of his own Church;" or in the stronger words of the historian Socrates, "generally you shall not find two forms of Ritual anywhere or in any Church that agree together." I would not, indeed, lay any excessive stress on this argument from the first three centuries, as if what suited them would necessarily suit the nineteenth; but as Jewel, who is regarded by many as an unimpeachable authority, distinctly appeals to them, it may be worth while remembering what, in the matter of public Ritual and worship, they do or do not prove. And this I take to be simply the following:—First, that psalms and hymns were among the chief means of worship; and, next, that the great solemnity of the ordinary worship of the Church, often celebrated daily, always, or nearly always, with great care of dress and Ritual, was the Holy Eucharist—that it was, in fact, placed in a position which I can hardly think it has held till lately in the practice of the English Church. On this point, indeed—the extreme importance of the constant service of the Eucharist for *all* the faithful, as consonant to the high doctrine which it represented—I believe that every great writer among theologians, from Taylor and Waterland down to Milman and Neander, would coincide. Some may think, as these last do, that the service was early tinged with superstition, but one and all would say that during the first centuries, to which all our apologists again and again appeal, the great service of the early Church was the Holy Communion. I lay stress on this point, which has a material bearing on our present position.

As I am about to plead for a large amount of Ritual diversity, I might, if the time allowed it, give you a great variety of instances in which this was laid down as a distinct principle, in the greatest days of the Church; indeed, to those who regard the Church of the Middle Ages with disapprobation, which I do not, it may be an argument to say that the greatest maintainer of strict uniformity, since the days of Gregory the Great—at least as regards the service of the Mass—has been the Church of Rome; and yet I know no words which lay down the principle of diversity so strongly as those of St. Gregory himself in his well-known letters to Augustine about the services to be used in England:—"Since there is but one faith," says Augustine, "why should there be so many Liturgies, and which should I choose and establish here?" To which Gregory answers: "You know the customs of the Roman Church wherein you have been brought up, but I am content that whatever you can find in the Roman, the Gallican, or any other Church, you do carefully choose that . . . wherefore, out of every Church choose such things as are pious, religious, and right, and infuse them for customs into the minds of the English."

I believe, then, that so far as the first six or seven centuries of Christianity go, their spirit will allow of a large variety in the matter of Ritual. And now, bearing this in mind, I turn to ask what has been the history and principle of the Church of England in this respect, and how far they help us to answer the question, "Within what limits variations of Ritual may be permitted."

Two great and, as it may at first seem, scarcely consistent features have, from its first establishment, given a marked character to the English Church, and have been the cause both of its glories and its failures. It has aimed at once at being national in the fullest sense of the word; it has always claimed not to be a new sect, but a continuation of the Catholic Church of the first and purest ages; and, perhaps, as a consequence of these two features, it has been at once the most tolerant and comprehensive in matters of doctrine, and at the same time one of the most strict and (till of late years) the most unelastic of all great Churches in its uniformity. I will not attempt to dwell on the various causes which made it at first claim to be a National Church, and have always kept it, in point of doctrine at least, the most moderate and comprehensive of all churches. It is enough to say that if we owe in part to its old patristic and Catholic character the depth and richness of our theology, the beauty of many of our prayers, and the continuity of our worship with that of the Church of Christ in all ages—we owe no less to its national character that wise absence of narrowness which has never permitted, and so long as it exists at all never can permit, our Church to dwindle to the dimensions of a sect, and which has ever allowed such various, but not incongruous, schools of thought to develop within it, each of which, perhaps after a struggle for its existence, has contributed some valuable element to our Christian thought and practice. It early gave us the schools of Hooker and of Andrewes, and I certainly will not exclude that of the great Puritan Divines such as Owen and Howe; the generous spirit of Archbishop Laud was the patron equally of Chillingworth, of Hales, and of Taylor; the distinct teaching of the Cambridge Platonists was followed by the great theology of Waterland, and the still greater of Butler—as it has in later times allowed and, as I believe, profited by such wide divergences as those of Newman and Pusey and Arnold and Stanley. This has been the bright and great side of the English Church—that which has allowed free play to the genius and thought of a Christian people, and which gives it the best title to be the Church of the nation.

Such has been the liberality of the Church of England in matters of belief and opinion, which has retained within the Church many whom other Churches would have cast out, and which, if it has erred at all, has erred on the side of excess. But has the Church been equally successful in the opposite course which it has taken, in exacting both within and without itself a rigorous uniformity of Ritual? Well, I need not repeat the history of the long struggle for nearly two centuries of the Church of England to enforce a uniformity of Ritual. I do not wish to blame our Church in this matter; and the early Puritans, though a conscientious, were an impracticable sect. But still the fact remains, that the attempt to enforce uniformity of Ritual was from the first an utter failure; that it lost us many of the greatest men of our history; that it identified with the Church of England the narrow tyranny of the Test and Corporation Acts; that sects which

never should have left our body, such as Baxter with the Presbyterians, and, above all, John Wesley with the Wesleyans, were lost to us, simply because our rulers enforced a narrow uniformity, and would not take the trouble to deal with enthusiasts. "Sectaries," said Bishop Warburton, speaking of John Wesley, "must either kick or be kicked; zealots as well as other adventurers must take their chance in this world, whatever security they may have for the other."

Such has been the failure of the English Church in trying to enforce a strict uniformity on those who have left it; but has it been really more successful in its attempts, even upon its own members? What is the very first and most important matter of uniformity which a Church may reasonably exact from its clergy? Surely an obedience to its directions about their daily worship—public and private! Now, we most of us know the injunctions that "all priests and deacons are to say daily the morning and evening service, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or by some other urgent cause." Surely if we might have expected any uniformity of Ritual to be maintained, it was this. I am not blaming most of my brethren for not observing it, for if I did so I should certainly first have to blame myself. [Nor will I contrast our neglect of this rule with the requirements of other Churches for daily prayer, which are not only made, but obeyed; it is far pleasanter to observe that, in consequence of our permission of a reasonable liberty in this respect, we are now, by means of our shortened services, more commonly in the habit of carrying out both publicly and privately the spirit of the Church.] But with this, and similar instances before us, is it possible to contend that the attempt to exact rigid uniformity, even from its own clergy, has not been a failure on the part of the English Church? "No one obeys the Canons," said John Wesley, in his vigorous "Appeal," when he was attacked for violating Church order; we may say precisely the same thing now; and surely I may ask emphatically whether those who claim or allow the largest liberty of thought and teaching on the greatest Christian doctrines, such as the future state, the use of the Creeds, or even the Gospel miracles, are either consistent or even just, if they would eject their brethren because they prefer a chasuble to a cope, or would use more hymns in the Communion service.

There is one point among those just mentioned on which I could wish to draw out more explicitly. It is this—that it has been always the ideal of the Church of England to retain within it two great lines of distinct religious thought, each of which has done it great and good service; I mean what are commonly called the "Evangelical" and the "Catholic." Each has had a great history, each has some great features in common, and I will not despair even now of their being more combined in the future. And if Cardinal Newman could say of Mr. Scott, the commentator, that "he owes to him his own soul," I, and many others of my own standing, may thankfully express our deep debt of gratitude to the devout and stirring teaching of the old Evangelical party. I believe I should have been glad to plead for them what I now plead for others, that irregularities which would certainly have brought them under the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, should have been condoned in consideration of their being for awhile, at least, the one party which was most alive in the Church, the party which then

represented that enthusiasm which it is ill for a Church to discourage, and which is never without something of extravagance. And what I should have claimed for them I ask for others, whom I believe to be as true members of our Church as many of the earliest Evangelicals were. For certainly very much of high Ritual is, at least in one great point, a natural development of that movement which has roused the Church of England during the last fifty years. It has above all helped to place the Eucharistic service in something more like its right position than it has ever held among us. Whether this has been rightly done by "vestments" is a question which I will touch presently; but I believe that the object aimed at, the bringing the solemn service of the Eucharist, and the subject of Eucharistic adoration, more fully before the minds of our worshippers, is as much required by the religious wants of the times, as by the professed principles of our own Church.

And perhaps you will allow me here to add, before I venture to suggest the extreme limit to which the Church and its rulers might go in this matter, that I believe beauty and richness, and very large variety in religious services to be both good in themselves and required by the cultivation of the times. They have their dangers, of which the Church has had experience, and which, perhaps, may make some of us timorous; and if I had the time I would quote a fine passage from St. Jerome, in which, with his usual vehemence, he contrasts the deadness of a service in a church whose walls and ministers glittered with gold and gems, with the warmth of devotion in a chapel little better than a hut. But, allowing all this, who can doubt that, speaking generally, the feelings of many thousands of devout worshippers are much helped by variety, by beauty, and by richness of service? There is, in fact, Ritual and Ritual; and much of what is called high Ritual is of a character to which no one can reasonably object. I remember when it was an accredited mode of controversy to call every man a Puseyite; and in the same spirit now everyone who wishes to infuse spirit into the services of his church is often called a Ritualist. But frequent and shortened services, a large infusion of music, whether as hymns, chanting, or anthem, frequent and early celebrations, with the addition of hymns, such as were distinctly authorised by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the case of Mr. Bodington, special and short services of all kinds, such as tend to make public worship more real, and to bring it more home to the hearts of the people—all this we owe to what I may call the movement of the last twenty years for elevating public worship, and against this no reasonable objection can hold.

But in fact the Ritual, or, as I should prefer to call it, the public worship movement, has in great measure established itself. Facts tell more than words. In a remarkable article on the subject in the *Standard* newspaper of last March, I find the following statements: "Choral service is now practised in more than one-third of the London churches, and choral Communion has rapidly increased. In early celebrations the advance is from one-fourth to nearly half. In the eastward position from one-tenth to one-fourth, in Eucharistic vestments from one in forty-two to one in twenty-five. On the whole, we find a steady advance, not only in the ordinary High Church services, but in those to which the name of Ritualism is specially attached. It is no secret that a highly ornamental service is popular with a very numerous class. . . .

We are informed that the labouring classes, men as well as women, attend the early services and the later ones, and the young are filled with a reverent and religious spirit productive of excellent results."

I have thus attempted to narrow the question, and have persuaded myself, even though I may not perhaps have persuaded you, that from most forms of Ritualism there is very little to be apprehended; but, of course, I fear that many of you have said long before now, "But what of the vestments: can they be permitted or not?" especially "Is a distinct vestment to be permitted in celebrating the Holy Communion?" Now, here, again, I think it may be possible to clear the ground a little; and, burning as the question seems, to treat it as one not of passion or even of feeling, but of argument. I have no wish for a common use of vestments, not from any indifference to a greater richness and beauty in public worship than we possess at present, but because I do not place them among the absolute essentials of public worship, and because I doubt whether their general use is, at present at least, in harmony with the feelings of our people. But in churches where the congregation approve it I certainly desire the use of a distinct vestment for the Holy Eucharist as marking the greater solemnity of the service. And, indeed, looking at this point legally, I cannot regard it as any longer a matter of question: for if the canons of the Church, again and again repeated, are to be regarded, if the verdicts of the highest courts of the law are binding, the principle of a distinct garment for the Eucharist has, I will not say been conceded, but is obligatory. What this garment should be is a further question. That I don't touch at present: the main point in such a matter as this is to have the principle settled. And that the Church of England has again and again laid down the principle that in collegiate churches and cathedrals—*i.e.*, where public worship is supposed to be celebrated with great dignity—there ought to be worn, by all bishops, deans, and canons, some special vestment for Holy Communion, is simply plain to demonstration, and the only wonder is why it has not been acted upon.

Do you doubt the fact? Why, at least on five different occasions, in the canons, in Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, in courts of law, the cope is enjoined to be worn "in administering the Holy Communion on high feast-days in cathedrals and collegiate churches." I would sooner, however, express this in the words of the last great legal decision on the subject. The following are the words of the Purchas judgment, given only ten years since, in 1871: "Their Lordships are of opinion that as the Canons of 1603-4 . . . ought to be construed together, so the Act of Uniformity is to be construed with the two Canons on this subject which it did not repeal, and that the result is that the cope is to be worn in ministering the Holy Communion on high feast-days in cathedrals and collegiate churches, and the surplice in all other ministrations." (Brook's "Privy Council Judgments," p. 183.) Now, I repeat that I don't quote this judgment as settling the vexed question between cope and chasuble. I quote it simply as a Privy Council judgment, given by the highest ecclesiastical and lay authorities, on what the law orders as to wearing in cathedrals a special vestment for the Holy Communion. I can hardly suppose that anyone will say that the judgment has no weight either because part of it (that which refers to the eastward position) was reversed by the next judgment, or because the cope was

not then the main question before the court. The judgment is that of two Chancellors, and two of the highest ecclesiastical persons in the Church, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London. And observe how much it carries with it. For it is itself the clearest indication of the great varieties of Ritual—in fact, I may say of the great violations of the law of Ritual—which exist at present among the dignitaries of the Church of England. Is it possible to deny this? I am arguing for a large variety of Ritual, and is it possible that I can find a stronger argument than by pointing to the extreme variety which in fact exists among the higher clergy of the Church of England? Most of us will remember the excitement which was caused when the judgment came out. At least four bishops and two deans immediately purchased copes. The deans I imagine to have discontinued them, but I believe the four or five bishops have worn them ever since; and by this important judgment all those who do not wear them, and I am afraid all of us also, are at present acting against the rule of the Church, if not the law of the land.

Thus, to say no more, there can be no clearer proof, first, that the Church of England enjoins on its higher clergy a sacramental vestment; secondly, that hardly any of the persons for whom the injunction was meant obey it; and, thirdly, that they themselves thus sanction what I now contend for—the necessity of a large toleration in matters of Ritual. I have but a word more to say, for, being myself a member of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, I cannot express any opinion as to the fittest persons to decide ultimately questions of Ritual. But speaking in this diocese, I might confidently say I would gladly leave much to the discretion of each bishop. At all events it is certain that in the vast majority of the dioceses of England disputes about Ritual have been brought to a happy termination. And as I have been obliged to show that we are all of us—bishops, deans, and canons alike—breaking the spirit of an existing law, I may end by saying that I see not how any of us could willingly enforce a law against others which we transgress ourselves. In such a case we should be at least fit subjects for Juvenal's sarcasm—

“Ille crucem pretium sceleris fert, tu diadema.”

The Venerable the ARCHDEACON OF WARRINGTON.

THAT some variations of Ritual must be allowed—that certain limits must be imposed—and that a common authority with discretionary power must be recognised—these are three points which the title of the paper itself suggests. Within what confines such variations should be restrained and how obedience is to be enforced?—this is the anxious question on the solution of which depend the present peace of the Church of England, and in the immediate future her very existence as an establishment.

I. And yet the question ought not to be difficult to answer, if only passing behind the dust and heat which have gathered round the Advertisements, and disregarding the cries of angry partisans as they struggle over the Ornaments Rubric, we could calmly consider the principles

which the Church of England herself has prominently laid down. If the stately columns and sculptured frieze disclose to those who stand beneath their solemn shade the form and features of the temple's sacred precincts, so assuredly those who linger reverently amid the Prefaces can easily understand the principles on which our Reformers have traced the lines and the Ritual with which they have adorned our Book of Common Prayer. (a) That ceremonies are things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and yet that "without some ceremonies it is not possible to keep any order or quiet discipline in the Church." (b) That such ceremonies should suffice as "do serve to a decent order and godly discipline," and that such as are "dark and dumb," and "abused by superstitious blindness," are "worthy to be cut away and clean rejected." (c) That "the keeping or omitting of a ceremony in itself considered is but a small thing," but the "wilful and contemptuous transgression of a common order and discipline no small offence before God." (d) That "for the ease of tender conscience," "alterations and additions" may be made unless "of dangerous consequence as secretly striking at some established doctrine." (e) "And that in the case of doubts concerning the manner how to understand, to do, and execute the things contained in this book, the parties that so doubt or diversely take anything shall always resort to the bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same."

These are first principles plainly stated, remedies for every exigency amply provided, which not less now, when customs are being changed and strange rites are being introduced, than in the days when our services were first compiled, require constantly to be kept in mind by those who would answer the vexed question concerning "the limits within which variations of Ritual may be permitted." They are principles whose acceptance and approval by all sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England would even now preserve her from a world of controversy and a flood of strife; and for the rest, have "there now always been," as saith the Preface, "men of factious, peevish, and perverse spirits who will not be satisfied with anything that can be done in this kind by any other than themselves."

II. The special form in which the variation of Ritual difficulty now confronts the Church is not all about the Eastward position—the two lights—the Eucharistic vestments as such, but the claim steadily advanced that the Ritual of Edward's First Book shall be authoritatively sanctioned. The clergy are few who, taking the Rubric to require the ornament of Edward's First Book, deliberately carry their convictions into practice; but there are many more who do not themselves insist upon such an interpretation, yet plead for an elastic construction of the Rubric as a maximum limit of variation in the direction of an ornate Ritual. The excellence of the individual Ritualist as a soul-stirring preacher, as if personal excellence would justify a man being a law to himself; the wishes of an influential congregation, as if Congregationalism were our Church's system; the convenience of divergent services at different hours, as if the practices complained of were but matters of taste; the sanction of Catholic antiquity, as if this would not conveniently cover the arbitrary acts of any self-willed individual; the threat of Disestablishment, as if it were not a monstrous injustice that such a national contract must be dissolved unless the discontented few

can have their own particular way—are reasons advanced by many for conceding the demands of a party to which they themselves do not belong. And thus a section of the clergy and of the laity, not inconsiderable in numbers, is being committed to the claim that what Dr. Pusey has entitled the *very* moderate ritual of Edward's First Book shall be the maximum limit of variation in Ritual. "Catholic ceremonial is our right," said the chairman of the English Church Union when advancing this claim at the Sheffield Church Congress, "and much will have been done to solve existing difficulties if it be frankly admitted that the Ritual of the Church of England, limited only by what was forbidden in the second year of Edward VI., is still our rightful possession."

III. Such the claim. Before it can be conceded the English people ask what the recognition of Edward's First Book signifies, and what its restoration practically involves. Then, as now, the objection was not to the distinctive dress, nor yet to lights and incense, as such, but to the doctrine symbolised and the superstitions which had grown up around them. Said Harding to Jewell, "If holy wafers, if lights, if peculiar vestments be taken away, and many such other the like, judge ye whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church;" to whom Jewell replied, "Verily, Mr. Harding, we have not any of all these things, for we know they are the creatures of God, but you have so misused them, or rather so defiled them, with your superstitions, that we can no longer continue them without great conscience." As the Prayer-book Preface expressed it, "The abuses could not well be taken away, the thing remaining still."

Surely if it can be argued on the one hand that the Latin Books and Edward's First are essentially the same, and on the other, that Edward's First Book and our present Book are to all intents identical, we may marvel at the strong censures contained in our Thirty-nine Articles, and gravely inquire why our martyrs gave their lives to be burned, and whether the Reformation itself were not a grand mistake? Do any ask what the revival of the Ritual of Edward's First Book really means? "I cannot divest myself," says Dean Burgon, "of the conviction that what the leaders of the party in reality aim at is the introduction into our Reformed Church of England of something undistinguishable from the Roman Mass." This conviction, be it wrong or right, is shared by the great bulk of the English nation, for, unfortunately, evidence in favour of this significance is not far to seek. If the *Church Times* plead for the adoption of Edward's First Communion Office, in the same sentence it advocates the abolition of the Thirty-nine Articles. Naturally, as if conscious that the two cannot stand together. The preface to "The Future Communion Service of the Church of England" thus speaks: "These usages, viz., the mixture of wine and water in the holy chalice, and others which follow, were retained in the first Prayer-book of King Edward VI.; and this is still the real office of the Church of England as reformed by her own children on the basis of Catholic antiquity, superseded by the one in the present or Second Book of Edward VI., in which these four usages, with the doctrines embodied in them, are discarded, and the Church of England thereby, and so far cut off and discommuned from every branch east and west of the Church Catholic."

Let practices already prevalent in places where such Ritual has been

illegally restored answer the question what the revival of such Ritual practically involves. In many an English parish the inculcation, nay in some cases to my knowledge the all but absolute necessity, of fasting communions now being pressed by some of the clergy, is occasioning unfeigned distress and sorrow of heart—is putting upon the necks of our people a yoke which neither our fathers nor we are able to bear—is a plain violation of the solemn promise which these clergy have made so to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as the Church and realm have received the same. In a very able paper read before a Church Congress, the Rev. J. W. Perry contended: “If, as seems admitted, the Eucharist vestments are the distinctive features of that ceremonial, then the fact that they were ordered in the Prayer-book of 1549 proves at least this—that as the greater includes the less, so other ceremonial usages which had also prevailed till then, and had not been prohibited, were not likely to have been designed to cease, and thus to diminish that dignity of Eucharistic worship which the vestments themselves implied.” With such conclusions drawn by a temperate and learned reader, what wonder if the English people believe that the concession of the Ritual of Edward’s First Book would practically involve the surrender of all our differences, and that to tolerate this would be the toleration of all besides?

IV. Another question must be asked: Is it in the power of bishops of an Established Church to concede such variations of Ritual? Discretion our bishops possess, such discretion as may settle disputes about the surplice and coverings of the holy table, but this is within recognised and constitutional limits. To ask for the exercise of toleration beyond such discretion is to ask what they have no power to give, and to claim that which we have no right to expect. The Act of Uniformity amending Act Victoria 35 and 36, has relaxed in one direction the bonds of our so-called uniformity; but that Act which has thus relaxed our bonds has thereby renewed and sanctioned the requirements of the Act of Uniformity itself, the declared object of which as of all the four Acts of uniformity of worship. Like the clergy themselves, only if possible from their higher positions with increased obligations, the bishops are bound to render legal obedience. They may tolerate everything that the Church tolerates (said the Bishop of Peterborough a few months ago), but if asked to tolerate that which the Church does not, they are asked to go beyond the law.

V. Another question must well be weighed. If the bishops had the power would the English people acquiesce in arrangements for tolerating such variations of Ritual in their Established Church? Deeply ingrained in the very heart of our nation is the stern resolve “that at no cost and under no consideration will they have implanted by authority in their midst that soul-destroying system which their fathers at the Reformation once and for ever renounced.” It is an approach to such a consummation which they suspect in the movements of the last few years. Is it strange, I ask, that they should be thus suspicious when they hear the names of martyred Reformers scandalously reviled, and on many sides proclaimed that the mission of the advanced party is to undo the work of the English Reformation? Pleading for the toleration of the condemned Ritual, in an article of considerable interest.

the writer has recently declared that there is a party which knows but two alternatives—the possession of this Ritual or Disestablishment. He has assured the Archbishop of Canterbury that though the concession might occasion a transient scream, the great mass of the laity would quietly acquiesce. Nay, he has ventured to predict that even the great majority of the lay memorialists who lately addressed his Grace in favour of a policy of intolerance, would quickly come round, and that thus peace might be restored to the Church. Whether under any circumstances the archbishops and bishops, relying upon the assurance of Mr. MacColl, would carry out this policy of concession, it is not for me to say ; but certainly any inclination to commit themselves to such guidance must be seriously shaken when they find the writer himself in his last sentence urgently pleading for this course “as an experiment surely worth trying” ! An experiment worth trying ! And has it come to this ? Is that dear mother in whose bosom we have been nourished to be made the subject on which rash practitioners may try their kill-or-cure nostrums ? I, too, will predict. Concede this Ritual and the current of our Church’s life-blood will be corrupted as by a poisonous taint. Nor will the expedient be doubtful in its issues and long in its duration. The “scream will indeed be transient !” but it will be the last and bitter death-cry of an Establishment which God for long has signally blessed, and whose continuance for years to come was the object of our dearest hope and most fervent prayers.

Two conclusions to which I have been led are these : 1. It is greatly to be wished that the Act of Uniformity were less stringent. There is a literal exactness galling to warm and earnest souls. Such relaxation can only be obtained, however, in a constitutional way, not by open disregard of the law. The violence which, in a sister isle, Lord Derby declares precedes success, is not the genius of our English Church. 2. It is further greatly to be desired that our Ornaments Rubric were less ambiguous. Such rubrics have been wittily compared to “fences in a fog,” but I gravely doubt whether the temper of the disputants at the present time is such as to permit the adoption of one or other of the two suggested remedies, viz., the specification of the ornaments, as Bishop Cosin desired, or the removal of the rubric, for which in the Convocation of this province all the bishops recently voted, as well as twenty-six to twenty-eight members of the Lower House. Meanwhile, it is in the power of all to hasten the time when wider limits of Ritual can be permitted by compliance with a few simple counsels. Let all agree to discountenance the reckless abuse of those who discredit the party and damage the principles to which they attach themselves. Such insinuations as that false and forged dates can influence our tribunals, and such taunts as that our bishops are the tools of faction who must give guarantees, nay hostages, to the clergy before they can receive their loyal obedience, surely ought to be impossible. Among Catholic usages which deserve to be restored there is one of more importance than ornate Ritual, and that is loyal obedience. We should be much nearer to the freedom for which we wish if we had rightly improved the liberty we already enjoy. 3. Let all abstain from dangerous counsels. Such counsel as that of the E. C. U. advises all clergy to restore at once the vestments where they are desired by the communicants. Mons. le Pasteur has recently taught us that the effects of any poison by inoculation are greatly

mitigated by the intervals of time which elapse between the successive operations. One stands perfectly appalled at the probable extension and virulence of the *odium theologicum*, if in opposition to the advice of the combined bishops and Houses of Convocation an irresponsible society can thus in one day infect five or six hundred of our clergy!

4. Let those who legitimately desire an increased liberty of Ritual prominently avow their attachment to Reformation principles. The declaration that the Commission now sitting on Ecclesiastical Courts is not to go behind the Reformation Settlement has won for it the confidence of the nation. It was the absence of such a statement in the plea for toleration which occasioned the alarm and aroused the suspicion of thousands, which found expressions in counter-memorials. Let men of the other school recognise the fact that, apart from the question of such rubrics as are confessedly obsolete, there is large room in many cases for improvement in the observance of rubrics. Such observance would strengthen the hands of our bishops—set an example greatly needed, and give a practical assurance to our Ritualistic friends that we at least would spare no cost to make their path of obedience easy. And lastly, now, if at any time, when the ship seems to drift, and the roar of the breakers is heard, the hands of the bishops should be on the helm. It is within venture to say that to them, and not on the one hand to the Church Association, nor on the other hand to the English Church Union, the great mass of the clergy and laity in this crisis turn for counsel of guidance, aye, and for words of command. Has not the time arrived when, once again assembled in council, they might consider whether simultaneously with the Commission on Judicature there should not sit a final Commission on Ritual? An injunction from the combined Episcopate that the prayer for unity should be each Sunday read in our churches would be universally obeyed. The recommendation that until such further order were taken the clergy should confine themselves to the only vestments ordered or mentioned for any part of the service in Church by statute, rubric, or canon, by thousands would be gladly accepted. Until then there would be much to occupy the time, the talents, the money, the energy hitherto employed in these vexed questions. Seeking to restore the lapsed masses whom Dr. Pusey has recently entitled the heathen of our home cities, we should be drawing down the blessing of Him to whom assuredly we should be more closely confirmed when seeking to save that which was lost, than when offering the most splendid service and developing the highest Ritual.

The Right Hon. the EARL NELSON.

1. MANY believe that the best solution of our present difficulties would be the re-writing of the Ornaments Rubric according to the requirements which the growth of the question up to the present time may seem to demand as reasonably permissible.

To say nothing of the obvious disadvantage of altering our rubrics for a special purpose and in the midst of party strife, I would venture to point out that our Reformers did not do things in haste or without due consideration; and that even in the matter of the much-abused and much-misinterpreted Ornaments Rubric, the clearly-expressed opinion of the compilers of our Reformed Prayer-books, so persistently main-

tained with the one exception of the short-lived alteration in the Prayer-book of 1552, should not be wantonly overruled.

2. It will be my endeavour, therefore, to maintain that, in this as in other questions, it is the safest course, in the present position of our Church, both in reference to those within and to those outside her communion, to take our stand upon the Prayer-book and nothing but the Prayer-book; and where it has been misinterpreted by the courts of law to re-enact it, as best carrying out the deliberate design and intention of our original Reformers, and of the subsequent Revisers of our Book of Common Prayer.

3. There is, however, much modern prejudice to hinder a fair consideration of the subject. "On the one hand, there is still rife in the Church of England the Puritan spirit which condemns in one category things essentially Roman, and other things which are really Primitive and Catholic, but which have been retained by Rome. On the other hand, there undoubtedly exists an occasional reaction against the Puritan spirit which has produced a prejudice in favour of things, whether Primitive or not, simply because they are Roman. To yield to either one or the other is not the right way to deal with the Prayer-book;" and to give any chance of a calm consideration of the matter, we must endeavour to get away from our present party squabbles, and to place ourselves as far as may be in the position of our first Reformers.

4. All those who have at all followed the Old Catholic movement on the Continent will be able easily to realise the position of our Reformers in the sixteenth century; and the history of those times pretty clearly shows us how they acted under it.

Then, as now, certain extravagant pretensions of the Court of Rome made it impossible for many Catholics to continue their allegiance to the Roman See.

Then, as now, they looked to the records of the undivided Church as the source from which they might make their stand while protesting against Roman error.

Then, as now, there was the great danger that separation from Rome might carry the Reformers further than they first intended and land them in heresy or unbelief.

Then, as now, the endeavour clearly was to maintain, as far as possible, in their creed and ritual, all possible connection with the continuous stream of saints from the beginning.

5. The position which our Church now holds among the Churches of Christendom is mainly due to the consistent way in which our Reformers clung to all true Catholic teaching and practice, and made communion with all the Faithful from the beginning the sure safeguard against the direct attacks of Infidelity or the more insidious advances of the Roman claims; for, in contradistinction to much of the Protestant Reformation on the Continent, our Reformation was carried out strictly on Old Catholic lines.

6. The Prayer-Book of 1549, which scheduled certain vestments that were in use in the second year of Edward VI., was based upon the ancient liturgies, and avowedly carried on the existing and ancient worship of the Church of England, with such reformation only as the growth of error had rendered absolutely necessary. This book was very carefully considered, and received with almost universal consent, Bishop

Gardiner saying of it "that he would not only exercise it in his own person, but cause it to be officiated by all in his diocese." And when the influx of foreign Calvinists moved for its revision, the Reformers so far maintained their original ground by introducing into the Act of Uniformity of 1552, which superseded the first Book, so complete a vindication of it as to describe it "as of a godly order, agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm."

7. It is a mistake to suppose that the Book of 1552 was generally of a reactionary character, or that there was any alteration in the doctrine which necessitated the change of dress; and though it did reduce the schedule of the dresses found in the first Book to the single item of the surplice, this limit of the number of vestments only lingered on as a note of the Reformed Church till Edward died in July of the following year. With Mary everything was in abeyance; and although Elizabeth's Revision of 1559 was based upon this short-lived Book, the vestments of the second year of Edward were at once restored, and, as is well-known, have continued an essential part of the Prayer-book ever since. These facts are conclusive against those who would seek to dub the first Book of Edward, with its ornaments and vestments, as essentially corrupt and of a Roman character and tendency. It was only the extreme Calvinists who so considered it.

8. This would, however, be of comparatively little moment unless we are able to connect such ritual observances with the distinct Eucharistic teaching of our Reformers. Nobody can deny that our Reformed Church, while rejecting Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation, and refusing to give any definition of the *modus operandi*, does distinctly accept in its Articles and Catechism and Communion Service the doctrine of a real Spiritual Presence in the Sacrament; and history clearly shows us that wherever the doctrine of a Real Presence was received, not only under the exaggerated teaching of the Roman Church, but in the Lutheran, and in the Greek, and in the Primitive Church, a distinctive vestment for the celebrant was maintained.

The ornaments which were in use in the second year of Edward VI., and which were prescribed by or implied in the Prayer-book of 1549, may be considered essential as exhibiting the true teaching of our Reformers in this particular; and as the colours were mainly according to the Use of Sarum, these vestments not only appealed to a belief in the Real Presence in the Sacrament, but pointed to Old Catholic teaching before the Transubstantiation dogma of the twelfth century, and to an origin Gallican or directly Eastern, but in neither case independent of Rome.

9. I would further contend that a Ritual, or outward ceremonial, is of importance, not only as thus connecting us with the practice and belief of the Old Catholic past, but to procure that proper reverence around the most important act of Divine worship, which as having been specially ordained by Christ, demands the highest honour.

Where no Ritual exists not only does all reverence cease, but a belief in the supernatural too soon evaporates altogether.

On the other hand, Ritual begets reverence, and we may fairly point to its importance—in the Old Testament by the direction to Moses

(Exod. xxv. 40), "And look that thou make them after their pattern, which was showed thee in the mount;" and in the New Testament, where the revelation to St. John of the service in heaven may not unfairly be accepted as the ideal for the worship of the Church on earth.

Unless, therefore, we are prepared to maintain that all outward worship is in itself idolatrous, we are bound to accept as so much good whatever tends to encourage due reverence in God's House, and a realisation on the part of the worshipper of the holiness of the Most High and of the presence of things most real, though to all but the eye of Faith unseen.

10. The only limit generally to be laid down would be the limit which brotherly love would suggest from the desire not to place a stumbling-block in our brother's way; and, so long as due reverence can be secured, I for one should not be careful to inquire as to the number of candlesticks or other ornaments, or as to the shape or colour of the particular vestment with which the altar or celebrant should be arrayed. It is safest, however, to follow the plain and grammatical and historical meaning of the Ornaments Rubric. The ornaments of the second year of Edward are well known, as prescribed by, or implied in, and therefore in full use under, the Prayer-book of 1549.

11. The attempt to ignore this clear rule of the Prayer-book has resulted in a breaking out into unlimited excesses; and for peace' sake and for the general order, the nearer the ornaments of the Church and ministers and the use thereof are conformed to the English usage in the early years of Edward VI. the better, "as marking the continuity of the English Church and avoiding the imputation of adopting at second hand the ornaments and usages of foreign communions, whether Belgian, French, Italian, or Swiss."

The right being allowed, the time and mode and manner of exercising that right may very well be left to the regulation of the ordinary, in accordance with the specific requirements of different parishes and congregations.

12. The non-user of any legal ornaments may fairly be accepted as a valid reason against their sudden restoration. The argument, however, started originally by the Judges of the Privy Council, that disuse is tantamount to complete rejection, is clearly untenable.

It is clear that our Revisers of 1662 did not accept its cogency; and if we press this argument to its legitimate conclusion, its absurdity is manifest. What human institution ever kept its first purity and brightness? and yet this argument would deny all revival or restoration of any kind. The state of the Jewish Church in the time of King Josiah shows to what a state things may come, and that restoration and revival is the only alternative to destruction and removal. Though at first we have the undoubted evidence of foreigners that there was little outward difference to be seen in the mode of conducting our Reformed services (a remark which would apply to the Old Catholic services of the present day), it is true that vestments and ornaments speedily disappeared. The want of faith which tended to check almsgiving, and the growth of Puritanism from the continuous supply of Calvinists and other extreme Protestants from the Continent, soon had their natural effect; but this was an entirely *alien* growth, and its immediate consequence was the martyrdom of Laud and the King, and the suppression of the Prayer-book altogether.

13. With the loss of a true Faith and of a proper reverence in the

conduct of Divine worship, all idea of worship and of a belief in things spiritual and unseen well-nigh left us altogether. Have we forgotten the ruined churches, the broken altars, and ragged altar-cloths, the neglected services, the triennial Confirmations, the quarterly Communions? Have we forgotten the almost overwhelming growth of Arianism and Erastianism, resulting in the deadness of all spiritual life?

A revived Faith, an increasing sense of our real duty to God and man, has delivered us from our past neglect in a wonderful manner; but such a revival cannot be made piecemeal. The germ of the restored Church was no less to be found in the dilapidated one, the germ of a choral service and surpliced choir was no less to be found in the old parson and clerk duet, than was the germ of the ornaments of the second year of Edward to be found in the dilapidated communion-table and ragged altar-cloths of the old Sarum colour, that I can myself remember.

To permit a surpliced choir and chanted services, a restored east end, and altar-cloths changing with the festival, and at the same time to deny the right to the vestments prescribed by our Prayer-book, is an untenable position; and the abolition or modification by way of limitation of the Ornaments Rubric would militate directly against the liberal spirit of the age in which we live, and must end in complete failure.

14. There is a large amount of exaggerated feeling on all sides in reference to this question. The acceptance of the Ornaments Rubric in its plain grammatical and historical sense as the limit of our ritual observance is, I am convinced, the only practical solution of present difficulties. It would be foolish to force the rubric upon all after so long neglect. It would be wrong to maintain it among unwilling congregations. It would, however, be equally foolish and wrong to deny it to those who hold a belief clearly taught by our Church, who look with our Reformers to the importance of the continuity of Catholic teaching and practice, who hold very dear all that connects them with the great Communion of Saints from the beginning and now at rest in the Paradise of God.

All that is asked is that it be allowed as a just right, subject to Episcopal direction and control—a right, the acknowledgment of which is of importance: (1) as connecting us with the teaching and practice of the undivided Church; (2) as maintaining a true balance between all portions of our service; (3) as making clear the full teaching of our Reformers.

ADDRESSES.

The DEAN OF CHESTER.

IN the fifteen minutes allotted to me I shall limit myself to that part of the Prayer-book within which we ought to find our deepest and closest unity, but in connection with which we are at present distressed by unhappy divisions—that which is termed, in Scriptural language, “The Administration of the Lord’s Supper, or Holy Communion.” I believe that a very large part of the whole ground of debate is practically covered by the simple rule, that in cases of doubt and difficulty, we should have recourse to the bishop of the diocese, and throw the responsibility of decision upon him. This rule arises necessarily out of the very office of the bishop, and it is embodied alike in the Ordination Service and in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer. And here I must refer to a little book on the interpretation of the rubrics, which

has appeared within the last few days, and a copy of which was courteously sent to me immediately on its publication by a friend whose name is among the thirteen names affixed to the pamphlet. This is not a large number of signatures ; but this treatise is evidently intended to be of some authority with a certain party in the Church. I find it suggested on an early page of the volume that this rule of reference to the bishop for the decision of cases of ceremonial doubt is to be applicable only to Morning and Evening Prayer, and not to the Communion Service. Now I ask anyone in this meeting to say whether it is reasonable to suppose that it can have been intended to exclude from the operation of this salutary principle that very part of the Prayer-book where the greatest difficulties might be expected to arise? We are constantly meeting with such modes of reasoning in discussions of this kind ; and, to my mind, it is the most alarming part of the whole subject. It cannot be good for our younger clergy to be made familiar with methods of dealing with their obligations which would not be tolerated in the interpretation of contracts in the course of business. Another principle, the observance of which, as it appears to me, would cure some of our present evils, is this—that rubrical directions, if they are clear, ought to be literally obeyed, unless there is some evident reason of convenience, local or otherwise, for seeking a relaxation. I shall most easily explain my meaning by referring to details. I hope my Evangelical friends will not be angry with me for beginning with the rule that the bread and wine for the Holy Communion are to be placed on the Lord's Table by the priest in the interval between the Offertory Sentences and the Prayer for the Church Militant. The rule is broken if they are placed there at any other time or by the hands of anyone who is not one of the officiating clergy. Now, I am quite aware of the difficulty in which many persons have found themselves placed by the disturbing religious movements of the day. They view such a term as "credence tables" as part of that veneering of new phraseology which the good old simple structure of the Prayer-book has recently been receiving ; or they are afraid of the "procession" which might ensue if the bread and wine were brought during the service from the vestry ; and, very properly, they do not like to excite suspicion and distrust among their parishioners. But, after all, I think it is better policy to rise above such hesitation. And clergymen, with these fears in their minds, may be invited to observe the striking difference which the Prayer-book exhibits between the solemn and reverent presenting of the offerings made by the congregation, and the simple placing of the bread and wine which have been supplied by the parish. There is much force, too, in the argument urged a few minutes ago by the Archdeacon of Warrington, that if some would advance to the careful observance of the rules of 1662 this might be the best encouragement to others to return to the loyal observance of those same rules. I will now ask other friends in this assembly, belonging to a different school, to consider whether it is not desirable to observe carefully the rule which directs us in the act of consecration to break the bread before the people. This is the point to which all the rubric works up. Grammatically this is true, as is obvious on an examination of the sentence. Place the sentence in the hands of an intelligent pupil-teacher, to be worked out on that modern method of analysis with which school inspectors are familiar ; and you will see the result. We should observe also that the priest is directed so to act that he may break the bread, not less readily, but more readily, before the people. Historically, too, the same result is reached, whether we note the wishes expressed by the Puritans, or follow the thought of Cosin, the great Bishop of Durham. Moreover, in this manual act is part of that visible teaching which is intended to be given in our celebration of the Holy Eucharist. If this rule of the rubric were carefully and universally observed, much of our present trouble would be assuaged. There are two other principles to which I desire in passing to make allusion. The first is this, that it may be very desirable to relax, with the sanction of the bishop, rules which do not involve any questions of great moment, but simply affect convenience. To illustrate what I mean, I will refer to the rubric directing that intending communicants are to

be conveniently placed for reception, and to the occasional omission of the longer exhortation. I know it is sometimes said that it is as wrong in this matter to err by defect as to err by excess; but this is not a maxim which will commend itself to those who consider the subject carefully. It is a maxim, in fact, which, under the plausible appearance of justice, expresses the utmost injustice. Another principle of importance is this—that when no directions are given, we should be forbearing with one another. It is, for instance, not easy to decide dogmatically whether the congregation should kneel or stand during the *Gloria in Excelsis*. Under this head, again, I should be disposed to bring the question of the hour at which the Holy Communion is administered. One of the beneficial changes of recent years is to be found in the frequency of Communion in the early morning; and we ought not to forget that the prominent beginning of this excellent change is to be found in the ministrations of such men as Dean Close, Dean McNeile, and Canon Stowell. So with regard to evening Communion, under the extreme difficulties of our large parishes, we must remember that Dean Hook adopted them during his celebrated tenure of the vicarage of Leeds, and continued them until he went to Chichester. But I will conclude with a topic which is more and more forcing itself on public attention, or, at least, insinuating itself more and more into our minds. It now begins to be intimated to us that the first Prayer-book of King Edward VI. may be adopted by us as an allowable standard of ritual, co-ordinately with that book which, after many intermediate revisions, has superseded it. Sometimes this view is merely suggested to us, as when those directions for confession before Communion, which differ extremely in the two books, are placed before us on opposite pages as though of equal authority; or as when the history of the Reformation is so treated as though it reached its proper close in 1549; or as when the first Prayer-book is printed as the great central luminary, round which the later English service-books, including the present, are ranged as lesser lights. Sometimes the argument is made definite and positive on the basis of certain words in the Thirty-sixth Article. You have heard the quotation given by Lord Nelson from the Act of Uniformity attached to the Book of 1552—to this effect, that the earlier book was “very agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people, and most profitable to the state of this realm.” Were ever any words more true? Was there ever a more happy revolution than the publication and use of that first Book? What a recurrence there was in this to the early times of Christianity, what a comfort to many troubled souls, what a permanent benefit to our country! But was ever anything so good that it cannot be made better? And can those things in an old law which have been repealed be of equal authority with the things in a new law which have replaced them? Has Lord Nelson forgotten how that Act of Uniformity of 1552 proceeds: and let me ask members of this Congress, to whom the words thus quoted may be familiar, whether they have ever read carefully that Act throughout? It is said there three times in one paragraph, that the new book is the old book “explained” and “perfected.” Hence, whenever they differ, we have in the new book either the true explanation of the old, or the perfecting of that which was defective in the old. It surely cannot be a Catholic principle to prefer that which is obscure to that which is clear, or that which is rudimentary to that which is mature. And the argument based upon the Thirty-sixth Article can be refuted with equal ease. But I will now simply quote the words which we, the clergy, subscribe, as regards this point, at our ordination. We then affix our names to the explicit undertaking that “in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments we will use the form prescribed in the Book of 1662, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority.” I presume this does not preclude us, as regards singing in church, from invoking the aid of Sternhold and Hopkins, or of Brady and Tate, or of any orthodox hymns, whether ancient or modern; but, as respects liturgical service, this is the promise which we, the clergy, the teachers of truth, have made before God and His Holy Church, at the most solemn moment of our lives.

The Rev. BERDMORE COMPTON.

THE permissible limits of Ritual must be defined by the law of Ritual. You have no right to permit what is not legal. You *must* permit all that is legal. And the law of Ritual is not a narrow law, unless indeed you adopt the narrowing process of interpreting the minimum to be also a maximum! There are many gradations permissible under it, though it is uniform in plan; and the necessary variety may be very fairly attained by availing ourselves of this liberty of gradation. The cathedral or mother church in a diocese, if properly administered, may sustain the fullest and highest form which the law of Ritual admits, and be a pattern to inferior churches, which they follow as their capacity admits.

But how are we to get at this comprehensive law of Ritual?

Of course you must go to those learned in it, to those who have given their strength and time to the study of Ritual. Ritual is a science, and no easy science. Some people, indeed, say it ought not to be a science, because it deeply concerns unscientific people. You might as well say that medicine ought not to be a science! There is no royal road to it; not even an archbishop's mitre is a credential of real Ritualism. And, like many another science, Ritual has its amateurs, who make an awful mess of it when they presume to lay down the law. Even the judge's ermine is no guarantee, say the judges, of knowledge of this law. We have seen maxims of interpretation laid down by right honourable judicial amateurs, which would stamp a man a law-breaker who uses a pulpit on any day but Ash-Wednesday, or gives back to the godmother the child whom he has baptized—which necessarily stigmatise as a bad citizen, lawless, mutinous, contumacious (to use the ordinary language of the day in this matter) every unfortunate clergyman of the Episcopal order who ventures to officiate publicly in his diocese, on any occasion, without a cope or vestment, and a pastoral staff!

And when we, who desire to learn, go to those learned in the law of Ritual, we find that it is to be taken first from the words of the Prayer-book loyally and honestly interpreted. And the Prayer-book is a very old book, and has not been touched since 1662, and its rubrics consist of technical expressions which were most of them old at that time. In using old expressions, sensible men mean them in the sense they have previously borne. A new edition or revision does not alter the meaning of that which survives the operation. The word "publican," retained in the revised version of the New Testament, means what it meant in the version of 1611, not what it means in the current language of our day. No revision of the Prayer-book will make the "Cereemonies" spoken of in the prefatory note "On Cereemonies," to mean the ceremonial of the offices contained in the book, or confine "the ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof" to things ornamental. The meaning into which old expressions have drifted and which they now bear, is often said to be the plain meaning; but it is not their true meaning in the old book, nor in a new revision of it—and to get this true meaning you want antiquarian research, scientific investigation.

But the law of English Ritual depends upon a great deal more than the rubrics of the Prayer-book, for the compilers of our first English Prayer-book of 1549, the substance of all subsequent revisions, built upon an existing foundation. They were reforming, not constructing, and they assumed that men would go on doing what they had done hitherto, unless told to alter it, and therefore gave hardly any ritual directions. So that although not absolutely true, it is a great deal nearer the truth, to say that all old Ritual not forbidden is lawful, than that all which is not enjoined is prohibited. At any rate the burden of proof is on those who allege illegality.

Even when the Ritual-legislators of the Reformation times went further, to give some general definitions of legal Ritual, they did it, not by reference to a standard book, but by reference to the general usage of a certain period. Their usual style of regulating public worship was—Things shall be done as they were done at such a date. So it was in the year 1553, when the line of

standard usage was drawn at the year 1546-7 ; so it was in 1555, when the line was drawn at the year 1528-9 ; so it was in 1559, when (after some hesitation whether the line should be drawn at the first, or at the second year of Edward VI.) it was drawn at the second year (1548-9), enacting the very usage which the original Prayer-book of 1549 (put out at the beginning of the third year of Edward VI.) had assumed without enacting. So it was at the Restoration, when that line was again taken, and has ever since been maintained. Therefore underlying and supplementing our rubrics is the platform of traditional English usage in the second year of Edward VI., as you may read in an excellent penny tract on Ceremonial, just published by "A Precentor." Not the Italian usage of that date—not the genuine English mediæval usage of previous periods—not the Romanising (or, as it would now be called, ultramontane) usage of previous periods, such as had left its traces on the mediæval Ritual of certain English dioceses, and notably of Exeter—still less the proper Roman usage, usurping the title of "Western," since enjoined by the Council of Trent, or now subsisting under the obedience of Rome. None of these, but the genuine English usage of the second year of Edward VI., as then sanctioned under the authority of Parliament. And this usage, so far as it is not absolutely inconsistent with our present Prayer-book, is workable now as it was in 1549, 1559, or 1662.

No doubt it is no easy matter to say what was the English usage of the second year of Edward VI. It requires the investigation of ancient canons, and service books, of visitation articles, injunctions, of much cotemporary history, and, above all, of inventories of Church ornaments. And then comes the important consideration, that in all ages there is a great central mass of people very slowly affected by the most violent legislative changes, who go on in their old ways, caring little about the whole matter, drifting gradually with the times, but always a little behind them. And *their* usage is the backbone of the practice of every age, though making no noise in the world, having scarce any records, hard to discover.

All this may be very disagreeable to amateurs who would fain be authorities in Ritual, while painfully conscious that they have had no education in it. But the uncomfortable fact remains, that such *is* our law of Ritual, and that if one wants to act in accordance with it, and, still more, to administer it, one must either give pretty nearly a lifetime to learning it ; or, secondly, listen to those who have done so ; or, thirdly, certainly make a fool of one's self ! I prefer the second alternative.

But when the general limits of "lawful" Ritual are recognised, who is to determine the proper gradation thereof "convenient" in each parish or place ? Now it is quite clear, in the first place, that the incumbent is responsible for the bare legality of the Ritual in any church. When he is haled before some judgment-seat, with or without jurisdiction, it would be no defence to an accusation of illegal Ritual to plead "the people would have it so," or "the bishop told me to do so." Moreover, in these days, when a good deal is made of a false analogy between military and ecclesiastical discipline ; when canonical obedience is confounded with the absolute obedience of an inferior military officer to his responsible superior—and bishops seem to regard the Archbishop of Canterbury as a general commanding-in-chief—and an incumbent is styled "mutinous" if he does not conduct or neglect his Ritual according to the mind of the diocesan acting uncanonically—it is well to remember, not only that the incumbent, and not the bishop, is responsible to the Church's courts ; not only that the incumbent cannot, even if he would, transfer his responsibility to the bishop ; but that the bishop, at the institution of the incumbent, did absolutely transfer to him that responsibility which during the previous vacancy of the cure, actually rested upon the bishop personally. And if the incumbent is thus personally and singly responsible for the legality of the Ritual of his church, is it not because he is generally responsible for it altogether, as affecting the spiritual interest of the people committed to his charge ?—responsible for the gradation of lawful Ritual he considers profitable to his people, as well as for not transgressing the general

law of Ritual? And responsibility without freedom of action is pure tyranny—a cruel, intolerable burden. The bishop of the diocese is of course the obvious resort for advice, especially when the bishop is (as was contemplated in the first English Prayer-book, and as my old friend the Bishop of Truro is now) skilled in the general learning of Ritual. But, in any case, the final determination must rest with the responsible person, viz., the incumbent. No doubt the Ritual of a church is sometimes (in the eye of a skilled Ritualist) a piece of patchwork, or an almost grotesque failure in the perception of the right gradation of Ritual, as in a partial attempt at a cathedral standard in an ill-appointed church. It is a fault of taste and discretion to organise a procession with cross and banners, when the aisle is not wide enough to admit two persons abreast, when the cross-bearer has to lower it to a charging position under archways, and the banners knock against the gas-burners, or are so mean as to look like pocket-handkerchiefs. It is a fault of taste and discretion to celebrate with deacon and subdeacon in a small sanctuary, where only one priest can minister with comfort—to overload a small altar with numerous lights and little nosegays—or to fit it up with splendid coloured frontals, while the clergy who minister at it only wear surplices, or the new white linen vestments—to use copes and chasubles gorgeous enough for Durham or Chester cathedrals in a church which sadly requires the housemaid's broom and pail, and, worse still, without any prospect of funds to renew them when reduced to a state of shabby finery.

But we ought not to be hard upon faults of taste and discretion, when the people do not perceive or resent them, and when there is a painstaking and honest attention to adhere to lawful English Ritual.

The study of Ritual is advancing rapidly. The amateurs have had some lessons, and you will hardly find one now who will think that the mixed chalice is not used in the Eastern Church. If people are not too proud to learn, and too impatient and angry to wait until they have learned, they will find sufficient space for necessary variation between the existing lines of Prayer-book Ritual. It is better to trust to this than to alter the rubrics. For our present Prayer-book, though by no means "the incomparable liturgy" it is fondly styled by those who barely know what a liturgy is, though its liturgy is superior indeed to the Roman, but incomparably inferior to that of the first English Prayer-book, will hardly bear altering. It has already been patched in successive revisions with patches inconsistent with one another, and seriously distorting the original fabric. If touched again, it will fall to pieces. We shall struggle on fairly well, if amateurs keep their hands off our Ritual—and our Ritualists.

The Rev. CANON P. G. MEDD.

MAY I be permitted to take up one or two minutes in defining my own position in regard to this delicate question? I do so because some fortnight ago some anonymous scribbler in a Brighton newspaper amused himself by attaching certain letters of the alphabet to the names of the speakers at the Church Congress, and, to my own surprise, and the surprise of those who know me, and my usage as a parish priest, I found myself most undeservedly lettered with "R." Now I beg leave to protest against such treatment, on the part of irresponsible, ignorant and anonymous writers in newspapers. I decline, and have always declined, to be lettered or ticketed by any single letter, or series of letters, of the alphabet. I decline altogether to be measured by this anonymous gentleman's yard of tape. I require a good many more than one letter to define my own relation to questions of this kind. I am one of those uncomfortable persons who, both in religion and politics, belong to the no-party party. I have never thought the sun of truth shone on one side only of any hedge. I am a High Churchman because I value the Apostolic constitution, the orders, the ministry, the sacraments of the Kingdom of God; but I should be very sorry indeed to disown the name of an Evangelical Church-

man, because, as the Dean of Durham has so well said already, many of us owe a great debt—the whole Church of England owes a great debt—to that school. I for one will never yield to any in earnest appreciation of what I take to be its vital principle, the insistence on the primary and essential necessity of individual and personal religion. I have also my sympathies with the Broad Church party. I do not wish to enlarge upon that; I merely wish to defend myself from an imputation which I resent, and which would put me in an entirely wrong position with regard to the subject with which I have to deal. I have felt the more justified in saying what I have said, because, coming on so late in the discussion, I knew the subject would be well threshed out before I was called upon to speak. It is, at any rate, impossible to enter into its details. What I want to insist upon is, sufficient latitude in the Church of England to meet the great diversity of her circumstances in different places, and in her relation to different classes in the same place. There is all the difference in the world between town and country, for example. In a country parish, there must be an aim at a fair and moderate average, because people who might be offended on either the side of excess or defect have no other place to go to. It is very different in large towns. Here, the principle should be to allow a much wider latitude, because people have and people take a large liberty of choice in the churches they attend. Again, there is a similar distinction to be drawn between the cases of old-established parish churches, and those of new districts. In the latter case, again, a much larger latitude may be permitted than in the case of an older-established parish church. One thing I heartily protest against, and that is the disturbance, either way, of established congregations by the thrusting upon them, on a vacancy, of a pastor the clean opposite to him to whom they had been accustomed. The great thing for which I should stipulate is an assured and ascertained loyalty to Church of England principles. For those who are traitors to these principles, whether they be few or many—I believe myself in their extreme fewness, if in their existence at all, within our ministry—but for such I should have no consideration. The Church of England is at once both Protestant and Catholic. She is Protestant, in these latter days of Church history, just because she is Catholic. If there are any who have different views and wish to push what I consider dishonest objects within the Church of England—for them and for their Ritual I should have no consideration. But when I was assured of the honesty and loyalty of a parish priest to the Church of England and her principles, then I should give the largest possible latitude in the manner of conducting worship, according to the circumstances in which he is placed, if a man has his daily services and weekly communions, and is, withal, a hard worker, loyal to the Church of England's reformed principles. But on an occasion like this I would strive to lift up the whole of this question into a larger and better and higher atmosphere. Unity is precious, but uniformity is too often the worst enemy to unity, and in the history of the Church of England has done much mischief. One is weary of insisting on the harm done to the religious life of our communion by the want of elasticity in our Church in this respect. I hope and trust we are growing out of this. The adaptation of our methods of ministrations and of service to the needs of the present time is the one thing which we want, and perhaps the one way to get it is to recover, as I hope and believe we are recovering, the power of corporate deliberation and corporate utterance for our Church as a whole. Let her speak her mind freely through the constitutional organs which belong to her history, and we should all welcome the utterances of a mother, and act upon them in loyal adhesion. But I would end by this most earnest desire and prayer, that in the hearts of all who have to deal with any portion of this question, there may be a spirit of patient forbearance, a spirit of tolerant goodwill, a disposition to believe the best and not the worst of one another. May it please the Almighty Head of the Church in these latter days of difficulty to raise up to the high places of government in the immediate future of the

Church of England, men big enough every way—men as big in brain as a Thirlwall—as administratively capable as a Wilberforce—as loving and gracious as a Hooley or a Longley—men large in heart and warm in sympathy—men full of love for Christ and for the souls for which Christ died—men able, under whatever outward guise, to recognise the same love in others. May God of His mercy to this distracted Church in this generation raise up such as these to guide, to govern, and to lead her to the fulfilment of her evidently great destiny as the rallying-point of English-speaking Christianity, men who, with the good help of the Spirit of God, may teach her to know the time of her visitation and to rise to the grandeur of an unexampled opportunity.

DISCUSSION.

BISHOP PERRY.

My friend the Rev. Berdmore Compton, in his able address, has defined the limits within which violations of Ritual may be permitted as to elements of Ritual law. I am not acquainted with the science of Ritual law, and can only take my knowledge of it from what our own Church has laid down. I will, therefore, simply describe a particular case, which is the one really affected in our present discussion. There are some of the clergy of the Church of England who preach and teach a doctrine concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which, in the opinion of myself and others of the Church of England, is founded upon a misunderstanding of the language of Scripture, is contrary to the doctrine of our own Church as expressed in her Articles, her Book of Common Prayer, and her Homilies, is dangerous to the souls of those individuals who embrace it, and is likely to lead to other doctrines which our Church has repudiated. This is well known to be the opinion of myself and others. I am not arguing the point whether it is well-founded or not. I mention a simple fact, that that doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper is so regarded by myself and others of the clergy and laity of the Church of England. Now these clergymen are not content with preaching and teaching this doctrine; but they set it forth by a peculiar Ritual, which they avow to be expressive of the doctrine, and use for commending it to the people to whom they minister. Parts of this Ritual have been condemned by our highest Ecclesiastical Courts as contrary to the law of the Church of England. (Cries of "No," "Yes," and "Hear.") I ask whether those gentlemen who say "No" are manifesting a Christian spirit. I repeat what I said, that parts of this Ritual— (Laughter and cries of "No.")

The PRESIDENT: I ask that Bishop Perry may be heard patiently, and I trust to your right feeling in the matter.

BISHOP PERRY: I put it to the meeting whether the use of this Ritual under such circumstances comes within the limits of a just toleration. It is impossible, without setting aside the judgment of the Court, to gainsay the facts; and I do not hesitate to maintain that we who most strongly object to the doctrine in question, as a matter of principle, have a right to claim for ourselves, from those who are in authority, that they shall not tolerate the illegal Ritual which is used to set it forth. This is simply the practical question before the meeting. I do most earnestly contend that no bishop, although he may himself hold the doctrine to which I object, has a right, in his official character, to tolerate such a Ritual within his diocese. I do not mean to say that he should necessarily prosecute every clergyman who holds it, but I do say that he is bound to set his face against it, and not to hinder persons who are endeavouring in a lawful manner to prevent it. I appeal to the conscience of my hearers in this matter, and particularly to the conscience of those who differ from me. They may have the law altered if they can; or they may appeal, and have the judgment reversed: but until the law is altered, the judgment reversed, the existing law is binding upon every conscience, and certainly upon the conscience of those who govern our Church, and who are the administrators of the law, and not at liberty to alter it at their own discretion.

THE HON. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

I WILL go at once to the central point of the actual Ritual controversy—the Eucharistic dress. The question is no longer a theoretic one, over the abstract of such a distinction of dress. We must look at the matter before us as practical men, as statesmen; and the problem is that many persons, laymen and laywomen, no less than the clergy, are convinced that they ought, in obedience to the law of reason, and in what they believe to be the law of the Church, to honour God Almighty, most especially in His most exalted and holy rite, by a particular dress. Most of the people of England may have two opinions about the matter. There are about a hundred people in England who have no right to have but one opinion in the matter, and those are the bishops and the cathedral chapters. They went to Cæsar, and said Cæsar to them: "Bishops and cathedral chapters, whoever else may do or think anything, you shall and must wear the Eucharistic dress. The Advertisements order you, the Canons order you, the judicial Court orders you." That really settled the whole point, and created the principle. The bishop in his Eucharistic dress, in his cathedral, is proxy and representative for all the diocese; but the poor country parson might not think it was quite enough for his conscience to wear his Eucharistic dress by proxy, even if that proxy be your lordship yourself in the cathedral of Durham. What is he to do? Has he a right to wear it or not? Let us go to the Advertisements. Are they prohibitive or regulative? Do not argue so long about right and wrong conscience, and all that, but just direct your attention to that particular question, and I think you will find, if you look at history and common sense, that the Advertisements were not drawn up to check a Catholic reaction, which had very little existence in 1566, but to check the downward current of the Church of England into the gulf of Puritan anarchy. The persons they aimed at were the London parsons of Puritan proclivities. The man who was at his wit's end was Grindale, Low Church Bishop of London, who for his own reasons, best known to himself, co-operated with Parker, the High Church Archbishop of Canterbury, and was mobbed by the London clergy in consequence. The Advertisements, in fact, said that the Church-rate should in future only be chargeable for surplices. But the bishops and deans who could afford it were still bound to buy the cope. But if the parson could come at his Eucharistic dress he was not forbidden to put it on by anything which the Advertisements said. These are matters for present consideration, and I throw them out from the peace-making point of view. If we can only get some interpretation of the Ridsdale judgment which will settle the burning question, without the risky reference to the law-courts, or the dangerous and mischievous reference to Parliament which will make its *dicta* a theoretic matter, and which will make its interpretation a question on which very little can turn, then we shall have peace. We cannot think how very wise lawyers can be, and how long-sighted and large-minded, when the question is one the solution of which is of no earthly importance one way or another to any practical concern of life. Let us establish, as I believe we can, that the true interpretation of the Advertisements is that they are permissive and not prohibitory. Then the Ridsdale judgment will become a mere specimen of a very acute reasoning, which I freely give over to Lords Chief-Justices to do what they like with, and on the day when those things come to pass I trust and believe the Church will have peace.

THE BISHOP OF BEDFORD.

AFTER hearing Mr. Berdmore Compton's paper, I should feel myself exceedingly presumptuous if, being myself altogether unlearned in Ritual, I were to pretend to argue what were the present legal limits of Ritual, so I will speak of three or four moral limits which I think ought to guide us in our practical conduct.

Do let us aim at a *common-sense* Ritual. I believe that more harm is done by forcing upon congregations a fussy, minute, particular Ritual, which the people do not understand, than by the teaching of doctrines which are much in advance of these little practices. Let us aim at a reverent, grave, and solemn Ritual rather than one which shall be always making the people ask, "What does this mean?" I

think that one of our chief aims in all our services ought to be to give an impression of reality. Hence I would plead for some amount of self-repression. I know how many dear friends of my own have grown to love and to appreciate a higher Ritual than many others, enjoy, but they must remember that they have grown into it, and that there are people who have not grown into it; and I have seen how numbers are driven away from churches by the clergyman carrying out, without a thought of how it may impress others, a Ritual into which he has himself been educated by slow degrees. He has not always enough consideration for his people. Is it not true that there is great danger in what I may call *accretions of reverence*? An act which once was reverent, becomes after a little while so common that it is left behind, and the clergyman or his congregation—for sometimes it is the one, and sometimes the other—must go on to some other act to give an impression of aiming at a reverence which they suppose the act which has become almost universal no longer expresses. I cannot help seeing a danger of thus gradually creeping on from high and pure and right motives into more and more little practices distracting to the people.

I should like also to avoid not only that which is distinctly of Roman origin, but also that which our people will think to be so. I hope Mr. Compton will forgive me when I doubt very much whether most of our congregations in the East of London would draw a very accurate distinction between the succession of old English Sarum colours and those of the Italian Church. Again, I cannot but condemn what does sometimes take place—the use of the Magnificat, with vestments, processions, crosses, incense, antiphons, and everything else which can give it the character of a distinct and highly Eucharistic service, because it is quite certain that some people will look upon it as a sort of indirect Mariolatry. And although I am bound to say that some who have used these practices have told me that it is not for the purpose of exalting the Blessed Mother of our Lord, but to exalt the doctrine of the Incarnation, this, again, is a distinction which I am quite sure our people cannot appreciate.

Let us try to deliver ourselves from the dictation of a minority of our people. I am afraid that some of the clergy are great cowards in the presence of a certain number of young men of their congregations who like acting as acolytes, and so on; and who, if they say a thing is not quite correct, pronounce a sentence far more terrible than that of Ecclesiastical Courts. On the other hand there may sometimes be need of withstanding a tyranny of a very opposite character. I was the other day in a church where the echo is very distressing, and I suggested that different positions should be tried, and I asked if they had ever tried the chancel steps. The answer was that that would be thought to be very Ritualistic!

I witness a very great variety of observances in East London, and my rule is always to conform, because I have no idea myself of standing up in any man's church and condemning him by my acts before his people. If the Ritual in any church is such as I cannot conscientiously join in—and I must confess there are such cases—then I stay away. I am very thankful to be able to bear witness to this fact, that throughout East London, where certainly the services can hardly be said to have reached the average of reverence and dignity which they have reached in the West End, though they are continually improving, there is, I believe, at present a more distinct and a more earnest preaching of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, of His divinity, and therefore of Him as the object of Christian worship, than there has ever been before. That alone ensures that a reverent and devout Ritual will follow. I thank God that, wherever I go, I see signs of great care and reverence in the conduct of worship. I do not say that there might not be an increase of reverence, but I do say that many are trying to make the worship of our dear old Church such as shall draw the people together and teach them how good and blessed a thing it is to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.

The Rev. HARRY JONES.

LET me say that I am no Ritualist. I hate party words, party terms—and I have no great love for party men. I am no party man myself; but though I am not what is

generally understood to be a Ritualist, I can perfectly understand that Ritual is highly prized by a large number. It is prized not only by the ecclesiastical mind, but also by the civic mind, by the municipal mind, and by the social mind. It was only two or three Sundays ago that I had a large gathering at my church, consisting almost entirely of Druids, Foresters, Buffaloes, and a great many Oddfellows—the galleries of my church were like a ribbon parterre in a flower-garden. That was Ritual, and I do not myself see—I am not a Ritualist—that what is allowed to the civic, the municipal, and the social mind of man should not be allowed to the religious world also. The wisdom of our ancestors lives in the saying that “What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander,” and I will treat clergymen with the same liberty that I treat the laymen; and I think the machinery of our august Church is hardly best used when it is employed to determine the cut and the colour of a vestment, and I would rather see the limits within which variations of Ritual may be permitted, so far enlarged as regards a special part of our services by expunging the vestments rubric altogether, and leaving that part of the matter not merely to the clergyman alone but to the good taste or to the bad taste of parsons and parishioners.

The Rev. DR. BARDSLEY.

EARL NELSON has remarked that the Reformation was carried out on Catholic principles, and in proof has referred to the changes made in King Edward's Second Prayer-book. The late Archdeacon Wilberforce, in his book on the Eucharist, distinctly declares that, by the alterations made in the Second Book, “the service was divested of its sacrificial character, and no longer bore witness, as in early times, to the great event which is transacted at the altar.” Surely the noble Earl will admit that this was an important change.

Reference has been made to the sacrificial vestments, by which the nature of Christ's alleged presence, and the sacrifice offered, are symbolised. But it has been proved by the Archdeacon of Warrington that in the early part of Elizabeth's reign these vestments were abolished. In Bishop Jewell's controversy with Harding, this is assumed on both sides. Harding challenges Bishop Jewell to justify their abolition. Bishop Jewell accepts the challenge, and justifies their abolition on the ground that they had become “defiled” by Romish “superstitions.” This controversy commenced almost immediately after the Advertisements had been published. In the controversy, also, between Dr. Whitgift and the Puritan divine, Dr. Cartwright, which began about six years after the publication of the Advertisements, we find the clearest evidence that the vestments had been abolished. Dr. Cartwright complained that in our Church “all the service was tied to a surplice” with a cope in cathedrals, whilst the Lutherans used the vestments. Dr. Whitgift replied by defending the use of the surplice, said, in reference to the vestments, that they were “Popish apparel,” and added, “which this Church hath refused.” Royal Commissions, beginning with 1567, whilst enforcing the Advertisements, commanded all vestments to be utterly destroyed, as monuments of superstition. This continued until 1604, no one either introducing the vestments or arguing that they were legal. In this year the Hampton Court Conference recognised the authority of the Advertisements, and, in accordance therewith, required that “every minister saying the public prayers or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent or comely surplice with sleeves.” From this time to the final revision of the Prayer-book, in 1662, no change, except during the Commonwealth, was made in the minister's dress. There is abundant evidence to show that those who took part in conducting the revision of the Prayer-book in 1662 had no intention whatever of restoring the discarded vestments. Subsequent to this date, Archbishop Sancroft demanded a strict observance of the Prayer-book, “without addition, diminution, or alteration,” yet to secure such strict and literal observance of the Prayer-book, in regard to the minister's vesture during Divine service, the minister is to “wear the surplice with the hood.” The testimony of Bishop Sparrow is to the same effect. He was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference in 1661. He had published his “Rationale” of the Book

of Common Prayer in 1655. In 1684, he sent forth a new edition of his "Rationale." On the Ornaments Rubric he explains, by a new note, what clergymen are legally entitled to wear, "viz., a surplice in the ordinary ministration, and a cope in the time of the Holy Communion, in cathedral and collegiate churches. Queen Elizabeth's Articles, set forth the seventh year of her reign."

Thus we see that, from the time the Advertisements were published, in 1566, both before and after the final revision of the Prayer-book, these Advertisements have been recognised as the authority for fixing the minister's vesture during the time of Divine service.

What, then, are the due limits of Ritual? The practice of at least three hundred years should be allowed to supply the answer. The late Archbishop Longley declared, in 1866, that he felt "that those who had violated a compromise and settlement which had existed for three hundred years, and are introducing vestments and ceremonies of very doubtful legality, are really, though unconsciously, doing the work of the worst enemies of the Church." That settlement the Archbishop declared "had been acquiesced in, as far as the vestments of the parochial clergy are concerned, by the seven hundred prelates who have presided over the dioceses of England and Wales from the early part of Elizabeth's reign to this day." It had been accepted, said the Archbishop, by such men as Bishop Andrewes, Richard Hooker, and Bishop Cosin.

With regard to the doctrine said to be symbolised by these vestments, to which Earl Nelson had referred, we have the testimony of Dean Hook, when speaking of the Reformers, that "Protestants of all shades of opinion were united on this one point, that the mass should be turned into a Communion." And with regard to the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper, we should do well to remember the words of Archbishop Cranmer, who had the chief hand in framing the Communion Service. In his book on the Lord's Supper he declares that Christ's presence in that Sacrament is the same as where the Saviour saith, "I will be with you until the world's end;" and "Wheresoever two or three be gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them"—the same kind of presence, and no other, as in the Sacrament of Baptism; "that is to say, in both spiritually by grace."

The Rev. M. McCOLL.

THE Archdeacon of Warrington's pointed and repeated allusions to me justify me in asking to be allowed to say a few words. But, instead of defending myself, I think I can employ the five minutes at my disposal to better purpose in replying to the speech to which we have just listened. And I believe I can dispose of that speech by an appeal to a few historical facts. Dr. Bardsley's quotation from Sparrow simply corroborates the view which Mr. Beresford Hope has stated and which I have always held, namely, that the Advertisements of Elizabeth intended to make the surplice obligatory while leaving the use of the other vestments permissive. The case stands thus—the Ornaments Rubric made the vestments obligatory, but the Puritans refused to wear them. The Advertisements were therefore drawn up to compel the use of the surplice in parish churches and of the cope in cathedrals as a minimum. But the Advertisements did not touch the legality of the other vestments. Bishop Horne of Winchester was one of the authors of the Advertisements, and he declared, after the Advertisements were drawn up, that the obligation of the vestments ordered by the Ornaments Rubric could only be repealed by an Act of Parliament. This seems to me conclusive. But there is more evidence, for in 1641 the House of Lords appointed a Committee to inquire into the possibility of making modifications in the rubrics of the Prayer-book. That Committee contained the name of Ussher and the most distinguished divines of the Church of England, in addition to thirteen earls and some lawyers; and the result of their deliberations was a recommendation that the Ornaments Rubric should be amended, because it *then* ordered all the vestments of Edward VI.'s second year. That, remember, was in 1641, the Advertisements having been published in 1566. Again, in 1644, an Act of Parliament was passed, abolishing the

vestments now in dispute. Would an Act of Parliament have been necessary in 1644 to make illegal vestments which had been already illegal since 1566? Another question is, ought the clergy to wear distinctive vestments at all? At present, by some legal decisions, they have none; for the surplice is not a distinctively clerical vestment, and the stole has been declared illegal. So that the clergy who wear stoles are acting as illegally as they who wear chasubles, for the scarf or stole lies under the same ban of condemnation as the chasuble. Therefore, if it is right that Mr. Green should be imprisoned, Dr. Bardsley and I and all the clergy here present ought to be there to keep him company. If we are to have obedience to the law, let us have it, in the name of justice and reason, all round, or not at all.

When you analyse the reasoning of those who cry against lawlessness, you will find that what it comes to is that those persons like to obey the law when they agree with it, but not when they differ from it. As to the cry of Popery, the Church of England herself has laid down a distinct rule upon this question, namely, that at the Reformation the Church of England departed from the Church of Rome and the other Churches of Christendom only in so far as they had departed from the primitive Church, which the Reformers defined as the Church embraced in the era of the first six General Councils. The Church of England then declared that the abuse of a thing does not take away its right use. And she dealt with these questions as the early Christians dealt with the temples of Paganism, not by destroying what had been abused, but of purifying them and consecrating them to the worship of Almighty God. I am as much opposed as anybody to the enforcement of unwonted Ritual upon unwilling congregations; all I plead is, that when the majority of the congregation and the clergy are agreed as to the Ritual the bishop should allow it—if not at the ordinary, at least at the early services, where it would not offend those who disliked it. If the bishops would only agree among themselves to grant a reasonable toleration we should soon see an end of our present difficulties.

The Rev. CANON HOARE, Tunbridge Wells.

I SHOULD like to ask Mr. Hope to inform us whether the cope is a sacrificial vestment at all. I am prepared to maintain that it is not, and that its principal use is for processions and funerals. I should like also to ask Mr. Compton to whom he referred as the amateurs? As far as I gathered from him, they are the judges of the land who have been trained in the careful sifting of documents, and appointed by the Queen for the high responsibilities of their office. They, it appeared to me, were described as the amateurs, while any young gentleman who chooses to study the subject and thinks he is infallible, he appears to be the expert before whom the whole Church is to bow. I honestly confess that I prefer to his opinion the grave decision of the judges of the land. In this controversy there is one distinction which I think is very frequently altogether left out of sight, but which is one of the utmost importance; I mean the distinction between comprehension and toleration. There is a comprehension in the Church of England, and we are not all required to be cast in exactly the same mould, for there is a certain latitude given to us. The Psalms, for example, in the evening may be said or sung. I am not sure that it is the same in the morning, for there is no rubric to that effect; but I cannot help thinking that although in the morning there is no such permission given, there is comprehension enough to take in the chanting in the morning. Then there is the surplice question. I really believe that as it is permitted to the members of a cathedral body to preach in their own cathedral in a surplice, there is no principle involved, so that to do so in a parish church may, by a stretch of charity, be assumed at any rate to come within the limits of comprehension. I come to the great principle—that so long as a person keeps within the limits of the Church's comprehension, nobody has a right to interfere with his action. He is safe on his own ground. He claims a right and he has a right, as a member of the Church of England, to carry out all that which the Church of England comprehends. But toleration is a totally different thing. Toleration begins when comprehension ends. No man wants to be tolerated until he steps out of the circle of comprehension. Those

who act and think with myself for example—old-fashioned Evangelicals, as I suppose we shall be called—we do not want toleration; nor would we accept toleration. We ask no bishop to tolerate us, for the simple reason that we stand in the very centre of the circle of comprehension. When a man puts forth a plea for toleration he acknowledges by that plea that he is outside the circle of comprehension. Then the question arises, Where is toleration to be shown? and when is it to be withheld? We wish to be tolerant—we do not wish to come down on all the variations of human nature with an iron band, and tie up everybody with an iron chain. There are certain idiosyncrasies in the minds of certain men, and we think they ought to have their play; but there are cases in which toleration is impossible, as when a principle is attacked, it is necessary to be what men term intolerant. When an effort is made to bring in that which the Church of England has deliberately cast out, I see not, for my part, how there can be room for toleration. So again, when we are told that the changes introduced are of a symbolic character, and introduced as a means of teaching doctrines, and when the doctrines which they are intended to teach are doctrines of Rome—[Sentence not finished].

The PRESIDENT: Allusion has been made to the action of the Bishops in the York Convocation. I infer from this allusion that great misapprehension prevails with regard to that action. The resolution, to which reference was made, was to this effect:—That, considering the ambiguities of the present rubric, it was advisable that it should be removed, and that direction should be given—I cannot tell you the exact words—that direction should be given, by rubric or canon, as to what was permissible. Now the resolution was so worded as to be quite general. It was not in any sense, as the speaker seemed to imagine, an alternative to Bishop Cosin's view that there should be a distinct specification of the vestments. It would comprehend this or any other solution of the problem. It did not state that a hard-and-fast line should be drawn. It involved this, and merely this, that we should understand exactly where we are, that whether latitude should be allowed or should not be allowed, whether discretion should be left with the bishop or the congregation or the clergyman or anyone else, the direction should be at any rate explicit—should state how much latitude was allowed, and where the discretion should lie. You will see that this is a very different thing from simply sweeping away the present rubric and putting nothing in its place. It did not go one step towards deciding what the vestments were to be. I ask you at your leisure to look at the resolution, and say whether I have exaggerated in thus describing its purport. And now let us try to rise above all these questions of dispute, and sing this hymn together*—the third hymn—with one heart and one voice.

TOWN HALL, WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON,

OCTOBER 5

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 o'clock.

THE SPECIAL CONDITIONS WHICH AFFECT THE WORK OF THE CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM.

- (a) IN SEAPORTS.
- (b) IN MINING DISTRICTS.
- (c) IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

PAPERS.

Commander W. DAWSON, R.N. (Secretary, Missions to Seamen).

THE Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, as President of the Upper House of the Convocation of the Southern Province, speaking on the 10th

*"O Thou who makest souls to shine,"

July, 1874, on the spiritual provision for English seamen, said: "I do think that it is a disgrace to the Church of England that we do not make some more united effort to meet the case of these persons, who are very closely connected with ourselves." But the diocese of Durham has not been wholly unmindful of its duties to the fleets of shipping, barges, and fishing vessels around and within its borders. For twenty-four years the Missions to Seamen Society 11, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C., has been its agent to carry the Church's ministrations to their crews of many nationalities. True the staff employed is inadequate to the necessities of such large floating populations, and the worshipping facilities are most imperfect, and quite unworthy of a diocese deriving so much of its wealth from the hazardous labours of sailors, who sacrifice their lives by thousands annually that landmen may profit. We seamen, therefore, heartily thank this Church Congress for considering our spiritual needs. The greater part of our lives is spent outside parochial and diocesan bounds, and when we land from our ships we are too often received at the doors of the National Church as "strangers and sojourners" rather than as "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God."

"The special conditions which affect the work of the Church in seaports in the diocese of Durham," are mainly in connection with the shipping and with the migratory lives of seamen. The principal ports are the Tyne, where the Church's work afloat has been done by the Missions to Seamen during the last twenty-four years; Sunderland, where it has been working twenty years, and the Hartlepoons, where it has had an agent for six years. In Seaham and Berwick good work for God has been done amongst seamen by the parochial clergy, and I doubt not that in other of the smaller ports parochial agencies have done what they could.

15,717 voyages, or forty-three voyages per day, terminated on the Tyne last year, besides the visits of numerous Scotch and other fishing vessels. Nearly half these inward voyages were of steamers, many of which remained in port only a few days at a time. Three-fifths of the whole were short coasting voyages, whilst the other two-fifths were from over sea. The shipping are scattered over nine miles of river, and in docks on both banks; but the Church may reach them from three main centres—South Shields, Coble Dene, and Newcastle; the Scotch fishermen from Tynemouth and North Shields.

7,858 cargoes of coal were carried away from Sunderland last year, or nearly twenty-two cargoes per day. About three-eighths of these cargoes were in steamers, two-thirds of the steamers' cargoes being in the coasting trade, so that their crews were in harbour only a few days, and often only a few hours, at a time. Three-fourths of the whole were carried coastwise, and one-fourth over sea. The vessels at Sunderland are widely scattered, but may be reached by the Church's agents from two centres—the South Dock and the river Wear, from whence the North Dock can also be worked.

4,032 vessels entered or re-entered Hartlepool last year, or eleven entries per day. Of these entries about one-sixth were of steamers, some of which made fifty-four voyages per year, and were therefore very brief periods in port. Nearly three-fourths of the total entries were of

coasters, the vast majority of which are small crafts. But there are in the over-sea trade some steamers of considerable tonnage. The shipping can be got at mainly from the West Hartlepool side of the Docks, but also from Old Hartlepool.

It is difficult to arrive at the actual number of men employed in these ships, as the frequent re-entries of steamers vitiates computation. But allowing the crews of fishing vessels, barges, etc. (a considerable number), who are not counted, to make up for errors, and supposing each ship to carry twelve men, then the relative importance of the Durham ports will appear from there being about 188,000 men entering or re-entering the Tyne annually, about 94,000 repeated entries of men at Sunderland, and about 48,000 at Hartlepool.

Not one of the 38,616 British merchant-ships, manned by 358,000 men, carries a chaplain, and on board the vast majority of them there is not, when at sea, any public acknowledgment of Almighty God, His Word, His day, or His worship. There is necessarily no privacy in the fore-castle for kneeling in private prayer. And in whatever ship God is not unitedly acknowledged, discomfort, discontent, and unhappiness is apt to prevail. For this demoralisation the employers, and the captains, officers, and engineers whom they appoint, are primarily responsible. But where, as in many ships (albeit the minority) the public worship of Almighty God is solemnly, orderly, and reverently performed, and the Lord's Day observed according to law, kneeling in private prayer and individual reading of the Bible is rendered possible, and these crews are models of propriety, morality, and godly living. Where sailors are not so, great blame attaches to their employers, who are solely responsible for the appointment of captains, officers, and engineers, who give the tone on board to seamen and firemen. The neglect of religious worship on board merchant-ships makes the duty of the Church to the crews when in port, in the very brief intervals of voyages, mainly a mission work. This is necessarily of a personal individualising character, but it also demands centres of united worship; and the migratory lives of sailors, so few days at a time in port, requires that these mission operations, both individual and collective, should be continuous, week-day as well as Sundays.

At the larger ports, the ships and the boarding-houses are usually in the poorest and most populous parishes, the incumbents of which are quite unable to conduct mission work amongst the ever-changing strangers, of many nationalities and of all parts of our island; and they claim the help of the less severely tasked inland parishes in making spiritual provision for these non-residents.

Convocation says: "The crews have no chaplains in any of their ships, and are rarely visited by the parochial clergy on board their vessels when at anchor in roadsteads, harbours, rivers, or docks. When they land for a short time, it is frequently in ports where their families do not reside, and they are strangers constituting a roving population, living in Sailors' Homes and boarding-houses, amongst whom no system of parochial visitation exists." There are very few, if any, parish churches conveniently situated for the shipping which are used daily throughout the year for short hearty mission services, specially for strangers brought in from the waters and from the sailors' boarding-houses. And there was consequently no waterside parish church which

had 10,370 attendances of working seamen, in the prime of manhood, at week-day morning services last year, as had the Missions to Seamen Church at Bristol, from which landmen are rigidly excluded. There may, however, have been parish churches which had 5,000 attendances of working seamen at their Sunday services last year, as the little Missions to Seamen Church at Bristol also had.

Happily for seamen, the diocese of Durham has no miscalled "mariners' churches," in which sailors are conspicuous by their absence, to obstruct the supply of worshipping accommodation. The *Churchman* for August last, in an exhaustive article on the worshipping difficulties of seamen, says of these sham "mariners' churches:" "It appears that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners could not endow mariners' incumbencies, unless each clergyman took charge of a district containing 5,000 or more very poor and often dissolute residents. The mariners' churches thus became, in fact, the parish churches of poor and populous districts; the seats were appropriated to residents; each single-handed incumbent had far more than he could accomplish for stationary parishioners; and the sailors, whether on board ships or in the boarding-houses, were as wholly uncared-for as before the Peace of 1815. Not only so, but the existence of an appropriated district church, assuming to itself the title of the 'Mariners' Church,' became a hindrance to proper worshipping facilities being provided for deep-water sailors."

As each congregation of sailor-strangers has *to be brought* into the church, it is no wonder that the Convocation of Canterbury reports of most of the waterside parish churches, that "few seamen attend church, and next to none communicate;" whilst even of men-of-war's men who are accustomed to daily prayers on board ship, Convocation says, "The present non-attendance of seamen in the churches of Portsmouth is most lamentable." On the other hand, it reports of the Missions to Seamen Church at Swansea: "This is one of the most successful examples of what may be done for seamen through the convenient situation of the church provided for them, to the entirely free and open character of its sittings, to the peculiar aptitude of the chaplain for his special work, and to the hearty and varied character of the services. . . . There are six services of various kinds in the Swansea Church every Sunday, and three on week-day evenings." On the only Sunday in the past year that I attended the Missions to Seamen Church at Bristol, there were 263 attendances of seagoing men, whilst twelve merchant captains casually in port communicated at the Lord's Table. Of these twelve chance captains, eleven had become communicants during the past year through the agency of the Mission chaplain. What waterside parish church has 1,470 total abstaining working seamen as members of the Church of England Temperance Society, as the Tyne Mission ship has? What waterside parish church was able last year to induce sailors to *purchase* with their own money 1,239 Bibles and Prayer-books, as the Tyne Mission ship did? Besides incessant daily visitation of ships and boarding-houses, with Bible-readings and prayer, there are an average of three short services daily in connection with the Tyne Mission ship. I doubt if at the larger seaports any waterside parish church can, under our present notions of the use of such buildings, and consistently with its duties to the residents, ever conduct such

a continuous daily mission work amongst strangers from the ships, even if the incumbent be furnished with a sufficient special staff of clergy and lay helpers exclusively set apart for that purpose.

The crews we have to deal with may be classed under two heads (1) those who have homes in the locality, which will generally be found in the more inland parishes, where the parochial clergy could, by a special system of district-visiting of sailors' families, learn when the husband or son is likely to be back from sea, and then bring him to church. And (2) those who are strangers to the port, and reside either on board their vessels, or in the regular sailors' boarding-houses. It is for these latter that the special mission machinery is mainly needed.

Seamen who are steady and well conducted at sea, are often quite demoralised in port under the evil influences of the waterside parishioners. They are often forced by circumstances, rather than drawn, into the vice and debauchery prepared for them by landsmen. If the evil influences of vicious landsfolk are to be successfully combated, we need first a strong staff of clergy, Scripture-readers, and volunteer workers, such as the Missions to Seamen have at South Shields. The chaplains need to be the very best young clergymen the universities can produce, and should be well paid. No station can be efficiently worked without the personal labour of a good mission clergyman at its head, however zealous Scripture-readers and lay helpers may be. The Missions to Seamen has only two clerical superintendents and twenty-four chaplains, assisted by only thirty-nine readers, and many volunteer helpers, labouring in forty-six seaports at home and abroad. Nor should these readers and helpers be ignorant, untaught, or untrained, for the officers and seamen they have to deal with are a travelled class not wanting in intelligence, and not lacking in such knowledge as the national school and the national Church imparted to them in their boyhood.

The next essential to an able young clergyman aided by an efficient staff of well taught laymen, paid and volunteer, is a well-situated base of operations. The Tyne Mission ship, at South Shields, has been this in the past; but, thank God, the work has happily outgrown its accommodation. It has a church, a reading-room, a museum, a temperance hall, and a parsonage, etc., all on board, but all much too small for the numbers which an efficient staff can bring in. What is pressingly needed is (1) an institute and church with a chaplaincy, built near the Milldam, South Shields, a spot where sailors necessarily congregate to be near the shipping offices. The plans and sites are ready, but £5,000 is required for the building. (2) A similar staff of a faithful chaplain with two able readers, furnished with a similar church, institute and chaplaincy in one, are needed at Coble Dene, for the north bank of the Tyne. (3) St. Peter's Church, North Shields, should have a special seamen's reader.

As to Newcastle itself, Convocation reports that "In this important town, so immediately connected with seamen, no intercession is made for them regularly when at sea, and no special efforts are made to bring them to the House of God. . . . There is an unsectarian religious society, called the Sailors' Society. It employs lay agents to endeavour to influence sailors spiritually, but, unhappily, entirely ignores the formularies of the Church of England. Much aid is required here from the Missions to Seamen Society, or other sources, to help the parochial

clergy to serve seamen at this important port . . . A chaplain or Scripture-reader, attached to the parish of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, under the direction of the vicar, would find full occupation in ministering to the floating population of the river, and in endeavouring to bring them to Divine worship in the several churches on its shores, which at present they next to never enter."

Convocation says: "There is a most marked and lamentable absence of seamen in the churches of Sunderland, perhaps owing to the want of accommodation for them, and time to minister to them, whilst Divine service at sea appears to be most rare in the ships trading in this port." What the parochial clergy at Sunderland greatly need is an active young seamen's chaplain, and an additional reader, aided by volunteer lay helpers, with a church, institute and chaplaincy in one, near the Wear Dockyard, where there is no church at hand, to serve the vessels on the river Wear and in the North Dock; the present reader and mission-room serving the South Dock. The Missions to Seamen Society considers its staff and appliances at Sunderland to be quite unworthy so considerable a seaport.

A zealous young seamen's chaplain, aided by volunteer lay helpers, is much needed by the parochial clergy at the growing port of Hartlepool, in addition to the present very capable reader. He should have a church, institute and chaplaincy in one at West Hartlepool, and a mission-room at Old Hartlepool.

The parochial staff at several of the smaller ports of the diocese of Durham need strengthening by bands of special lay helpers to visit the resident families of men at sea, and to bring the shipping, barges, and fishing vessels under regular visitation, so as to establish Sunday, if not daily, worship on board, and to bring the crews to church.

The best volunteers for such work are the captains and officers of ships. The Bishop of London admits such nautical lay workers to the unpaid office of lay reader, in respect of their work for God on the high seas, and no doubt the Bishop of Durham would listen respectfully to any similar proposals the seaboard clergy of his diocese may see fit to make.

A great work for God is being done by the Church amongst seamen. But, alas, a much greater work is being left undone. Glorious opportunities of spreading the Gospel in foreign parts by the living agency of devout seamen are being thoughtlessly neglected. The great pioneer seamen's Missionary, our blessed Lord Himself, did not so act when He deigned to employ sailors even as apostles. What makes this neglect the more cruel to sailors is, that the Church's system, faithfully and freely used, has special suitability to a roving class, as it provides, not only on board ship, but in almost every considerable mercantile port in the world, services identical not only in form but in word with those which loved relatives have within easy reach at home. The Missions to Seamen Society is, accordingly, striving to furnish seamen with an introduction to a clergyman in every port, abroad as at home, and with the hours and places of the Church services. Moreover, the Church's system, as expressed in her Book of Common Prayer, is, if faithfully used, eminently suited to preserve from subtle religious errors seamen withdrawn for the greater portion of their lives from the living voice of God's ambassadors. In that Book of Common Prayer alone he finds

the highest spiritual utterances for every personal extremity, temporal and eternal, physical and spiritual, in storm, in battle, and in calm, in temptation and in trial, in sorrow and in joy, in sickness and in death.

The lonely ocean learns thy orisons
And loves thy sacred mirth :
When storms are high, or when the fires of war
Come lightening round our course,
Thou breath'st a note like music from afar,
Tempering rude hearts with calm angelic force.

Armed with his Bible and his Prayer-book, the well-instructed sailor on the lonely ocean possesses a library of theology, which, with God alone as his Teacher, has, by the power of the Holy Ghost, sanctified and cheered the lives of many saintly seamen, carrying them safely through the waves of this troublesome world, and, through the one full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for sin, has landed many humble, prayerful sailors safely in the land of everlasting rest.

Mr. JAMES GILCHRIST.

It seems to me that I can best fulfil the task assigned by (1) considering the special conditions which affect the work of the Church in mining districts, and (2) offering some suggestions as to how the favourable conditions may be best utilised, and the unfavourable ones met, with a view to furthering the work of the Church amongst miners.

1. Favourable conditions: The general character of the coal-miners in the North of England is very often much misunderstood. There seems no reason why Church work should be more difficult among our coal-miners than it is among other classes of our working men. True, we have a rough and somewhat neglected raw material to work upon, but it is by no means unkindly or unhelpful. The old North-country pitman has always been understood to have a regard for the Holy Bible, for the Lord's Day, and for marriage; and, happily, these characteristics in many cases are still retained. Doubtless this is in a great measure due to the good effects of the teaching of Dissenters, who have always managed to have a meeting-house before the machinery of the Church could be got to work, and so have kept alive a feeling of religion. But we have abundant proof that there is not generally speaking any bitter prejudice amongst them against the teaching of the Church; and I may mention, indeed, that the title-deeds of the Primitive Methodist Chapels contain a clause that the doctrines preached are to be those of the Church of England; and so in any pit parish where the Church is active, and shows herself sympathetic, she is sure to get hold of what may be considered a fair proportion of the miners, as it is not uncommon in pit districts to find three or four out of every five children born baptized at church. The pitman has a kindly feeling towards his parish church and churchyard, and he will not look coldly upon the clergy if they take a religious interest in him. Intellectually, our miners will more than bear comparison with other working men of the same social level. They are shrewd, not easily imposed upon, and though, perhaps, a little narrow-minded, yet love fair play, and are not usually slow at

understanding an argument; and many of them during the last fifteen or twenty years have made great strides, both intellectually and socially. They are generally fine open fellows, with a great feeling of independence, kind husbands, and very indulgent fathers.

2. Unfavourable conditions: The miners, generally speaking, are very migratory. They do not remain long in one place, so that any good work done is apt to be destroyed; and it very frequently happens that the people in the village are entire strangers to each other, which prevents, to a great extent, the raising of any enthusiasm amongst them for anything in connection with the Church. This, no doubt, causes many a clergyman almost to despair at times, because no sooner has he gathered together a goodly number of Church workers than perhaps some of them remove to some other colliery, and their places are supplied by strangers. Mining parishes are therefore very unlike others in this respect. Great difficulty is often experienced on account of the unworkable nature of some parishes by large collieries being opened and villages erected in a very short space of time, and occupied by a considerable population. Thus much extra work frequently falls upon an already overburdened clergyman, perhaps without a curate. This want, however, in many parishes is now being very largely supplied by grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Insufficient and crowded houses were a few years ago a great hindrance to the elevation of the miner, who in many instances was almost forced from his home to drink or gamble. A great change for the better has of late years taken place in the houses erected for this class of workmen. The modern houses have usually three or four rooms, whereas those erected twenty or thirty years ago had frequently only one, so that in dealing with miners we must remember that there are many with whom we come in contact who were accustomed to the old state of things, and it is very difficult to make them give up the habits and vices contracted in their youth. There is some reason to fear that during the last five years or so there has shown itself among some of them a change for the worse, namely, that many of them are only too ready to listen to the teaching of Secularists. This may remind us how important it is that religious and secular instruction should not be separated.

Having lived all my life in mining districts, and been for nearly twenty years engaged in Sunday-school teaching and other parish work, I will now endeavour to state what I consider necessary to meet the conditions which I have just mentioned. As so much depends upon the clergyman, I venture to make a few remarks regarding several things to which I think he should pay special attention. A clergyman who omits altogether, or who only occasionally visits his parishioners, can never hope to be successful in his ministerial work. The miners always welcome him, and indeed anyone who manifests an interest in their welfare. One of their characteristics is, that a visit can never be out of place. Anyone visiting them at any hour of the day or in the midst of any confusion, is sure to receive a hearty welcome. I attribute this partly to a feeling of isolation which exists amongst them on account of so many of them being almost strangers to each other, and thus they are pleased to receive a visit from one whom they can look up to as a friend. If the Church is to be a living witness for God, there must be sympathy between pastor and people, and this can never be accom-

plished without systematic visiting. This gives the clergyman an opportunity of making himself more acquainted with the modes of thought current amongst them, and of correcting erroneous impressions regarding the Church. Having in many parishes seen the good results caused by this important part of the clergyman's work, I am thoroughly convinced that great good will be done by this means, as without it they will probably not be brought within the sound of the Gospel.

Good, earnest preaching is a great inducement to the miner to attend church, and the sermon cannot be too plain and simple in the selection of words employed; and, if possible, it should be extempore, as they are apt to look with a little suspicion upon the sermon if read from manuscript. Earnest preaching of the Gospel will, however, in the end, have its good effect, and I feel sure there is nothing that will fill our churches like a man thoroughly sincere in his sermons, but his preaching should be followed up by visiting, so that his people may feel that the one whom they have heard deliver the message on Sunday can give it practical reality by his visit during the week.

A Bible class might be taken by the clergyman one night in the week for young men and women. This would be the means of promoting a bond of sympathy between him and those who should have his most earnest support and assistance, and become the most hopeful and promising members of his congregation. The young, if left entirely to themselves, and without ever receiving a kindly word or good advice from their pastor, are apt to listen to the counsel of those who are most unfit to give it; whereas, if they met him in a friendly manner once a week or so, the majority of young people would love and respect him, and feel that they could go with confidence at any time and ask his advice. Perhaps it may not be out of place to mention here that of the great number confirmed a very unsatisfactory number only become regular communicants.

To remedy this I would suggest the holding of communicants' and teachers' meetings as a regular part of parochial machinery, so that they who kneel together at the Holy Table of the Lord and they who teach the young may meet their pastor and each other, and so a greater bond of union may be created than is usually prevalent amongst Church workers. Families who remove from one parish to another, and who have been regular attenders at church, very frequently after their removal become careless, and perhaps attend church once or twice and then cease altogether. I think if the clergyman were to give letters commendatory, on authorised forms for general use, to such persons to take with them to show to the clergyman in whose parish they have gone to reside, and if these were supplemented by private letters in special cases, this would have a very good effect in convincing the people that the clergyman took an interest in their well-being, and would in the end be the means of making many not Churchmen in name only, but in reality.

I will now proceed to mention some work in which laymen might be employed. Earnest and devoted laymen and laywomen ought to be at work as district-visitors in every parish—they strengthen the hands of the clergyman, and I believe there are cases where a Christian woman can persuade when every other influence has been of no avail—their duties should be to find out and welcome new-comers, to visit the sick, and read and pray with them, to give advice when necessary, and to

report all urgent cases to the clergyman, so that he may visit them. In any parish where the clergyman has gained the affection of his people, he can, without much difficulty, gather around him a goodly band of Christian workers. I have already stated that the miner is at all times glad to receive such visits. It is often said respecting district-visitors that no good results follow from their visits, but that they are simply excuses for gossiping. Perhaps in some cases it may be so; but, taking the system as a whole, I believe it to be a powerful agency for good. It is to be feared that the majority of those who make this assertion are they who think it beneath their dignity to enter the lowly cottage to have a friendly and religious conversation with the inmates.

Though pride may show some nobleness
When honour's its ally;
Yet there is such a thing on earth
As holding heads too high.
The sweetest bird builds near the ground,
The loveliest flower springs low;
And we must stoop for happiness,
If we its worth would know.

Sunday-schools have been well said to be the nursery of the Church, and this is a branch of Christian work which should enlist the hearty co-operation and support of every Churchman, because we have every reason to fear that all the religion instilled into many of the young is done there. It is frequently urged that the parents are the proper persons to teach religion to their children. If day-schools could accomplish all we wish, and parents could accomplish all that they ought, there would still be a crying need for Sunday-school work. Many a man who feels and knows that he is not religious himself, is delighted to have his child placed under religious teaching; but if all parents were able to discharge their responsibility to their children, even then on the holy rest of God's day it is the first duty of the Church to take care of the spiritual instruction of all. The Spartan laws made it incumbent upon those who had charge of their children to imbue their minds with noble sentiments of devotion to their country, of courage and of endurance, so that they might grow up good soldiers for the common weal and able to endure hardness. We who have the grandest organisation in the world, shall we not train our young to be good soldiers and servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, by instilling into their minds principles of religious virtue and faith to the great Captain of their salvation? The clergyman, or a layman where practicable, should be the superintendent, and the singing at the beginning and at the close of the school should be made as hearty as possible, so that every child may be encouraged to join in. The superintendent should consider it his duty to call upon teachers who absent themselves and ascertain the reason of their absence. This would show he took an interest in them, and would, I believe, make them attend more regularly than is frequently the case with many of them in colliery districts.

A care for the young is a very important part of a clergyman's work. If he neglects them, need he be surprised to find that when they grow older they neglect him; that he has no influence over them: that they do not present themselves for confirmation, very rarely attend church,

and, consequently, never come to Holy Communion. A complaint often heard is, that the church is too far off. Even where the church is placed in the midst of the population belonging to one colliery, there are often several other collieries in distant and different parts of the parish having a considerable number of inhabitants near each other. Here the Dissenters may be copied with advantage. They build a chapel on the spot among the people. Of course a church cannot be erected at every colliery, but a cottage service might be held, or a mission-room built, and in the latter case a Sunday-school should be established, and, if possible, a week-night Bible class.

Here is a field of labour ready to hand for utilising lay agency where the clergy are insufficient to carry it on, but they must ever remember that it is their work, and must be carried on under their superintendence. Any building erected for Divine service ought to have plenty of light and be well heated. The miners keep very large fires in their houses, and are very reluctant to attend service in any building which is insufficiently heated. The miners, generally speaking, are very fond of music—the services in Church, therefore, should be hearty, and as much congregational singing ought to be introduced as possible. I do not advocate the services to be of too florid a character, in which I think a great number cannot join, and especially the old people, in a country congregation—whatever is done in Church, however little, ought to be well done. I think the Psalms might be sung occasionally, say once a month, and now and then an anthem might be introduced. A really good anthem (not too long, not too elaborate, and not giving too much room for individual display of conceited singers) sung at the great festivals, or oftener, will help to keep a choir together, and will even be found useful in drawing people to Church. In many parishes the churches are never open for prayer but on Sundays, whereas at least one week-night service is held in nearly all the Nonconformist chapels in country districts. I would therefore recommend, that in parishes where such is the case, that one week-night service be held if it can be so arranged, and also a children's service, once a month, on a Sunday afternoon.

I would fain hope that the day is not far distant when our churches can be called with greater truth houses of prayer, by being open all day for private prayer, so that miners and others who have no room in their own houses, and who may feel so inclined, can go there for that purpose. The church ought to be to every sincere Christian a sacred place, and surely no fitter place can be sought to unburden one's cares and troubles to our Heavenly Father than the earthly temples where He more especially vouchsafes to dwell. I would also urge more frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion. It must have occurred to many who are at all acquainted with mining districts, that such is desirable, from the fact that so many men approach the Holy Table unaccompanied by their wives. This is, no doubt, caused to a great extent by its being celebrated after morning service, whereas it is almost impossible for many a miner's wife regularly to attend morning service. I know of several clergymen who, having experienced this difficulty, have now a celebration at 8 or 8.30 o'clock on the Sunday morning, and all have been attended with the best results. Many are now to be seen there who never could conveniently get before.

I would further suggest that as a help to Church work reading rooms be established. The miners, as a class, have a taste for reading, and retain what they read. This also would be the means of introducing a healthy literature in place of so much that is published at the present time of a pernicious and demoralising tendency, and which finds a considerable number of readers both amongst old and young. A clergyman, who has laboured amongst miners for about twenty-seven years, lately told me that a reading-room had recently been established in his parish, and that it had only been opened for three weeks or so when a neighbouring publican complained that it had been the means of losing him a great many customers, and that many who had hitherto spent their spare evenings at his house now never came, but went to the reading-room instead. If such good results can follow the establishment of such institutions, I scarcely think any other argument necessary. The clergyman should be the president, and should have the power of objecting to any book or periodical proposed to be introduced.

Another suggestion I wish to make is as to the advisability of removing clergymen after a certain number of years' service in one parish to another. This would prevent stagnation in both pastor and people, and enable the energies of an active, earnest clergyman to be felt over a wider area. How this is to be accomplished I am not in a position to state; but one thing does suggest itself, that the bishop might do much by making ten or twelve removals in filling up one vacancy.

I now conclude this paper with the feeling that I may have omitted several things which perhaps may have occurred to some present, but I have striven to state what, in my opinion, I consider to be the chief helps and hindrances which affect the work of our Church in mining districts. The Church claims to be, and there is no reason why she should not prove herself to be, the best friend of the poor; but it will be admitted that she still has much work to do if she would win the allegiance of the masses of our people. We must, however, hope and believe that it is not yet too late for her to do this with our pit population.

The Venerable GEORGE HANS HAMILTON, ARCHDEACON OF LINDISFARNE.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been asked to address to you a paper on "The Special Conditions which affect the Work of the Church in the Diocese of Durham in Rural Districts." The Church of the Borders of Scotland is affected principally by two influences, which run throughout the whole of our parochial ministrations, viz. (1st) The Presbyterian element, and (2nd) The possibility of the whole agricultural population changing their residence annually.

1. In the rural parishes of Northumberland the agricultural population for two centuries has been constantly recruited from the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, and hence we have a strong Presbyterian element pervading the whole of the working classes. Forty years ago this produced a rigid prejudice against the doctrines and formularies of the Church of England; and within the last quarter of a century I have my-

self frequently witnessed at funerals the minister and his people turn about at the entrance of the churchyard, and leave the relatives of the deceased to enter the church alone. To the late Dr. Gilly, Canon of Durham and Vicar of Norham-on-Tweed, must be attributed the first breaking down of this hard line of demarcation. He had shown his sympathy with the reformed communities of the Continent, especially by his visits to the Waldenses, and by his history of their ancient and steadfast vindication of Scriptural truth, amidst fiery persecution. Dr. Gilly thus elicited the intelligent appreciation and warm-hearted acknowledgments of the Presbyterians of the Borders of Scotland; while his charming story of "Felix Neff" excited wide-spread interest, and left a lasting impression on the public mind. It is related that upon the death of a Presbyterian Deacon, the Minister and Elders waited upon Dr. Gilly, at the Vicarage of Norham, and wished him to do them the favour of extending his well-known liberality by allowing the funeral of their brother to take place without that portion of the service which was read in the church, as they had conscientious objections to it. The rev. doctor said that he was always anxious to meet the conscientious scruples of all his parishioners, and that he would gladly omit any portion of the service appointed to be read in the church which they could point out as objectionable to them; and in order that they might form a more deliberate judgment, he would present each of the deputation with a copy of the Prayer-book, and by the morrow he hoped they would have marked for him that which they wished him to omit. They thanked him and withdrew; but after attentively perusing the Prayer-books which the doctor had given them, they found themselves obliged to write to him and say that they were mistaken, for they found that the whole of the Burial Service read within the church was taken from the Holy Scriptures, and they therefore hoped that he would read it all at the funeral of their departed brother. The deep-rooted prejudices of half a century ago have gradually given way to an almost universal respect for the clergy, and an inclination to become acquainted with, and even to accept the teaching of the Church of England. For many years both minister and people always appear in church at the funerals of the members of their own congregations, and since the passing of the Burials Act have (with very few exceptions) preferred that the clergyman of the parish should continue to perform these services.

And what is more important, our congregations and our communicants largely consist of those who had been Presbyterians in their youth, and better Churchmen and women cannot be found. For among them all the highest value is attached to the Bible, and its plain exposition is received with interest and even critical attention. Generally speaking they are reverently observant of the Sabbath, and the disposition to attend a place of worship on the Lord's Day forms a part of the idea of their duty which they have inherited from their fathers. Hence there is a groundwork for the parochial clergy to build upon, which is not always to be found in other parts of the kingdom. But we have our faults; drunkenness is to be found now and then amongst us; but our sobriety (although not as perfect as we desire, and hope it may at a not distant period prove to be) will compare favourably with other parts of England and with Scotland; and where the temptations of the public-house are removed a mile or two from the homes of the agricultural population,

there is no effort made to obtain intoxicating drinks, and the whole population of such happy districts is perfectly sober. And we must further confess that about the year 1850 statistics proved that Northumberland was the worst county in England, Cumberland only excepted, with regard to children born out of wedlock. This was properly traced to an historic fact that for centuries the religious sanction of holy matrimony had been annihilated in the mind of the working classes of these two counties by what was known as "The Border," or "Gretna Green" marriages; by which any man and woman might be married on the Scotch Border at any hour of the day or night without previous notice. And the consequence was, that parents knew not whether their children were married or not, nor were masters and mistresses aware of the domestic condition of their servants. When vicar of Berwick-upon-Tweed, two of my female servants were thus married at Lambton Toll without our knowledge. Some one mischievously inserted one of these marriages in the local newspaper, which I happened to see, and immediately rang the bell, and asked the housemaid if that was her marriage in the paper, to which she replied, "How things will out!" I gave her half an hour to pack up her clothes and go to her husband. In 1855 the evils arising from this state of things led the ministers of every denomination in "the good town" of Berwick-upon-Tweed to agree upon a document deprecating the effects produced upon the morals of the whole community, and asking for remedial legislation. The then Dean of Carlisle, Dr. Tait, was instrumental in obtaining a similar demonstration in that city; and the late Lord Brougham introduced a bill "for the amendment of the law of marriage in Scotland," which received the Royal Assent on the 29th of July, 1856. This law enacts that no irregular marriage in Scotland shall be valid unless one of the parties shall have resided in Scotland for the preceding twenty-one days. For we rightly judged that no young people would run away to be married if they had to remain for twenty-one days on the Scottish Borders—especially in the winter. The evil has thus been absolutely stopped, and ever since the moral tone of the Border population has been gradually improving, although it will take another half century before the religious sanction in holy matrimony be recognised and valued as in other parts of this kingdom.

(2) The second characteristic which pervades the whole of our rural districts is the custom of the families employed in agriculture hiring from each 12th of May for one year. The whole rural population therefore may, and in the majority of cases do, change their home once a year. Our friends from the south who are accustomed to the symmetry of a well-ordered parish, may be inclined to suppose that little or nothing could be done for such a shifting mass—the *speculum gregis* would be all wrong. The school children could learn little or nothing. The Government grants could nowhere be obtained. The choir so soon as taught would become scattered. The congregations would ever be changing, and the clergy could exercise but small influence. And there is some truth in all this, for the system is attended with many inconveniences. But the clergy have preserveringly struggled with them all. Our annual hirings are unlike the "statute hirings" of the south; for all the members of the family are hired together. The parents, with their grown-up sons and daughters, attend the public hirings until they find themselves suited with a new

home. The hiring farmer sends his carts and horses and removes the whole of the furniture, together with the very aged and the little children, to his own homestead; and in about four days after the 12th of May, everything has settled down again, and for another year nothing more is seen of "the flittings."

With all its disadvantages this system suits the population. The agriculturist, whether he be a hind or a shepherd, has one valuable commodity to dispose of, namely, his skilled labour, and this he and his family bring annually to a free and open market, and obtain the full value. In the years of plenty, a full hinding (by which is meant the power to take care of and work with a pair of horses) was worth about 22s. a week, a free house and garden, together with potatoes (worth 2s. a week), and the leading of coals; and this hiring being an agreement for one year, nothing is deducted from the wages, either for illness or for bad weather. These wages have now fallen to 16s. or 15s. a week, with the same perquisites. A son of from fifteen years to eighteen can obtain a "half hinding," which is worth half the above wages; while a grown-up daughter receives 1s. 3d. a day when required to work in the fields, which is increased to 2s. 6d. a day during the four weeks of harvest.

One of the results of this system has been, that when the agricultural labourers of the south were on strike, and became the easy prey of local agitators, we of the north continued on our even course of an independent, free, and annual arrangement; and thus within the last few years of depression a reduction of about 7s. a week, or £18 a year, has been amicably and intelligently submitted to by the head of each family, without strikes, and without discontent. And it is found that disputes between the employers and the employed seldom or ever find their way into our courts of Petty Sessions, for, if dissatisfaction arise on either side, they generally go on as quietly as they may be able until the next 12th of May, when the farmer does not ask that family to hire for another year, or the head of the family betakes himself to the public hiring, and moves off to a new home. The clergy, at each May term, commend those who remove to the minister of their new parish. Government and diocesan inspectors visit the schools in March, April, and the beginning of May. The whole of the families about to leave the parish receive a farewell visit from their pastor, and the new-comers are immediately looked up and informed of the Church services and of the school accommodation for their children.

It may astonish some of our brethren to hear of the size of many of our Northumberland parishes. My own contains 24,000 acres, and is about sixteen miles by ten. But these are reasonable dimensions, when compared with the 37,000 acres of Kirknewton, or the 76,000 acres of Elsdon. Such parishes present hard work both for curates, horses, and ponies; but a well-ordered system of district-visiting, supplemented by cottage lectures, and chapel and schoolroom services, enables the clergy to become acquainted with the spiritual wants of the people, and to supply them. The wives and daughters of the tenant farmers prove themselves intelligent visitors of their own homesteads. They visit each family once a fortnight, and change the library book or tracts. They become the friends and advisers of those whom they employ, and inform the clergyman by post if his presence be required, and he appears among them forthwith; and where no efficient district-visitors can be

found, the clergy take their place, and pay the prescribed visit, always supplying to each family some well-selected tract or pamphlet. And in these large parishes the Church families attend the place of worship which is nearest to them. Thus my parishioners have no less than ten such open to them—three within the parish itself, and seven churches in the surrounding parishes—all of which gladly receive some of our outlying Church people on each Sunday. We, then, of the Border clergy are privileged to live and work among the most intelligent, prosperous, and contented working class which this or any other country has produced. The physique of our Northumberland hind and shepherd is superior to any other, and being well fed and clothed, he can accomplish a quarter more work than the labourer of the south, and with good humour will endure more hardship.

The people are independent, because they are free; and contented, because they themselves, their wives, and children are comfortable in their houses, in their food and in their clothing. Act of Parliament compulsion is not required to force their children to school, for being educated themselves, they value education for those they love. Board-schools scarcely exist in this happy district. There are none in the boroughs of Berwick and Morpeth; none in the towns of Alnwick, Wooler, Belford, and North Sunderland, and in only a very few exceptional country parishes are these to be found. The Church of England, here and there ably supplemented by Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, has supplied education for the whole community, which is valued not only for its own sake, but more especially for the religious instruction which goes along with it. And when her ancient Episcopal Order of the seventh century, of Lindisfarne and Hexham, has been restored to Northumbria, a harvest of souls may be reaped by the Church of England, which may well remind us of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the earliest days of the Primitive Church. Then those self-denying pastors who for so many years have lived and worked half buried in secluded valleys, without notice and without encouragement, will have the cheering presence and counsel of the one set over them in the Lord. The solemn institution of the new clergyman to the cure of souls may be performed in the presence of the congregation, and the whole system of parochial life and work strengthened, sustained, sanctified, and blessed by annual, parochial, and personal confirmations of the young, the tempted, the struggling, and yet earnest members of Christ's body. Let us then conclude this paper with the words of the Lord Jesus—"Behold I say unto you, lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, for they are white already to harvest. And he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal; that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together."

AGNES E. WESTON.

I HAVE gladly responded to the invitation of the Congress to give a simple account of fifteen years' personal work among the seamen of our Navy. The weakness and insufficiency of any instrument only brings into greater prominence the all-sufficiency of the great Worker, the Spirit of God; and it has been in simple dependence on Him for power, wisdom,

and strength, for the special work to which I believe He has called me, that I have been able to do anything.

A member of the Church of England myself, my work is entirely unsectarian. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, all are equally welcomed to our Sailors' Rests, and my desire is that each and all should find in me a *personal friend*; while my simple aim and object is by every good and holy influence to turn these men "from darkness to light, and from the power of sin and Satan unto God."

In thus dealing with personal work, which I feel is my province, I must not trench upon the labours of the great Societies whose claims will doubtless be brought before the Congress; their labours are great, and beyond all praise, and I meet with the fruits among seamen all over the world. A Society by its very organisation is able to accomplish a vaster work than an individual, and to cover a greater space; but personal work takes up the threads, fills up the details, exerts an influence peculiar to itself, and in connection with Society work a complete whole is the result, which, if energised and guided by the Spirit of God, must exert a most powerful influence over any class or body in the community.

The Royal Navy of this great country, our "first arm of defence," is a most important as well as popular institution. The wooden walls of Old England have long passed away, and iron walls have taken their place, and with the wooden walls and white canvas possibly some of the romance may have departed also; but I am bold to say, from long personal knowledge, that the "hearts of oak" beat as true as ever, and that physically, morally, and I believe also spiritually, the man-o'-war's man, or "blue-jacket" as he is familiarly called, was never a finer fellow than he is now. Without drawing any invidious comparisons, it must be conceded by all that the blue-jacket is a man of higher social position than the soldier (I am now speaking solely of the Royal Navy). Every seaman is trained from the age of fifteen and a half years on board one of her Majesty's training-ships until the age of eighteen years, when he is drafted into the navy. Previous to admission he must possess certain qualifications: physically, he must come up to a certain standard, and be of sound health; mentally, he must be able to read and write; and morally, he must be of good character, and possess the consent of parents or guardians. It will be seen at a glance that such a system must insure a very superior class as compared with the military plan of recruiting; and such is the desire inborn in the boys of England for "a life on the ocean wave," that no difficulty is found in manning the Navy.

On board the training-ships the discipline and education are admirable. I do not know a better opening anywhere for a mischievous, lively youth, who may be, from his very recklessness and animal spirits, a trouble to his parents and his clergyman, than the Royal Navy: and I shall always be delighted to furnish every information, and to send the printed forms for filling up to any clergyman who may wish to get one or two spirited youths into her Majesty's service.

The organisation and discipline of the Navy is well known. Our ships of war in commission are models of smartness, cleanliness, and drill; everything goes like clockwork, and everyone knows his place and his duty in the great machine. Wise regulations for payment of wages at short intervals; libraries to which the men can get access; reading-rooms on board some ships supplied with bagatelle-boards,

papers, and periodicals ; dry canteens for the sale of groceries and extra comforts ; coffee canteens for the sale of hot coffee once or twice a day, and other practically good things are carried out by the Admiralty and by commanding officers. Wet canteens for the sale of beer have been started on board many ships, with, I believe, the good intention of selling unadulterated drink to the men, and of keeping them from the evil associations of the public-house ; but the practical outcome seems to be that no fencing round will prevent alcohol in any shape from running its appointed course, that the desire for drink is kept up by drinking even in moderation, and that the public-houses on shore are not the less frequented. I believe if the opinion of the men as a body were collected it would be against wet canteens : the lion may be chained, but he is a lion still.

The ships of H.M.'s Navy ranging above a certain size each carry a chaplain, to whose care is committed the spiritual interests of the men. There are many difficulties in Naval Church work with which it is not my province to deal, but in my intercourse with the men ashore, and visits to them afloat, I have frequently come in contact with the chaplains, and have received much help, encouragement, and sympathy from them ; I carefully refrain on board ship from trenching in any way upon their province, and look upon myself as a visitor in the parish of a parochial clergyman. I hear from the men warm and outspoken opinions as to their kind help and ready sympathy. "Our chaplain is a stunner, and no mistake," a man said the other day ; "he don't only preach to us, but he comes on the lower deck when the mess-traps are cleared up, and sits down alongside of us, just like a brother." Such personal interest is warmly felt and responded to by Jack, and the clergyman's influence is such as I believe is rarely gained on shore. Bible classes, meetings for prayer and singing, temperance and social entertainments, are carried out on board many ships when at sea.

If on board our ships of war, at any rate the larger ones, some small corner could be screened or boarded off as a Bible and prayer room, where men could have a quiet time apart from their messmates either alone or socially, it would be the greatest help to the maintenance of spiritual life in the Navy. The lower deck is a crowded and noisy scene, —300, 400, 500, or more men, as the case may be, living and sleeping together. There is no privacy of any kind ; many men have gone to the fore or main top, or into the stoke-hole, or anywhere, for a quiet time of reading and prayer. Prayer-rooms have been set apart for soldiers in the Indian barracks, and although the difficulties are greater on board a man-of-war, there is no doubt that it could and would be done if represented by those that have the right to speak.

I have spoken somewhat at length on the "moral structure" of the Navy, if I may be allowed to coin a word, and am most thankful to be able to bear testimony as to the number of truly godly officers and men in the service. I shall be able to show presently that I do not speak without ground, when I say that there is scarcely even a gunboat at the present day on board of which we do not find godly men ; the old saying "The worse the man, the better the sailor," has long passed away, and commanding officers often state in my hearing that if they want a dangerous, difficult, or responsible duty carried out, they look around for the temperance and godly men to do it.

As I have already stated, it is now about fifteen years ago since I first commenced the acquaintance which has now become real friendship with our men-of-war's men. On board H.M.'s troopship *Crocodile* a young sick-bay steward was serving. Like many another, he had spent a wild youth, had almost broken his mother's heart, but had always been followed by his mother's prayers. After her death he gave his heart to God, and became as energetic and useful in His service as he had been in that of Satan. He had no one to take that mother's place, and to write as she had done about high and holy things. One day, talking to a soldier, he accidentally saw a letter which I had written, and eagerly asked the soldier whether he thought I would write to him. The soldier answered in the affirmative; and when I heard the story, God's simple order to me was plainly to write to the man. I did so. He has often spoken since of his surprise when the letter came, and how, after reading it, he went down on his knees, and thanked God for having given him a Christian friend to take his *mother's* place; and thus the right chord was struck at once, and that chord has vibrated, and is vibrating now, throughout the Navy. This young seaman talked about his letter; it was read on board many ships by godly men, who wished to be written to also; the readers and one of the committee of the Royal Naval Scripture Readers' Society kindly assisted me by sending me the names of men who said they would like Miss Weston to write to them; and so this simple work grew—a quiet work, a woman's work, and above all valuable because it seemed to have borne that most precious stamp of all to a sailor's mind, the influence of mother and sister combined.

Although God has increased and developed my work marvellously since then, the stamp which it received at the commencement is still there, and is, I feel more every day, the hinge or pivot on which all turns. "Mother" and "home" are two of the most sacred words in the language of a blue-jacket, and the mention of either will often bring tears to his eyes. And so in my own personal work throughout the service, and in my Sailors' Rests at home, I steer by these cardinal points, and endeavour to bring every influence bound up in these words to bear upon the men. No clashing on these lines is possible, either with the Naval authorities or with those societies whose field of work is on the waters.

Letter-writing to men abroad once commenced began to spread. I forced nothing, but simply took the work as God placed it in my hands. At the present moment letters come in by every mail from officers and men serving all over the world. All replies are written in my name, although now I cannot write all with my own hand. Last year about 40,000 letters and packets for post passed through our Sailors' Rests, 29,200 through the Devonport office alone. I cannot give any idea of the replies received, as it might be looked upon as a breach of confidence; but I may say that they are so simple and earnest, so full of love to Christ and desire for His glory, that I thank God daily for the spiritual life in the service.

Another agency in my hands is the printed Monthly Letter, or *Blue-Back* as naval men call it, from its blue cover; it is a letter written monthly by myself, printed, and then sent forth to do a wide and varied work. Every ship in her Majesty's Navy receives a packet monthly, according to her size and the number of men carried. Some godly officer

or man receives the parcel, and distributes the letters to the men in their messes. Here again is an opening for the influence of which I have spoken. "We reads them because you sends them," said a bronzed blue-jacket, "and because we almost seems to hear you talking to us." Last year 160,850 Blue Backs were sent out, 109,100 men's letters, 30,600 boys' letters, and 21,150 mercantile. Not only do the Government ships receive them, but they go also to 160 Coastguard stations; and if I knew of seamen's names at those stations to which they are not sent, or of friends living near who would undertake to receive and distribute them monthly, I would send to *every Coastguard station* in the United Kingdom. We also send to the Royal Naval Hospital, where they point the sufferers to Christ; to the Royal Marine Barracks, and to our agents and Sailors' Rests and reading-rooms in nearly all the principal foreign ports. But in a great mercantile port like Newcastle-on-Tyne, friends may be even more interested in hearing that I print a special edition for the mercantile service, which I am quite willing to allow to be localised in any large ports, as it is already at Cardiff. From the Sailors' Rest at Devonport I send regularly to nearly 500 of our great ocean-going mail and passenger steamships, and this part of the work has spread into the United States Navy, many of the men of the sister navy wishing to receive monthly letters.

Commodore Luce of the United States Training Squadron writes that he "rejoices to place them in the hands of men and boys under his command, that they are received and read as coming from one whom they know, where an ordinary tract would be repelled." In this way letters, both written and printed, are sent all over the world; our men everywhere feel that they are not forgotten, and each letter becomes a link between themselves and home. A Naval Bible Union for consecutive reading of the Scriptures is also in operation, and I always rejoice to hear of little gatherings on board ship for reading the Bible, singing, and prayer. At the foreign ports I have a large staff of earnest kind helpers, who cordially welcome our sailors as the ships arrive, and try to win them from sin to Christ, by Bible-classes, prayer-meetings, tea-parties, temperance-meetings, picnics, etc., and other agencies for good. I have such helpers at many of our foreign stations, but am always glad to add to the number, and to correspond with any who would assist me in the work; our seamen ought not to leave their friends behind in England, but to find them everywhere, and I hope to be able to pass on the men from port to port without a break. In connection with the work afloat, it is only right to mention the Royal Naval Temperance Society, which I superintend for the National Temperance League. This society, with its floating branches on board most of the ships in the Navy, its civil branches for seamen's wives and others at home and foreign ports, its officers' branch for officers in the service, and its Bands of Hope for seamen's children at Portsmouth and Plymouth, is doing a great work. The chief features of the Society are its broad basis, admitting all denominations, also Roman Catholics; its simplicity, avoiding all cumbrous organisation, which works badly in the Navy; and the fact that the aim and object is that the Society should be worked *within* the service by officers and men, and not forced upon them from without. The men cheerfully pay for all supplies, and carry on the work with great zest.

On our ships of war commissioning, I ask for and obtain permission

to do temperance work on board; and commencing with personal influence, I visit them on the "lower deck;" many enrol their names, and volunteers come forward to help. Before the ship leaves I frequently ask for leave to speak to the ship's company, which is readily granted; it is a fine sight to see the 500 or 600 fine fellows gathered together voluntarily, and to notice their eager attention, and still more pleasant to see them crowd up to enrol their names, determining in God's strength to keep their promise. Drink is frequently stated to be the source of nearly all the naval crime, and any personal work would be incomplete if temperance was not brought to bear; abundant testimony comes every day from the men, that it is the removing of a stumbling-stone that lies between themselves and all that is good. In connection with our Society a monthly paper is published, edited by my great friend and fellow-worker, Miss Wintz. It is called the *Naval Brigade News*, and has been so taken up in the Navy that it is self-supporting: 31,500 copies have been circulated during the past year. It is a bright, lively, and thoroughly nautical paper. I am now brought back to the Home work connected with the Sailors' Rests under my care: of these there are *five*—two at Devonport, and one each at Portsmouth, Sheerness, and Portland. My reason for mapping out the ports in this way is, that as the work takes in the *whole navy* it is necessary to have a home at each Government port, and so to get a personal hold upon each ship.

Devonport was the birthplace of the first Sailors' Rest. This building has increased year by year, and has thriven amazingly; it is conducted on the coffee-tavern system, added to which we have all the adjuncts of a happy home, reading and recreation rooms, plenty of sleeping accommodation, a good hall for meetings, etc., etc. We cannot in any way reckon the numbers that come in and out of the place every day for refreshment, or for a quiet hour; but our books show that our sleepers last year at our Devonport houses were 32,194. The public-house trade has suffered severely through the competition, one landlord declaring we had taken away 75 per cent. of his customers! Seamen the worse for drink bring themselves, or are brought by shipmates or the police, and the golden principle of "never turn a blue-jacket away" is carried out vigorously. As I write, a poor fellow has been brought in, his face kicked and cut open in a drunken brawl, streaming with blood; he has been attended to and watched, and at this moment has regained his senses. In answer to a little quiet conversation he says he "is so glad his shipmates brought him here, that the drink is killing him, and he is only thankful he wasn't kicked into eternity." God grant that he may give up the evil thing, and become a different man; there are numbers in the Navy at this moment, serving their Queen and country with distinction, some of them petty officers, who can testify that the little acts of kindness by which they were admitted within our doors and taken care of have been the greatest blessing to them.

In connection with the Sailors' Rest we have a clothing dépôt, where good and strong uniform and plain clothing, oilskins, sea-boots, guernseys, and other sea-going necessities may be bought; a savings bank on a very large scale, in which Jack can deposit his money—last year £13,426 was deposited. Interest is given on standing accounts at the rate of 2½ per cent., and the money is vested in trustees. Every day we are sending money to friends or relatives, or forwarding useful

articles to all parts of the world ; this money would very probably be squandered, if not saved in our own or some other savings bank. In our hall all our religious, social, temperance, and other meetings are carried on with unabated vigour every evening ; work among seamen's wives and children is also carried on, and the consequence is that the Sailors' Rest becomes a place where the blue-jacket is cared for, and his wife and family also.

The whole work is, I feel, from God, and is essentially a *home work*. I do pray that God may raise up many who will work personally among our sailors, and I pray more earnestly still that they may be those whom He intends for the work, gifted with the "spirit of wisdom, and of a sound mind ;" a judicious and even mind is specially needed, or personal dealing will degenerate into favouritism with all its evils. "Men are but children of a larger growth," and this may, with the greatest truth, be applied to the brave warm-hearted seaman. The head of any family must first hold the balance of justice evenly, must know how to bear with the unruly and wayward, to encourage the weak, and to be patient to all ; these blue-jackets are like a great family, and require to be dealt with as such. Perhaps this simile may hold good in personal work amongst other classes, and it would be well, if such is the case, for personal workers to follow out this principle, not striving after a larger or more imposing sphere, but seeking in this home life, whether public or private, to be the inward light-shine, that men seeing their good works, may glorify, not themselves, but their Father which is in heaven.

ADDRESSES.

Mr. E. J. MATHER (Secretary of Thames Church Mission, London).

MY LORD,—All here who have ever had the pleasure of listening to Miss Weston's interesting narration of work amongst the blue-jackets in the Royal Navy, must heartily regret her inability to be present ; but I for one am thankful that her absence has enabled Commander Dawson to read his very able paper upon "Church Work amongst Seamen in the Diocese of Durham," for no one is better qualified than he to deal with the question according to the terms of the programme, his society having for many years occupied stations in these great northern ports.

The Committee's invitation to me allows great latitude, and your lordship will perhaps permit me to confine my observations entirely to Church-work in the Diocese of London, which has been for many years carried on by the oldest Church society for the benefit of seamen—the Thames Church Mission.

From the year 1829 to 1847, the *Brazen*, an old sloop-of-war, fitted as a church, was moored off the Tower of London, in the hope that seamen in large numbers would attend the spiritual provision made for their benefit. It was found, however, that sailors who had returned from long voyages preferred remaining on shore ; and so in this respect the *Brazen* proved a failure. In a higher sense, however, she was successful, as this anecdote will prove : After the last annual meeting of the Thames Church Mission, an aged sea-captain introduced himself to me, stating that forty-one years ago he attended the *Brazen* service one Sunday night on his return from the West Indies. God met with him there : the Gospel preached by the officiating clergyman reached his conscience and heart, and he left England again a changed man, "to live no longer to himself, but to Him who died for him and rose again." Here is

a practical commentary on the text, which has been the Society's motto : "Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days."

In 1844, several members of the *Brasen* Committee met for prayer, and to consider what further steps could be taken to meet the desperate need of sailors entering the port of London, and the outcome of that prayer-meeting was a second application to the Admiralty, who kindly granted the *Swan*, a cutter which had seen service in the Baltic. She was forthwith fitted as a cruising church, and with a resident chaplain, licensed by the Bishop of London, and a crew of five pious men, she sailed forth—as the old report expresses it—"to do battle for the Lord of Hosts against the powers of darkness for the soul of the sailor."

The conditions of river-traffic differed entirely from those of to-day. Instead of vast docks extending for many miles below London Bridge, the shipping (and especially the colliers) lay in seven sections between London and Gravesend, awaiting their turn to go up and discharge in the Pools.

Here were met the north-country sailors, hailing from this Diocese of Durham. We Londoners depend largely on the northern coal-fields—5,225 cargoes of coal have entered the Thames during the present year, chiefly in steamers; but in the early days of the Thames Church Mission, the coal was conveyed in a fleet of brigs of from 100 to 500 tons burthen, manned by some 3,500 sailors. Many of these poor fellows were not merely ignorant, but terribly ungodly and profane, with hearts as black as the coal in which they traded. At first they met the chaplain and his band of lay-helpers with insult and abuse, for a notion was prevalent that the Government were attempting to force religion down the sailors' throats, and that the next step would be the imposition of a tax to cover the cost of maintaining the *Swan*.

However, through God's great goodness, this opposition ceased, in a great measure owing to the conversion of a captain who had been the bitterest opponent, but afterwards became one of the most ardent supporters of the Mission Church, never failing to attend the services himself and using every effort to take others with him, and, beyond doubt, we shall meet many—very many—of them in that day when "the Lord shall make up His jewels."

Now, the *Swan* no longer cruises, but a mission-room with library, etc., stands at East Greenwich; and the Society is represented by a chaplain, assistant-chaplain, five lay missionaries, and four colporteurs (all except the clergy having themselves been seamen). With this staff the daily visitation of shipping of all nationalities is carried on, both on the river and in the docks. No fewer than 27,281 visits were paid last year, while 3,226 services were held, at which there were 94,624 attendants. The same spirit of devotedness is manifested as in earlier years; the same earnest desire to win souls for Christ—and, thank God, the same blessed results.

The senior chaplain resides at Gravesend, and you would be greatly interested in details of his services with seamen and emigrants were there time to relate them. Those held with the latter class are often deeply affecting. 22,559 English and foreign emigrants have left the great port of London during the present year; and it is no small satisfaction that as far as can be ascertained (and the leading shipowners give every facility to the mission-staff) every emigrant has been presented with a copy of the New Testament, Gospels, or Psalms, together with suitable tracts, in his own language. Similar gratuitous distribution was, by the courtesy of the Admiralty, effected on board the transports which conveyed reinforcements to the Cape at the beginning of the year; so that each soldier took a New Testament and tracts as part of his kit; and no fewer than 4,524 copies of the Word of God and 800 Prayer-books were purchased by seamen during the past year.

Services are also held on the Lord's-day, and Bible and Confirmation classes during the week on board the cadet-ship *Worcester*, and the training frigates *Arethusa*, *Chichester*, and *Cornwall*, whose captains speak in the highest terms of the spiritual results upon their youthful crews. And let us hope the eighty *Worcester* cadets, and one hundred and seventy boys from the other ships who annually enter the merchant-service, carry away in their

hearts the precious seed which has been sown, to bring forth fruit for God in their after lives.

But there is one point to which I must refer in the few moments which remain, the fact—and it is undeniable—that so large a proportion of those sailors who have been converted during the past thirty-seven years have lapsed into Dissent. A sailor recently remarked to me, “When I go to church I never feel comfortable ; no one notices me, or if they do it is to find fault with my clothes ; but if I enter a chapel, some one comes forward to grasp my hand and show me to a seat. I am made welcome ; and if unable to find the hymns, the person next to me will do so for me. I feel at home, sir, and my heart is warmed up.”

My lord, very much could be said as to the causes and remedies of this secession ; but nothing more to the purpose than those words in your lordship's opening address, referring to the earnest Christian men who seceded from the Established Church one hundred and fifty years ago : “What regrets for the past and what warnings for the future does it not suggest to us ! What lessons of *organisation*, of *sympathy*, of *adaptation* does it not read to us ! Why should not this great spiritual mechanism have been retained within the Church to which it owed its being ?” Let me earnestly appeal to the sympathies of the members of this Congress on behalf of the sailor. Oh, carry back with you to your several spheres a truer sense of your responsibilities towards those brave seamen to whom we owe so much, and who merit our thought and our care in spiritual things.

When the day arrives that “Mariners' Churches” shall have been erected wherever there are sailors to attend them ; when larger numbers of clergy, unhampered by the care of a parish, shall devote themselves exclusively to the sailors ; when, to quote the Archbishop of Canterbury, “the recommendations of Convocation shall have been vigorously acted upon,” and an army of lay readers have been appointed from the ranks of spiritual-minded officers of the mercantile marine, to conduct the services of the Church on board ships when away at sea, thus connecting our brethren afloat by closest ties with those who worship ashore—then, and not till then, will the Church win back and retain within her borders the hundreds of godly seamen who ought never to have been permitted to leave her communion.

The Rev. W. A. SCOTT (Vicar of New Seaham).

THE task of addressing you is made peculiarly easy by the thoughtful practical paper which has been read by Mr. Gilchrist. It is indeed one of the most cheering features of these Congress meetings to find our laymen coming to the front, and pronouncing their sentiments and exhibiting their goodwill and sympathy with our work in tones of unmistakable and hearty brotherly love. I feel a little embarrassed by the very abundance and excellence of these topics, so wisely handled by Mr. Gilchrist. He began by speaking of the need which existed some time ago for greater efforts by the Church for the well-being of the poor pitmen. Nearly twenty-five years ago, when I entered upon the charge of a colliery parish, being its first vicar, I found there was complete indifference as to the work of the Church on the part of the congregation. One of those busy people who have so justly earned the title of “Job's comforters,” told me I could expect to have no congregation, as there was nobody in the parish but colliery people ; and “whoever heard of pitmen—‘Geordies’—going to church ? They invariably went to chapel.” On Sunday many men stood at the gates of the church with their pipes in their mouths, but with no more sense of any duty of entering the church, and with no more sense of shame when the parish priest went in before their eyes, than if the place was a menagerie or a circus.

The same Job's comforters came to me and said, “I will tell you what they think of church. There was a viewer who had a servant. The master was a Churchman, the servant a Dissenter belonging to a small body who not unfrequently had contentions amongst themselves. The master took a malicious pleasure in noticing these differences ; and seeing his man, one Sunday morning, more than usually disconcerted,

asked him what was the matter. He said, 'There's more than enough the matter. I have made up my mind—I'm about done with them. *I will give up religion and join the Church.*' That was the state of things under which Church work was formerly conducted amongst the pitmen; but a change has come, and although in the collieries we are not quite what we ought to be, or what we want to be, certainly we are not what we used to be.

Mr. Gilchrist has spoken of our difficulties. No less than five times my church has been almost emptied, and almost the whole of the congregation has passed away. The houses have been emptied, and a new set of people have come in, more or less strangers to everything connected with the Church, if not to religion altogether. It is very hard work to re-establish everything, but we have succeeded, and our church is not empty yet. But this migration is not an unmixed evil. The people go somewhere else, and if we have done our work as we ought, they carry with them the good seed of the Word of God. When I call upon a neighbouring clergyman, it is often a pleasure to meet some well-remembered faces, who were formerly members of my flock, occupying places of usefulness in the Sunday-school, or standing upon the temperance platform. We have heard a great deal of advice with respect to the prevention of the growth of secularism, but its cure must be effected by hard work, by patience, by perseverance, and by prayer for God's blessing upon our efforts to banish darkness and for the diffusion of light.

I am entirely at one with Mr. Gilchrist as to district-visiting, and know its value amongst the mining population. If you visit their houses and take an interest in their bairns, and if they see that you follow up this interest by an interest in the day and the Sunday-schools, they will soon open their warm hearts and give you a place in them from which you may not easily be dislodged. But visiting a pitman is not always so easy. I went into a pitman's house on one Saturday evening. The woman received me kindly, but the man inquired what was my business. I told him I was the parish clergyman. He asked "what was my business." I said, "I came to pay you a pastoral visit." "But what's your business?" "I am the parish priest come to pay you a pastoral visit." "You told me that before—but what's your business with me?" "I came to give you an invitation to attend the church." "That's it," he said, "that's capital;" he understood there was a meaning in these words. How are we to impress still further our work upon these people? We must utilise lay help, especially in the parishes where there are distant hamlets with populations of five or six hundred pitmen. Let us choose out laymen fit to do the work. Don't despair if you cannot get gentlemen and schoolmasters—go to your Communion rails and select men whose hearts are right with God, and who love souls. Let these be taken into training, and have a class of these men. Let there be some system of local preachers in the Church, as there is in other communities, and we shall not have to do the work single-handed.

It is not for me to say anything of Mr. Gilchrist's suggestion as to not leaving clergymen too long in colliery parishes. It would be a boon to some of us if at last the sun of Episcopal patronage would shine through the smoke of our colliery villages, and let us find a resting-place in our old age. We do not desire to be idle. I can truly say I should part with regret from my colliery population, but I would part from them for their sake that a man more able than I, with full vigour of body and mind, might take my place, and that the work of God might go on and prosper.

The Rev. J. HENDERSON (Ancroft).

I WILL confine my remarks rather to those portions of the Church which are in the north of Northumberland; not that my sympathies do not go out to rural districts in other portions, but that I wish to confine my remarks to that which I know most about. The conditions which affect the Church in our rural districts will chiefly be found to spring either from the peculiarities of the people themselves, or from the peculiarities of the district in which they are situated. In our rural districts in Northumberland we are almost swamped by a strong Scotch element, and I am inclined to remark in my own parish that the English element is almost wanting. Let me take a truly rural

parish—one upon the borders of Scotland—the parish of Carram. It is seven miles long by five broad, and the only boundary between it and Scotland is a small stream, and it is perfectly possible for me to make one leg a Dissenter, by putting it into Scotland on one side of the stream, whilst the other remains a loyal Churchman in England. Not only may you expect to find the Scotchmen Presbyterians, but the whole bent of their mind is so cast and assimilated, that it cannot receive any feeling of sympathy for our English mode of religion. In our rural districts probably not ten per cent. of our population are in sympathy with the Church of England. In my own case, out of thirteen tenant-farmers, only one professes to belong to the Church of England; and I could wish that our south-country friends would sometimes pay a visit upon one of our Church festivals—our great and holy days. He would see, not twenty yards from the church, the whole of the people working in the fields as if the day were no more holy than another. If the Scotch element and their character make these people predisposed to Presbyterianism, there is another feature of their character which keeps them there. A Scotchman is nothing if he is not “canny”—that is, extremely cautious, extremely deliberate, extremely slow. He listens almost with repugnance to your endeavours to show him that there may be a better form of religion than his own. Then, with regard to the migration that has been spoken of: on the 12th May, in one year, we had sixty-nine children; on the 13th, thirty-seven; one Sunday a choir of twelve, trained with great labour; the next Sunday only two. I call this the treadmill which we clergy in the north of Northumberland have to struggle against year after year. The question of women’s labour in the fields is also a prominent one. Our farmers pay to the women 1s. 3d. a day all the year round, except in harvest-time—exactly half of what they pay the men, and the women have to work two hours longer, and do everything except following the plough. The consequence is that many women become, after a manner, what I may call unsexed. It may be good physically—a more sturdy set of men and women hardly exists—but it does damage their character. It robs them of that refinement which gives them their title to be called the gentler sex. The Archdeacon has told you of the mileage, or the acreage, of certain enormous parishes in the north of Northumberland. I would only note that those parishes have a corresponding amount of poundage and of endowment, and therefore the incumbent can provide himself with the means of transmitting himself from point to point, not upon his own legs. Take the case of a parish seven miles long by five broad, with the clergyman’s house and school in one corner, which is seven miles from the church, and it takes fourteen miles’ walking every Sunday in order to provide the people of the hamlet with the ordinary means of grace. There is also a great feeling of isolation in being shut up in these enormous parishes. We never see a neighbouring clergyman, and we are deprived of that sympathy which is so strong a help in our times of trouble. It was suggested by the Bishop of Carlisle that there ought to be a S.P.P.C., or Society for Providing Pony-Carriages for clergymen in such circumstances; but I don’t think that that is possible. But what I should like to see, and hope to see, is that we should be able to utilise that amount of lay work and help which is lying ready at our doors, but which, because it has no Episcopal authority, we sometimes hesitate to take. Let us have it, and I believe we should have one of the most ready methods at our hands for grappling with the difficulties of these large parishes. His lordship also remarked upon the hospitality of the Church of England. That exists very generally, I am glad to say; but I have heard a man say that was asked to go through church to the vestry-meeting, “Thank God that neither I nor any of my forebears ever set foot in a church whilst they were alive.” Well, before his death he had frequently been in that church. Not very long ago an imbecile boy was sent into the garden of a neighbouring clergyman to read the burial service of Lord Beaconsfield. A great improvement has, I am glad to say, taken place in the dwelling-houses. Formerly they had only a “but” and a “ben”—two rooms, in which the whole family were huddled together; but, thanks to the energy and liberality of the landlords, that state of things has almost disappeared. The spirit of reverence had grown to a very great extent. When first I went to the parish I hold, it was the practice for the people to put on their hats the moment the last “Amen” was uttered, and for a long time I could not prevent it. Thank God, that is all past, and there is a much greater

spirit of reverence among the Presbyterians, and a much greater drawing towards the Church than there was ever before. I was asked whether it was possible the Church that was once the Church of the masses in Northumberland should ever become so again. I should be faithless, looking at the energy of the clergy and laity, if I did not say that I believe the Church has in her that which will commend itself to the hearts and souls of our Northumbrian men and women. She has before her still a glorious work. All through that utterly desolate, deadly time which prevailed during the latter part of the last and the early part of the present century, if it had not been for the hand of God protecting her, I do not see how she could have existed to this moment. But she has had God's protecting providence, and I trust to that to bring her through her troubles to a glorious work in after years.

DISCUSSION.

G. SPENCER, Esq. (Newcastle).

I AM delighted to hear from the previous speakers that the Church Missions are doing such good work, but am sorry that I am not able by my own experience to bear evidence to the same effect. It is unfortunate for me that I have been in the habit of visiting a watering-place and pit village on the coast of Northumberland, situated about six miles from the mouth of the Tyne, and four miles from Blyth, where for the last nine years there has been no evidence of the existence of a State Church, either by the presence of vicars, curates, or missionaries; in fact, if the teaching of morality and Christian truths had been dependent on the Church of England missions, or Church teachers of any description, they would never have been known. Fortunately for the inhabitants of Seaton Sluice, the voluntary efforts of two Dissenting bodies have rescued them from heathenism, and have built two chapels, whose ministers are doing the work that we ought to be doing ourselves—considering that within a radius of four miles we have Whitley, Gosden, and Blyth churches, the vicars of which churches speak in admiration of the Apostles and their works, but do not put in practice what they admire so much. What an anomaly we have at the present time in Newcastle! A Bishop is much wanted, it is said, but twelve thousand pounds more must be raised, to make fifty thousand pounds in all, before he can be installed; and yet our greatest Preacher and Teacher, whose followers they profess to be, in His sermon on the mount said, "Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?" etc. But we can find nothing in God's Word about raising funds before His work can be commenced. Let the bishops, vicars, and curates in the future practise what they preach, and we shall cease to hear the teachers of the Word of God scoffed at, as it is too often done at the present time. All who take up the teaching of Christ should be prepared to take up the Cross also.

The Rev. J. G. NORTON (Durham).

I WILL occupy the few minutes at my disposal by speaking of one point only—the mode of dealing with an impoverished and fluctuating mining population. To fix our thoughts, I will venture to mention a few facts connected with my own parish, as I have had no experience of work amongst miners elsewhere. When I came to the parish, the population was nearly 3,000, of whom about 2,000 were directly or indirectly dependent upon neighbouring collieries. The parish had, owing to circumstances which I need not enter into, been grievously neglected for upwards of thirty years. I was many months in it before we had so many as nine communicants. We had to restore and enlarge the church, build a parish school, and establish Sunday-schools and

other agencies. I found that the miners were just like other men : they were neither better nor worse to deal with than the non-mining portion of the population. Eventually we had good congregations and Sunday-schools, a good voluntary choir of fourteen men and fourteen boys, in surplices, and, on special occasions, more than a hundred communicants, nearly all from the working classes.

So far our work had been, in some measure, blessed. It was fairly prosperous. But beyond the ordinary difficulties connected with raising money and building, and "working up" a long-neglected parish, I had no special difficulties to overcome. My experience was of the usual kind—it was the same as that of hundreds of other clergymen in poor and neglected parishes. But then a great change took place. The times became bad : our collieries closed permanently. The people, after great sufferings, sought work elsewhere. In about a year 2,000 out of my 3,000 parishioners left the parish. Their places were filled almost as fast as they became empty, by a still more impoverished mining population, who had no prospect of regular employment, and were merely attracted to the place by the cheapness of cottages and tenements. The strangers were, for the most part, miserably poor. It was most grievous to see their condition. This was a dreadful time for us in the parish. Congregations, communicants, Sunday-schools, choir, began to melt away as fast as they could. The strangers, after the expense of moving, were mostly too poor and ill-clad to come to church. What was a clergyman to do? This was the question before me. Well, after anxious consideration, I determined that I and my devoted fellow-workers should throw our whole strength into the choir and Sunday-schools, while the change of population was going on. We managed to fill up the vacancies in the choir almost as fast as they occurred. We spared no pains to do this, and to keep the church services from serious deterioration. For the strangers who were coming into the parish were so depressed and hopeless with the hard struggle of life that even their spiritual nature seemed paralysed and almost dead. But I felt sure that if we could bring them into contact with warm and hearty worship, that dead spiritual nature would soon, with God's blessing, come forth in a glorious resurrection. Next after the preaching of the Cross of Christ, I thought this the most important thing I could do in that time of change and trial. Meanwhile we made every effort in our power to gather the children of the strangers into the Sunday-school as soon as they came to the parish. This we did not find very hard to do. We gained new scholars almost as fast as we lost the old ones, and the Sunday-school kept up its numbers wonderfully. I had no doubt that if we could keep the church services devotional and good, and if we could at the same time secure the children, we should before long get the parents too. For a time, however, the congregation suffered greatly, and became miserably small. But as soon as the people seemed settled in the parish I began a system of thorough visitation. The help of my district-visitors was invaluable to me. Also I visited the parish from house to house myself. I knew that by paying thirty visits a day (excepting on Saturday), I could do it in five weeks—and I did so. But it may be said, How can a clergyman, even in a town, pay thirty visits a day? Very easily, if only he will try. I know that it can be done, even by a clergyman who is not above the average in strength—but he must have a definite object, know exactly what he wants, and waste no time on irrelevant subjects. His people will greatly help him. Directly he begins a systematic visitation, they begin to talk about it. They tell each other what the clergyman has said to them. When he comes to their houses, going from door to door, he often finds that they already know his message, and have had serious thoughts about it. All this greatly adds to the effect of his visits, and enables him to make the visits short. By these methods, with others which I have not time to describe, we soon had more people at church, and many more communicants, than we had before our troubles.

HOWARD WRIGHT, Esq. (Trinity College, Cambridge).

HAVING spent a great part of my life among colliers, I may be allowed to make a suggestion which, perhaps, may be thought to be presumptive by my brethren in this diocese ; but perhaps, if more carefully considered, may prove not to be quite so foolish

as at first. We have heard a great deal about the difficulty of reaching the population of this diocese, and I would draw special attention to the importance of that house-to-house visiting which has already been dwelt upon. Everyone will admit that visiting pitmen is a very difficult matter. They are very often found to be the fore-shift men, who go down the pit at three or four in the morning, and are asleep in the afternoon; or else back-shift men, and they are then down the pit. The kind of visiting I would humbly suggest to the younger clergy is that they should make their visits to the men in the place most peculiarly their own—I mean the pit. I do not mean that clergymen should go down in any spirit of interference, but I would suggest that they should go down as an apprentice, and make themselves acquainted with the men and their work. Unless the young clergyman knows something of the work of the pitman, I do not believe he will half so quickly get to the pitman's heart. The best plan would be to set up a suit of pit-clothes, and to go down the pit pretty regularly—of course with the leave of the owners—to go down first with one of the owners regularly once a week. It would be a good piece of physical exercise, and give a capital appetite for dinner. Simply just go round with the other man, and have a chat with a man for a minute in his working-place. They are always glad to see the clergyman. It cheers them up, and they would feel that their clergyman has some interest in them. They will thoroughly appreciate it, and will feel that he must take an interest in them, and they would be brought together in a way which no other means could bring about.

The Rev. W. MAYOR (Vicar of Thornleigh).

I SPEAK as one working for twenty-five years amongst a mining population in the Diocese of Durham, and therefore I know some of the difficulties which beset our path in trying to win over pitmen to our beloved Church. I sympathise deeply with the remarks which have been made by Mr. Scott, who is a neighbour of my own. The clergy of the mining districts require greatly the sympathy of our fellow-clergyman in the larger towns and parishes. We work very much as a missionary works in a far-distant country; often month after month without seeing a brother clergyman. We have many discouragements and much call for sympathy, and I am quite sure that the clergy in this Diocese of Durham will extend their sympathy to us, and it will tend to cheer us in our difficult work.—If, for instance, there were preachers specially deputed to speak to the mining people, who would come to work in our parishes, and give us that little rest which we need, and speak more burning and fresher words than those of us who have laboured, perhaps for twenty years, amongst the mining people can do. We are anxious to do that which is right and true, yet it is difficult to speak, Sunday after Sunday, new things to our people; and the mining people, as a class, are fond of excitement, and they are fond of sermons. I have experienced much of their kindness and goodness of heart, and have witnessed their devotion in cases of fever—ready to lend a helping hand to their brothers and sisters in distress; and they come to church, I believe, with a true heart, to learn the truth of God as it is in Christ Jesus. They are not a captious people, ready, as in some parishes is the case, to make a grievance of the slightest divergence of the service, or even an inattention to the manner of conducting the service. You will see pitmen, if they see you are earnest in your work, coming day after day and seeking your counsel, not only in spiritual but in temporal things. I am glad to bear this testimony to their character, as one who knows them well, and has worked long in their midst.

E. F. BOYD, Esq. (Moor House, Durham).

FROM my long experience of pitmen I have remarked one characteristic, that the pitman is peculiarly anxious for employment. The feeling of a pitman with regard to the Church of England is that he has nothing to do—no reasonable reason for being there; and the reason why he sets up a place of worship of his own is because most of

those who attend it have something to do in connection with it. If the Church of England could devise any means by which this could be brought about, I believe it would be of very great advantage in bringing pitmen to have respect for the Church of England. There is not a single rite of the Church but they observe carefully. They come to baptism and marriage, and the funeral services, and are willing to receive the ministrations of our churches. The reason why they hold the clergy at such defiance was, I believe, because of the neglect of the Church about fifty years ago. John Wesley saw it, and that the poor had no one to preach to them, and he went to each cottage and into their midst, so as to approach the hearts of the men in a manner which our clergy do not; and hence they established an administration of their own, and so gave rise to Dissent in that eventful period which the Church will have very great difficulty in recovering. But the time has not passed altogether, and there is no particular reason why the clergy should not produce a good effect upon them, as is evinced by the way in which they are received on going into their cottages.

Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN.

WITH regard to the material condition of our rural population, I would remark that, in spite of agricultural depression, our hinds and herds still earn an average of at least £1 a week, besides various advantages which they have—such as coals, and so forth. There is also plenty of food; coals are cheap, and they have plenty of money to buy clothes with and pay for schooling, and so forth. As for their moral condition, I do not hesitate to say that they are a sober-minded, thoughtful, independent, and self-respecting class; and they are, in my mind, the finest peasantry in the United Kingdom. Our West Somerset and Devonshire peasantry are a pleasant, genial, good-natured race; but if you are often in their houses, and you fail in your half-crown or other present, you are thought a shabby fellow. What would be thought in Northumberland if you offered half-a crown to a peasant? You pay your visit to them, and are received with respect; and an occasional present of a couple of rabbits, or a little help in hours of sickness, is acceptable, but they would not accept your money. I knew a case where a landowner in my neighbourhood left legacies to all his work-people—upwards of 100—and I expected to hear that they had placed it in the Savings Bank; but they knew better than that. First of all, they paid any outstanding debts, and they invested the remainder in cows or pigs, or some investments that were more profitable than the Savings Banks. Nevertheless, a great deal did go into the Savings Bank.

The Rev. JOHN PARRY MORGAN (Vicar of Llanasa).

NOTWITHSTANDING the high eminence to which you, my lord, have attained as a scholar and theologian, I felt that I was, perhaps, on Sunday last, beyond the range of your lordship's criticism when, at the request of one of your clergy, I addressed a congregation of my fellow-countrymen in Welsh; and it would have done the hearts of the members of this Congress good to have listened to the glorious strains of those old Welsh hymns that have for generations been heard in the hills and dales of the Principality. It was a matter of some concern to me, my lord, to hear that there are on and near the banks of the Tyne hundreds of Welsh people entirely destitute of spiritual ministrations in their native tongue. You may be ready to tell me that it is not a very serious matter, and they might attend English places of worship near at hand; but you must bear in mind that these people think in Welsh, they sing in Welsh, and they pray in Welsh; and in times of trouble, in sickness, and at a death-bed, in no way can you approach the innermost feelings of a Welshman as through the medium of the mother tongue. This is therefore, I venture to think, a question of considerable importance, and I am glad to know that it is soon likely to be brought

before the Lower House of Convocation by one of our proctors, Mr. D. N. Thomas, who will, no doubt, do full justice to the subject. But I would ask what can be done now to meet this pressing necessity. I am told that in North Durham, close by, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are in the receipt of from £30,000 to £40,000 annually, arising from landed property. They are a very liberally-disposed body of men; so much so, that on three several occasions I have applied for a new parsonage-house, and, notwithstanding the kind and ready help of my diocesan and other good friends, I have each time signally failed. But, speaking seriously, I do really think they might come forward and at once offer a helping hand; but, speaking seriously, I would earnestly suggest that a living-agent should be provided by them, with an endowment of not less than £200 a year, with a suitable residence, and a church to be placed in a convenient centre. This is not a solitary case—there are other populous centres. I instance Liverpool, where the supply of church ministrations for our Welsh countrymen is at present totally inadequate to the need. I sincerely trust, my lord, that any suggestion others more able than myself may offer will receive your lordship's favourable consideration and support.

TOWN HALL, WEDNESDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 5.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 7 o'clock.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

- (a) WHAT WE GAIN BY IT.
(b) WHAT WE LOSE BY IT.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

THE discussion of the question of the connection between Church and State in twenty minutes demands that no time be lost in prefatory remarks. I therefore, after the example of Euclid, enter at once upon the definitions which are necessary for the right understanding of the subject. Two things require to be defined:

I. What is meant by *we*? Who are *we* whose gain and loss are to be under discussion? The word is not intended to be a synonyme for the clergy. If it were possible for a ruridecanal chapter to confine the question of loss and gain as connected with the connection between Church and State to the clerical body, it would be impossible to do so in a Church Congress. If a Church Congress has any meaning which can justify its existence, part of its function must be to make the Church understand that questions of loss and gain, as well as of duty and responsibility, belong to the whole body of the Church, and not to the spiritual heads only; if one member suffer, all must suffer with it. But I shall not be content even if the *we* in my thesis be made to include all members of the Church of England. If we speak of the Church as

gaining by its connection with the State, and imply that what the Church gains some other party loses, or at all events that the Church, as one religious body amongst many, has certain interests of its own in which others have not a share, I feel strongly that we are doing an injustice to the Church itself. The happier view of the case is, that the Church exists for the benefit of all, and that while they are most likely to be profited by her influences who are most earnest in their attachment to their spiritual mother, still the Church is in a true sense "the mother of us all," and that her losses and gains are the losses and gains of the nation at large. Consequently I desire that the *we* of my thesis should include the whole people of England. And this definition of the word *we* may be sufficient; but I cannot refrain from adding that I do not at all believe the fortunes of the English Church to be a matter of exclusive interest even to the whole people of England; to them primarily, no doubt, but besides them to English-speaking people all the world over, and ultimately to the whole world itself. Just as the fortunes of constitutional government, under which we English people have so marvellously flourished, and which seems to grow on English soil as it grows scarcely anywhere else, are a matter which primarily concerns the English people, but indirectly affects the interests of all nations and the well-being of the whole world.

II. Having explained what I conceive to be meant by the word *we*, I wish to define the meaning of the phrase, "Connection between Church and State." I could easily raise a cheer in this assembly by denouncing indignantly the notion that the Church is a department of the State. But it is more easy to make such general denunciations than to define accurately the connection between Church and State with which we are actually concerned. It seems to me that the following points are those which require chiefly to be kept in mind:

1. The connection between Church and State, or perhaps I should rather say *a* connection, has existed in this country ever since the Gospel was preached here. I should deem it a waste of time to attempt any historical investigation of the precise nature of the connection in Saxon times, or in those succeeding the Conquest, or in the later Middle Ages; but that there was a connection no reader of history can doubt.

2. We may advantageously pass over all this earlier period *sicco pede*, for the purpose of observing that the connection between Church and State was made much more definite than it had been before by the legislation of Henry VIII. The Acts "for the Restraint of Appeals," and "for the Submission of the Clergy," embodied and enforce the principle of the right of the Crown to govern the Church. They gave legal existence to a distinct connection between the Church and the State. It was enacted that no laws made by the clergy should continue in force if repugnant to the laws of the realm, and that the clergy in their Convocations should make no new laws except with the King's license. But it should be borne in mind that Henry did not contemplate taking from the Convocations all their privileges; he only desired to effectually curb them, and to take care that in all questions, whether ecclesiastical or civil, the Crown should be supreme.

3. Things have much changed since the days of Henry VIII. There has been no such fundamental legislation as that of his reign; but a gradual change has been going on, in producing which a multitude of

causes have co-operated. The growth of Dissenting bodies has made it impossible to speak of the Church and the State as conterminous, or as representing the nation in two different aspects; the position of the Crown itself has much changed, constitutional government having developed the power of the House of Commons, and much contracted that of the Sovereign; the violent suppression for more than a century of the Convocations of the Clergy has prevented those bodies from performing their constitutional functions, and has thrown the Church more and more upon direct Parliamentary authority. These and probably other causes have co-operated in bringing about the existing condition of the connection between Church and State—a condition which certainly was not contemplated when the Act “for the Submission of the Clergy” became law. Anyhow, we have come to this point, that practically the Church is governed by laws which the secular Legislature enacts. In saying this I am simply stating a fact. I do not say that things are quite as they ought to be; on the other hand, I have said on other occasions, and I say again, that I think the time has come when some revision of the mode of legislating for the Church has become a necessity: but revision could only lead to a modification of that which exists, not to any radical change. If the Church of England is to be the National Church, then I apprehend that the Legislature of the nation must be the authority by which, not of course in matters of doctrine, but in details of management, the Church must consent to be governed. The controlling power thus given to the State is of a stupendous kind; and the question forces itself upon the minds of thoughtful Churchmen—Is it worth while, in fact is it right, for the branch of Christ’s Holy Catholic Church which exists under God in England to submit to a connection with the State, which at first sight might seem to cripple its lawful liberties?

The question is not one which can be settled by declamation or tall ecclesiastical talk. It is one which we as Englishmen shall probably, and as I hope, be inclined to settle by working out the sum of profit and loss which the programme of the Church Congress has set before myself and others to-day. What do we gain? What do we lose? These are the two pillars upon which the supreme question of the connection of Church and State in England must be held ultimately to rest. Under the head of gain I should be disposed to class such points as the following:

1. The reservation to the Church of its ancient endowments. I need scarcely say that I lay stress upon endowments, not as one greedy of pelf, but in consideration of the independence, nay, in some parts of the country, the very existence, of those who minister to their brethren in spiritual things. It is very true that in the event of Disestablishment there would be a considerable amount of modern endowment which no legislation would be likely to confiscate; but it is idle to suppose that ancient endowments would be left intact if the connection between Church and State were dissolved. The effect of endowments in securing a race of ministers on the whole well educated, belonging not to the poorest class of society, and free from temptation to truckle to the tastes and fancies of their people with respect to subjects either political or moral or religious, is sufficiently obvious and sufficiently valuable to be passed over without further comment.

2. The breadth and liberality which necessarily follow from the con-

nection between the Church and the State, accompanied as it is by a great variety of patronage, may well be set down on the gain side of the account. We all know the dictum about Popish ritual, Arminian prayers, and Calvinistic articles; but there is no real force or truth in such a dictum. What is true is this, that the Church of England is so truly and historically Catholic, while so truly Reformed, so moderate and yet so elastic in ceremonial, and so primitively pure and reasonable in doctrine, that men of very different habits of mind, differently educated, and disposed to take different views of Christian doctrine and of ecclesiastical history, can honestly and cordially meet upon her platform. This view of the English Church is almost a commonplace, but it is impossible to pass it by without mention. The important question is whether she would maintain her breadth and liberality if her connection with the State were dissolved. I doubt it.

3. Nor is it to be believed that the sense of duty as to evangelising the country, and the sense of claim for spiritual help on the part of the people, would be as intense as they are now, if the connection with the State were destroyed. The phrase *State Church* is often used opprobriously, but it has a good meaning as well as a bad one; and happy is the State which is so wedded to the Church that every child of the State is in some true sense a child of the Church too. There are no spiritual orphans in this our native land: everyone has a priest upon whom he has a claim; and though there may be spiritual neglect, it is neglect arising from the greatness of the work imposed, or from human infirmity, or from what may be called preventible causes. And as it is a gain that each man, woman, and child should have this provision made, so it is a gain that each person should be able to claim his privileges. The responsibility of the priest and the claims of the people work together to keep in healthy action the spiritual machinery of which the Church is the mainspring. It is, moreover, a question whether the deposition of the Church from her present ground would not cripple the spiritual efficiency of the Dissenting bodies quite as really as it would cripple her own.

I feel so strongly the importance of reserving some portion of my time for the discussion of the loss side of the balance-sheet, that I shall content myself with what I have already said as to gain and pass on to that of loss. It would be dishonest to pretend that there are no items on this side. But if the connection between Church and State in England involves loss as well as gain, it only does that which may probably be asserted of almost every arrangement which is advantageous, but which is also human. The chief items of loss which suggest themselves to my mind are these:

1. There are abuses connected with patronage which it must be difficult entirely to cure so long as questions of property are mixed up with spiritual questions, as they must be in an established Church. The late Session of Parliament has brought this difficulty into great prominence. All parties in the House of Commons appeared to recognise the evil of the existing condition of things. An honest effort was made by certain private members, and encouraged by the Prime Minister, to introduce a remedy; but nothing was finally done. I confess two things in connection with this matter: first, that the scandals connected with patronage seem to me to be intensely mischievous; and secondly, that as you may

buy gold too dearly, so I am sometimes tempted to think that the connection between Church and State may be too dear, if it practically involves the absurd power of perpetuating evils which all righteous men desire to destroy.

2. The property question meets us in a way which must, I think, be reckoned as loss, namely, by giving a fixity of tenure which tends sometimes to mischievous results. The parochial system, with a clergyman who conscientiously and effectively does his duty, presents a picture of almost Paradise; but it is possible for a clergyman to be worse than useless, and yet to be practically irremovable. The very elements of good in the one case become in the other the support of all that is bad. The law is very jealous on the subject of property: and under the existing connection of Church and State in England, the cure of souls in a parish is a freehold, and the freeholder is not easily ousted, and the parish suffers.

3. To take a somewhat more general view, it cannot be denied that the connection between Church and State is likely to make the "profession" of the "Church" sought by some on grounds of mere respectability, to give opening for the worldly consideration of providing for younger sons or for the fool of the family, to lower the spiritual tone of that which must be spiritual if it is to have any real value. It is not my business to speak of the possible remedies for these evils; but I think it only fair to admit their existence, and even to admit that at certain epochs they have been active, and that they are not extinct now.

4. I do not enumerate among our losses some features of the Church as established in England, which may possibly be regarded as losses by those who are to follow me. For example, I am not prepared to reckon as a certain loss the relegation to the Crown of the nomination of bishops; because, though I have heard much complaint on this head, I have not heard any proposal of change which seems to be quite sure of turning out to be an improvement. Neither do I reckon as a certain loss the jurisdiction of the temporal power in ecclesiastical matters. I do not regard the existing condition of things as perfect. I regret much that it should be possible to punish a clergyman for an ecclesiastical offence by imprisonment, and I rejoice that a Royal Commission is sitting to consider this whole subject; but I cannot fail to perceive that any fault which exists in these matters is to be traced not to the connection of Church and State, but to a condition of the law which is no necessary result of that connection, and which may be altered if necessary. I cannot also forget that a Colonial bishop, whom I heard at a past Church Congress declaring that nothing would induce him to throw in his lot with our poor State-ridden English Church, has since found that even a free Colonial Church may be compelled to appeal to that awful institution, the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, for the settlement of disputes and the determination of ecclesiastical difficulties.

The general view—and it is not easy to go much beyond general views in such a paper as this—to which I have been led by considering the question of gain and loss as resulting from the connection of Church and State in England is, that there is much gain and some loss. The gain is, I think, absolute and fundamental, and moreover so commonly enjoyed, so widely diffused, so much taken for granted by English people, that, like the air which we breathe, we are tempted to think lightly of it and to grumble

concerning our ecclesiastical position in accordance with the universally accepted belief concerning an Englishman's birthright. The loss on the other hand may be real, but I question whether it is fundamental; not fundamental at least in any other sense than this, namely, that a vast national institution can scarcely expect to move with the readiness and agility which belong to a comparatively small and less responsible body. A passenger in a P. and O. steamer, as he passes weary hours in the Suez Canal waiting for a clear course, may be tempted to envy the little despatch-boat which runs past at full speed and seems to laugh at the big craft; but, after all, the big craft is best for open sea or for a long voyage. And the Church of England is a good old ship, not only seaworthy and safe, but in most respects well up to modern requirements; her engines are good, her officers and engineers are at least up to par, and she has plenty of steam-power. I believe from my heart that the old vessel is the grandest afloat, and that it would be foolish to desert her or radically to change her lines. At the same time I quite admit that she needs overhauling from time to time, and that there is no wisdom in declaring that there is no defect in her to be remedied, no change necessary in consequence of changes in other things.

I began this paper by defining *we* to mean the whole people of England at least. I will conclude it by saying what I think that *we*, so understood, ought to do. *We* ought to say, that while *we* dictate to no man how he ought to worship God, *we* are, nevertheless, determined that no obstruction shall be placed either in the House of Commons, which *we* elect, or elsewhere, in the way of the free action of the Church of England. *We* believe and know that there are some defects in that free action due to the connection between the Church and the State, or supposed to be so due; *we* are determined that those defects shall be removed. *We* will make this no matter of party, because by hypothesis *we* are not a party but the whole people of England: *we* will never be satisfied until each preventible source of loss is obliterated or turned into gain: *we* will get rid of all that makes good men grieve, whether they call themselves Churchmen or not,—or *we will know the reason why*.

THE DEAN OF MANCHESTER.

ALL discussions are wide of the mark unless definitions are given beforehand. By the State I mean the whole body politic; and in this discussion, the State Visible—viz., the Government of the country, the Queen, Lords, and Commons, who represent all the people in the land. By the Church, that portion of the Catholic Church which is geographically in England—a Divine institution, whose mission is to the whole nation, whose clergy have apostolical descent, whose laity consists of all who have been baptized in the name of the Blessed Trinity, or who recognise the Sacrament of Baptism as the sign of the New Birth into the Family of God. The Church, therefore, is not co-extensive with the State, although its mission is to all the inhabitants of the land. All may come into it and become its members who do not of their own free will exclude themselves. The Church is National in that sense, and in that sense only; it was never established by the State. At a time when the State

was exclusively Christian and Catholic, it gave gifts to the Church for the maintenance of Divine worship and the sustentation of its lawful ministers; but the main part of its property is derived from private gifts of its pious members, exclusively intended to aid its work in propagating the faith. I must here enter a warning. Some persons seem to think that the connection between Church and State might be dissolved, the Church retaining her endowments and property; in other words, that Disestablishment need not involve disendowment. This is conceivable, but only as a dream. No statesman would consent to leave a body independent of the State, so powerful as the Church would be. If ever the disunion should come—which God forbid!—public policy will require that the power of the Church should be destroyed as far as man can destroy it; and I believe, under such circumstances, it will be stripped of every penny. And, as the Church corporations have titles antecedent to those of all others who have any property, the foundations would be shaken, and the reign of communism would have begun.

This is merely a digression, which helps, however, to make clearer what I have to say hereafter. The connection between Church and State is a remnant of those times when the State recognised no other religion but that which is taught by the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. The chief points which we shall have time to consider are these:

(1.) The Sovereign must be a member of the Church of England, and is solemnly crowned by its chief ministers—a religious act, which includes the administration of the oath.

(2.) The Sovereign nominates to the Church all the bishops; and as the Legislature has made submission to this nomination imperative, it may be said that virtually the Sovereign appoints all the bishops, although no bishop can enter on his duties and his rights till he has been consecrated, which is the act of the Church by its chief ministers. I did not stop to discuss advantages or disadvantages of the first point, but on this second point something must be said. The absolute nomination (which is found to be in fact appointment) the Sovereign seized when the jurisdiction of Rome in the matter was abolished. In ancient times the clergy and laity of the diocese nominated and selected the bishop. One testimony only will I quote—the well-known Epistle of St. Leo to Anastasius, Ep. lxxxix. c. 5 (Bingham, vol. i. p. 442): “In the choice of a bishop let him be preferred whom the clergy and people do unanimously agree upon and require; if they be divided in their choice, then let the metropolitan give preference to him who has most votes and most merit.” Our plan preserves the form, in a partial sense, without the substance. Under the *congé d'élire*, the election still remains in the cathedral chapter, representing the clergy only, and that very imperfectly. But if this *congé d'élire* were directed to the whole Church, represented by our Diocesan Conference, and if the Sovereign were to nominate two or three persons out of whom the representative body of the whole Church of the diocese (lay and clerical) were allowed to select one, I think we should have as perfect a mode of election as we could wish, and no one would be made a bishop who was not acceptable to the Sovereign. The right of nomination by the Sovereign, as it is at present exercised, is very seldom open to any objection. In the case of the diocese in which we are assembled, the Church, clergy, and laity,

unanimously approved, with acclamation. But objections which may be urged on principle would be met by the method I have described.

(3.) Another important element in the connection of Church and State is the control of Parliament (Queen, Lords, and Commons) over the Church. When Parliament was exclusively composed of Churchmen, or of those who pretended to be Churchmen, the assent of Parliament was the concurrence of the laity of the Church. The spirituality decided all questions of doctrine, which the laity in Parliament either accepted or disallowed. Now, when Parliament has no religious restrictions, and contains Dissenters of every kind, Romanists and Jews, it is no longer a fit assembly to express assent to the doctrine of the Church. What we, then, want at this time is a lay body of Church representatives, who should, co-ordinately with the Reformed Convocations of the Clergy, agree upon what should be enacted with respect to the internal discipline of the Church; and then, the assent of the Crown being first given, Parliament should be asked for its consent to make the result into a statute. I believe that the connection of Church and State might be thus maintained, and no disadvantage accrue to either. The subject is confessedly difficult; but the example of the General Assembly of the Presbyterians in Scotland shows that no constitutional objections can be valid against the existence of such a Consultative Representative Conference. Coercive jurisdiction can only be obtained from the State; and in order to have power over its refractory members, the spirituality must seek the aid of the Crown. We have every reason to believe that Parliament does not desire to discuss Church measures in detail. If there existed some representative lay body, representing the lay element of the Church, such measures as were sanctioned by the assent of the Crown, the clergy, and the Church laity, would probably be accepted by the State without difficulty. The temporalities of the Church will be of course under the same control of Parliament as they are now, and as all other property in the country must be. About the temporalities, and what are called the temporal accidents of things spiritual, we need not be over-anxious. What we ought to care most about is, *purity of doctrine and efficiency of discipline*; and if we see the way to secure these without dissolving connection between Church and State, but by amending and reforming those joints and fastenings which are stiff with age and do not work easily, I believe we shall gain nothing but advantage from the strengthened connection.

(4.) The next point I would mention is the final court of appeal, which must be to the Sovereign as the temporal head of the Church. We acknowledge that the Sovereign is in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, within her dominions supreme. The question with us in these days is: "What is the best method of exercising this supremacy? I answer, the well-considered ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be resuscitated: the Archdeacon's Court in the first instance; the Bishop's Court, by his Chancellor, in the second; and the Archbishop's Court in the third, are the gradations provided for litigants. If this process has not resulted in satisfying them, the final appeal must be to the Crown. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which only accidentally became the ultimate court of appeal, has given satisfaction to no one. A constitutional substitute for it should, it appears to me, be provided. The House of Lords is the final appeal court in all secular matters,

acting in the name of the Sovereign. The Bench of Bishops is the analogous body for the appeal court in all spiritual matters, acting in the name of the Sovereign. At present the Archbishops' courts have been superseded by Parliament. The present judge of the court, which goes by the name of the ancient Court of Arches, claims to be a Queen's judge, not the Archbishop's judge. His authority is, in his own view of it, not derived from the spiritual source, but from Parliament; and hence we have been landed in a difficulty by encroachments of the temporal power on the rights of the spirituality. These rights were guaranteed to the Church by ancient statute and by royal promises. This leads men of scrupulous conscience into apparent resistance to law, whereas they are really striving to maintain ancient rights against modern encroachments. The connection of Church and State in respect of the courts and the final courts of appeal, if amended on constitutional principles, may be considered an advantage, whereas without the readjustment it seems to be damaging and a cause of distress. I trust I have shown that this readjustment is possible, and therefore dislocation unadvisable.

(5.) I will now speak of the temporal dignity of our bishops. They are, according to Blackstone, one of the three estates of the realm, which are these: The Lords spiritual, the Lords temporal, and the Commons, of which estate the King is *caput, principium, et finis*. They held—or were supposed to hold—baronies under the King; yet they are not in strictness held to be peers of Parliament, but merely lords of Parliament. As an antiquary, I should be loth to see this altered, but I cannot attach to it any great importance. The welfare of the Church does not seem to depend upon it in the estimation of the bishops themselves, for their lordships very seldom appear. So long as they have the right to sit as members of the House of Lords, it is their duty to be present, unless they consider their presence useless. To watch legislation on subjects which relate to family life or public morality; marriage laws, prison discipline, poor laws, and in any measures for repressing crime of any sort—these are some subjects to which they might give their aid and attention, as well as to the more technical and professional subjects relating to the temporal interests of the clergy or the government of the Church. I am, of course, speaking now as a citizen Churchman, and therefore I hope I may be pardoned if I seem impertinent. The little value set on the privilege, as shown by the neglect of attendance of their lordships, leads me to the conclusion that this right of being summoned to the House of Lords is of very small consequence; and though I cling to it on archæological grounds (as I hate the destruction of ancient landmarks, in the army, and in the law, as well as in the Church and in the State) if it were to be abolished I should preserve a sorrowful equanimity.

The terms in which the subject is worded by our Congress Committee seem to me intended to confine the discussion:—"The connection between Church and State—(1) What we gain by it; (2) What we lose by it." The word "we" seems to me to confine the subject to the aspect in which we, who are Churchmen and citizens, can take it up. The conclusion I wish to arrive at is this: that we gain by it as citizens in every way; that we lose by it as citizens in no way; that as Churchmen, the gain is much greater than the loss, and the loss could be easily avoided by readjustment of the relations on the lines of the constitution

I have not touched the aspect in which those who dissent from the Church regard connection with the State. The chief of these is described by a writer in the *Nineteenth Century* (May, 1877) as the sense of injustice at the exclusive endowment by the State of one form of religion ; an assumption is here made which Churchmen deny.

The State maintains the right of the Church to the property of the Church—in the same way that it maintains the rights of Guy's Hospital to the property of that hospital. There is also a conviction on the part of some Dissenters that all religions should be maintained by voluntary offerings. The late Dr. Chalmers's essay on Endowments convinces me of the contrary. Jealousy of the State Church, and speculative opinion on the necessity of the voluntary system, cannot be reasoned with in the remaining space allotted to me. If all the wealth and intellect of the land were on the side of Dissent, I should still, with my present convictions, remain a staunch and sturdy Churchman ; my definition of the Church forbids my recognition of any co-ordinate claims. In poverty as in wealth, in adversity as in prosperity, I should cling to that society which to me is the form of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church—cling to it as the ark of salvation.

With such convictions, in which I hope I carry a great many with me, I join a most ample toleration. All men have the right to worship God in the way their conscience approves, without incurring any disability as citizens. The church doors are open, or should be open, at all times to them all. It is their Father's house, from which they have strayed. If they return they will have no disability as Churchmen. If the State should proclaim itself without faith, and cast off the Church, as a Churchman I should grieve, on account of crippled means of carrying on Christ's work in the world ; as a citizen, I should be humbled to the dust, because I remember the words of Holy Scripture, "The nation and kingdom that will not serve Thee shall perish ;" and the "stone which the builders rejected is become the headstone of the corner." This rejected stone shall become a great mountain, which shall fill the whole earth, when our crumbling state shall vanish away, broken in pieces and consumed.

THE REV. DR. BARDSLEY.

WE are not invited by the subject before us to consider the expediency or in expediency of establishing for the first time the connection between Church and State ; but we are invited to weigh the advantages on the one hand, and compare these with the disadvantages on the other, of the connection between the two as it exists in this country. As requested by the committee, my remarks will, for the most part, be directed to what "we gain" by this connection. By this connection we secure :

I. A National Recognition of the Christian Religion. This supposes the public acknowledgment of Almighty God as the Supreme Ruler of the universe, by whom kings rule and princes decree justice. It assumes that in all legislation our statesmen should seek by prayer the blessing and guidance of God, and that they should base their laws on the prin-

ciples of His revealed Word, and execute them with a direct reference to His supreme authority. This view of the subject was strongly insisted on by the fathers and founders of Nonconformity. Dr. John Owen, who, in the opinion of the late Dr. Winter Hamilton of Leeds, stood head and shoulders above the rest of his brethren, in a sermon addressed to Parliament during the times of the Commonwealth, employed these vigorous words: "If it once comes to that, that you shall say you have nothing to do with religion as rulers of the nation, God will quickly manifest that He hath nothing to do with you as rulers of the nation. The great promise of Christ is that in these latter days of the world He will lay the nations in subserviency to Him—the kingdoms of the world shall become His; that is, as kingdoms and governments no longer against but for Him. Surely this promise will scarcely be accomplished in bringing commonwealths of men professing His Name to be of Gallio's frame to take care for none of these things, or as the Turk, in absolute indifference what any profess. Not that I would any should go and set up forms of government to compel men to come under the line of them, or to thrust in your sword to cut the lesser differences of brethren. But being fully persuaded in your own minds, certainly it is incumbent on you to take care that the faith which you have received which was once delivered to the saints, in all the necessary concernments of it may be protected, preserved, and propagated to, and among, the people which God hath set you over." Whether Dr. John Owen has or has not, in this passage, correctly described the duties of Christian rulers, I believe it to be a great blessing to a nation when its rulers, being themselves men who fear God, use their official influence and power to advance the cause of religion among the people over whom God has placed them. By so doing they teach the great lesson that "righteousness exalteth a nation," and that "sin is a reproach to any people."

II. The efficient working of the parochial system will be best secured by the continued connection between Church and State. I do not allege that the theory of the parochial system originated in the connection of the Church with the State, but this connection has been the means of extending the benefits of that system to the whole nation. Disestablishment would have the effect of greatly impairing, if not of practically destroying, the parochial system, and at a time too when, especially in our large towns, through the rapid increase of population, it needs to be strengthened in its every department. It has been said that this system, so far from being in all cases a source of strength, is in some instances a cause of weakness in our Church. Whilst admitting the correctness of this statement, I believe it amounts to no more than an acknowledgment that the best-contrived human systems have their blots and blemishes. The parochial system is based upon the theory that every parish is provided with adequate pastoral supervision. The very structure of the Book of Common Prayer assumes that the minister is ready to baptize every child in his parish, catechise every young person with a view to confirmation, and give ghostly counsel to all who seek it before coming to the Holy Communion. The nature and ends of this admirable system are expressed in those solemn words addressed by the bishop to ministers at the time of their ordination: "See that you never cease your labour, your care, and diligence, until you have done all that

lieth in you, according to your bounden duty, to bring all such as are or shall be committed to your charge, unto that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among you either for error in religion or for viciousness in life." There can be no doubt that in some of our large cities and towns the parochial system is in practice but little more than a name compared with the above theory; yet even in these its advantages have been recognised by eminent ministers of other Christian communions. The late Mr. John Angell James of Birmingham, in his book entitled "*The Earnest Ministry*," referring at some length to the zeal and piety of many of the clergy, writes thus: "I know their labours, and am astonished at them. Think of a clergyman, and multitudes of such there are, who, besides his other labours, spends four or five hours every day in going from house to house, visiting the sick, instructing the ignorant, comforting the distressed. Can we wonder that such men should lay hold on the public mind? Is it not in the natural course of things that it should be so? It is admitted that the clergyman of a parish has advantages for this species of ministerial occupation which we have not. He considers all the people within a certain topographical limit as belonging to him—as being in fact his cure; and most if not all of them, except such as by profession belong to other denominations, look upon him in the light of their minister." In this passage Mr. James declares his conviction that, for the purpose of winning the working classes to religion, there is great practical wisdom in regulating the duties of ministers by assigning them territorial districts rather than by making them exclusively pastors of congregations. Dr. Osborn some years ago said: "When the middle classes and well-to-do people who have been in the habit of attending the chapel go away into the country or to some suburban residence, it follows almost as a matter of course that the seat-rents fail, and another chapel is erected in a suburban district, and the congregation is transferred, and the chapel ceases to be occupied as it was formerly." He also said: "I look upon the Established Church as the greatest home-missionary institution of which I have any cognisance." Other Nonconformists have frankly admitted that, as their ministers recognise no cure of souls beyond their own congregations, the bulk of the working classes, except the Roman Catholics, even in our large towns, are altogether dependent for pastoral visitation, succour, and consolation upon the ministers of the Church of England.

III. The continued connection between Church and State is essential to the preservation of the ancient endowments of the Church. I believe there is nothing more erroneous than the idea which some Churchmen entertain, that if a separation should take place, the Church will be allowed to retain the property with which she was endowed by individual gifts in ages past. When the agitation for Disestablishment began about fifty years ago, which eventually led to the formation of the Anti-State-Church Association, out of which sprang the Liberation Society, there were but few men who openly advocated schemes for secularising Church property. The *Eclectic Review*, for a long time a well-known Nonconformist organ, in an article on "The Church and Dissenters," for February, 1832, expresses profound astonishment "that British Christians—nay, ministers of the Gospel—should be so far misled by party zeal as to join in the unprincipled clamour against Church property,

raised by the advocates of uncompensated spoliation ;" and declared that this clamour had filled them with "amazement and shame."

In 1834, the late Dr. Pye Smith, in his controversial correspondence with the late Professor Lee, of Cambridge, alluding to the recommendation of some persons—viz., "the resumption" by the State of Church property—declared that the State could not "resume what it never gave;" and that to take it away from the Church would, "to his apprehension, be downright robbery." But the present generation has heard of strange theories of development; and there can be no doubt that the doctrine of evolution has found favour with the advocates for Church Disestablishment. Indeed, some of the champions of this movement have advanced so far as to make it abundantly clear that their chief design is to deprive the Church of her endowments. We have been told that this is a "taxpayer's question," and I fear that the following statement, which occurs in a lecture by the late Rev. J. H. Hinton, published by the Anti-State Church Society, does but too accurately reflect the sentiments of the members of the Liberation Society. He distinctly avows: "We should not wish a separation between Church and State upon any other principle than this—that the Church thenceforward should provide for her own wants by the spontaneous liberality of her adherents. We should experience a feeling of dread, which it would be difficult to express, in the thought of so vast a revenue being at the disposal of an independent ecclesiastical corporation."

In the programme of the Liberation Society we are given plainly to understand that members of the English Church must not look for even so favourable a settlement as that which was accorded to the members of the Irish Church; "because," says the society, "re-endowment on a large scale—in the guise of compensation to members of the Disestablished Church—would prove a source of serious and lasting evil."

There is not much danger of the Church being heavily afflicted with large endowments if the labours of the Liberationists are crowned with the success which they so ardently desire. When Church endowments have been applied to secular purposes; when the cathedrals have been assigned to other public purposes than ecclesiastical, and when all churches built previous to the year 1818 are vested in a parochial board, with power to sell them at a fair valuation—when all this has been accomplished, the danger to the Church of being clogged by a superfluity of wealth need hardly distress the mind of the most enthusiastic Liberationist. I think the members of this society might, with advantage, ponder the words of Dr. John Owen, one of the fathers of Nonconformity, made in reference to somewhat similar notions propounded in the days of the Commonwealth, when the Presbyterians, Independents, and others were in possession of these ancient Church endowments. He said, "To take away the public maintenance provided in the good providence of God for the public dispensers of the Gospel upon pretences of present inconvenience or promise of future provision, is contempt of the care and faithfulness of God towards His Church, and, in plain terms, downright robbery." I have often thought, too, that many Nonconformists who advocate schemes for disestablishing and disendowing the Church, must feel somewhat uncomfortable at the thought, that their agitation began and has been carried on during a period of marvellous activity in the Church, and of a great revival of

true religion ; though I am far from intending to suggest that this is more than a coincidence.

In 1834 Dr. Pye Smith expressed the opinion that during the previous thirty or forty years "the increase of vital piety in the Established Church had been proportionately, and, comparing the measure of advantages, greater than among themselves." I might refer to a still stronger statement penned some years later by Mr. John Angell James, in which he asks his ministerial brethren, "Can we see this new sight, the whole Church Establishment, from the Archbishop of Canterbury down to the curate of the smallest village, with all their comprehensive agency of Pastoral Aid Societies, Ladies' District Visiting Societies, Scripture-readers, Church of England Tract Societies, and other means of influence and power, in busy commotion, dotting the land all over with churches and schools, and not see our need of an earnest ministry, not only if we would maintain our ground, but make any advance?" Look again at a recent utterance of Dr. Osborn, President of the Wesleyan Connexion, who says : "I have now been watching the religious condition of this country, with more or less advantage, for more than half a century, and I have no hesitation in saying that I do not believe there ever was such a revival of religion as that of which the Established Church of this country has been the subject during the last half century. Looking at its origin, effects, tendencies and results, there is nothing in ecclesiastical history that can be put side by side with it."

No wonder that the *Edinburgh Review*, after frankly acknowledging that during the present century a marvellous transformation had taken place in the Church and the clergy, should express astonishment that she should now be threatened with Disestablishment. They (the clergy) "have rooted out a multitude of abuses, they have raised in many places in the land a lofty standard of what the Christian clergy of a free and enlightened people ought to be. They have placed themselves at the head of the great work of national education, insomuch that the charge now made against them is that they are too eager in the cause. They have everywhere given new life and vigour to the spiritual work which is the leaven of society." I say no wonder, after such a glowing account of the Church's work, the *Edinburgh Review* should express its "astonishment" that the Church "should be threatened with Disestablishment at the very zenith of her utility."

However we may account for the fact, a fact it undoubtedly is, that the agitation for disestablishing the Church commenced long after this great revival of religion had set in ; and it has gained strength and force during the period in which the Church has become increasingly active in diffusing the light and comfort of the blessed Gospel throughout the length and breadth of the land. We know that a revival of spiritual religion is not man's work, but the work of the Holy Ghost. Nevertheless, as He ordinarily employs human instrumentality in accomplishing His purposes of mercy, can we contemplate without alarm the threatened secularisation of those accumulated gifts of past generations, by which, as year by year they become more wisely distributed, the Church is enabled more efficiently to fulfil her great mission? Looking at the consequences that would accompany Disestablishment, I firmly believe that those who are labouring to sever the connection between Church and State have entered upon a dark and perilous agitation. Lord

Macaulay declared, in 1839, that an institution so deeply fixed in the hearts and minds of millions could not be subverted without loosening and shaking the foundations of civil society. ("Essays," vol. ii. p. 50.)

IV. The continued connection between Church and State is of immense advantage to the poorer classes of the nation. I invite attention to a few facts. The voluntary system can provide adequate ministerial stipends and church accommodation in the rich localities and suburbs of our large towns. It is in connection with town and suburban populations that this system, as worked by Churchmen and Nonconformists, has, for the most part, put forth its strength; and it would, I think, show a sad lack of generosity on the part of Churchmen not to acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude which the nation owes to the Nonconformist churches of the land for their great and self-denying labours. The parochial system, with its ancient endowments, has had for its chief sphere of labour the rural districts with their vast proportion of the poor of our land. When the religious census was taken in 1851, Mr. Horace Mann's calculations showed that 25 per cent. of the entire population attended no place of worship. Dr. Hume of Liverpool has pointed out a very significant fact connected with this non-worshipping population. Of nearly 12,000,000 gross population situated in rural districts, only 15 per cent. belonged to the non-worshipping class; whereas, of nearly 6,000,000 gross population situated in town districts, 45 per cent. were of the non-worshipping class.

But again, there are other facts we should bear in mind. By far the greater portion of this non-worshipping population in our large towns is found within certain prescribed limits, and the population within these limits consists almost exclusively of the poor and working classes. The accommodation provided in churches and chapels in these districts is very small compared with that which exists in rich localities, whilst there is a still greater disparity between the amount of pastoral supervision provided for the poorer and richer districts. When it is thus seen that the combined voluntary efforts of Churchmen and Nonconformists have proved inadequate to meet the wants of our rapidly growing towns, shall we be guilty of the folly of favouring proposals which, besides aggravating the evils which exist in large towns, would speedily bring the rural districts into a similar or even worse state of spiritual destitution? Would it not be wiser to persevere in the course long since entered upon—of rectifying abuses, and of extending and adapting the organisation of the Church to meet the altered circumstances of the country? The nation's wants require not the destruction but the expansion of the parochial system.

V. The connection between Church and State secures to ministers a greater amount of freedom for the faithful discharge of their duties than can be obtained in non-established Churches. I know that by some the lack of freedom is regarded as the lot of the clergy. For my part, I believe it to be one of the great gains of an Established Church that it confers on its ministers the liberty as well as the right to speak their thoughts and feelings with a freedom that is almost unknown in any other communion. It is true the Church has its written Creeds, Articles, and Liturgy, but these secure the rights and liberties of the laity and clergy alike. By the teaching of these, and these alone, can the clergy be judged; whereas it is different among Nonconformists, who are fre-

quently amenable to the judgment of their deacons without reference to any clearly defined standards. The members of the Liberation Society often tell us that the chief desire which moves them to seek the Dis-establishment of the Church is to make us partakers of their liberty. Mr. Richard, member for Merthyr, remarked at a meeting in Manchester some time ago, "they stood over their dear friends and said to the State, Loose them and let them go," assuring us "that when we had once tasted the sweets of liberty, not a man would in ten years afterwards consent to go into the Egyptian house of bondage." Mr. McLaren, of Manchester, also comforts us thus, "The only harm we desire to it (the Church of England) is to loosen the bonds which we believe restrain its energies, and to bring it into the liberty which we have proved to be better than all the fleshpots of Egypt."

We ought, I am sure, to feel grateful to our Nonconformist friends for their deep solicitude for our own and the Church's welfare, but they will no doubt permit us to reply that we cannot be unmindful of the fact that these have not been the uniform utterances of their own ministers; but, on the contrary, some of them have made it abundantly evident that they would gladly exchange their liberty for our bondage. Only a few weeks ago the following statement appeared in the public papers as having fallen from the lips of Mr. Paxton Hood, another Independent minister in Manchester. When bidding his friends farewell he said: "The Church of England to him was the shrine and home of spiritual and ecclesiastical freedom. They might laugh at him if they would, but he said none of the sects were free, and amongst most Dissenting communities the ministers were too dependent upon their deacons for them to dare to be independent. . . . Where could a man stand so well as in a Church of England pulpit, and say that which he dared to think and feel without the necessity of being challenged as soon as he got into the vestry?"

VI. It is to the connection of the Church with the State that we owe, in a great measure, the rich and varied contributions which Churchmen have made to every form of literature. In the address to which I have just referred, Mr. Paxton Hood asks: "From whence came our best books, from whence did we obtain the books which stirred, which taught—the books of criticism and exegesis—the books of the scholar, the poet, and the novelist? . . . Did they not come from the Church of England?" In a book on "The Church Systems of England," which has been recently published, the writer, the Rev. J. G. Rogers, says, "The injustice which they have suffered" does "not prevent them from appreciating the rich contribution which the Anglican Church has made to the intellectual, the political, and the religious life of the nation;" for he adds, "Certain it is that in every department of learning the conspicuous men, with but few exceptions, owe allegiance to the Established Church." Mr. John Angell James, in his "Defence of the Principles of Nonconformity," speaking of our Church, says: "Its divines have covered its altars with works more precious than the finest gold of the ancient Sanctuary of Israel. Its literature is the boast and glory of the civilized world; its armoury is filled with the weapons of ethereal temper, which its hosts have wielded, and with the spoils they have won in the conflict with infidelity, popery, and heresy." If the prestige which the Church has derived from its connection with the

State has been instrumental in bringing to the service of religion such vast stores of human learning, surely we find in this a powerful reason for preserving that connection.

VII. Among many other reasons which might be adduced in favour of continuing this connection, I will only add that I believe it constitutes the best security for preserving the Constitutional Settlement of 1688, which requires the sovereign of these realms to be a member of our Protestant Reformed Church. At the coronation of an English sovereign, in the grand old Abbey at Westminster, the Archbishop of Canterbury solemnly demands of the heir to the throne, "Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the true principles of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law?" If you separate the Church from the State; if you act upon Liberation Society principles, that the State best does its duty in matters of religion when it altogether lets them alone, then you cannot logically and consistently require the Sovereign to be a Protestant. I believe the vast majority of the people of this land are of opinion that the Settlement of 1688, both religiously and politically, has been of immense advantage to our nation, and I am sure I shall be allowed to express the honest and deep convictions of my heart, that unless the clergy are found loyal to the great principles of the Protestant Reformation, our land will not long retain the blessings of an Established Church.

Having, then, regard to these facts—that the connexion between Church and State secures a national recognition of religion; provides for the carrying out of the parochial system; is essential to the preservation of the Church's ancient endowments given for the purposes of religion; guarantees to the clergy freedom of speech; brings into the service of the Church men of the ripest scholarship; and serves to perpetuate the Protestantism of the Throne and Constitution—having regard to these facts, I feel, notwithstanding the drawbacks which may be alleged as attending this connexion, that we have abundant cause with the Nonconformist Commentator, Matthew Henry, "to give God praise for the national establishment of our religion with that of peace and civil liberty; that the Reformation was in our land a national act; and that Christianity thus purified is supported by good and wholesome laws, and is twisted in with the very constitution of our Government."

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL.

THAT we "lose" something by the connection between Church and State is assumed in the title of the question now under discussion. It is, therefore, unnecessary to argue that point. The only question is what we lose, and without further preface, I address myself to that point. The first condition of a good discussion is a clear comprehension of the terms we use. What, then, do we mean by "the Church?" Not a school of thought, nor an institution for the propagation of certain doctrines, nor even an organisation for the promotion of virtue. The Church is all that; but she is more. In the well-known phrase of Moehler, the Church is the continuation of the Incarnation; a society, that is, founded by our Lord for the purpose of

disseminating among men the fruits of His Incarnation. For our Lord became man not merely or chiefly in order to reveal new truths; that might have been done without the Incarnation. He came to revive our fallen nature; to breathe a new life into it by repairing its broken communication with the Divine Nature. It is through mysterious contact with the First Adam that we are "born in sin." It is through sacramental contact with the Second Adam that we are "born again" to "newness of life." "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." If we are to believe the Bible, the one process is as real as the other; our sacramental regeneration places us in as real a contact with the restored humanity of Christ as our natural generation does with the sinful nature of Adam. The evil heritage of the Fall does not consist, as the Pelagians taught, in the tendency to follow a bad example, but in the derivation of a disorganised nature—a nature with a congenital bias towards evil. The redemption wrought by Christ does not consist in setting a good example and revealing precious truths, but in implanting a new life; in planting a new organic force at the root of our being to repair the damage of the Fall. When our first parents fell, humanity, viewed in the abstract, fell with them; but the individual members of the human race became partakers of that aboriginal calamity by the process of natural generation. When the Redeemer of Humanity triumphed over death, human nature, viewed in the abstract, was saved; but the individual members of it become partakers of that salvation by means of spiritual regeneration through sacramental agency. A large portion of our Lord's teaching and of St. Paul's Epistles becomes meaningless on any other view of the relation between the Fall and the Redemption of man. If original sin is a fact, it is a transmitted flaw or quality from the father of our race. If Redemption is a fact, we must become partakers of it by veritable contact in some way with Christ's Humanity—contact as real as our contact with Adam's fallen nature. The Church is thus "the continuation of the Incarnation"—that is to say, she disseminates, by means of the sacramental system, the risen humanity of our Lord in as real a sense as the fallen humanity of Adam is disseminated by natural generation. St. Paul accordingly spoke of her ministers as "stewards of the mysteries of God." The Church exists, then, for the two-fold purpose of administering our Lord's sacraments, and guarding and propagating that body of religious truths which is summarised in the Christian creeds. It is obvious, therefore, that whatever impairs her efficiency in that work must inflict a loss upon her. Does her connection with the State do so? Not necessarily, as it seems to me. Whether it does so in practice is another matter, and it is with the practical aspect of the question that we are dealing. I have endeavoured to define the ideas connoted by the "Church." What do we mean by the "State"? It is an institution of human origin; "ordained of God" indeed, but only in the sense of existing under His sanction. Its scope is bounded wholly by the horizon of this life. Of man as an immortal being the State knows nothing; it is ignorant alike of his beginning and his end. It takes cognisance of his outward conduct only, and so long as that is irreproachable the State, as such, does not trouble itself with his motives or feelings. The State, moreover, does not aim at making good men, but only good citizens. Nor does it, *quâ* State, know anything of religion, or even of God. It may be Christian or Pagan, Theistic or Atheistic, Despotism, Republican, or a Constitutional Monarchy. For its own purposes it may connect itself with some particular religious system; but the abstract truth or falsehood of religious creeds are nothing to it; they interest it merely so far as they aid or impede its own secular ends. When, therefore, the State connects itself with the Church it may be presumed that it does so because it believes that such connection helps to make its subjects good citizens, and so promote the welfare of the State. But if the Church is thus able to aid in the work of secular government it can only be on condition of being allowed to discharge her functions in the most efficient manner. To recognise the Church and

yet prevent her from fulfilling the very purpose of her existence, would be an illogical and intolerable anomaly. If the Church were a department of civil Government, like the army and navy, the State would of course have a right to prescribe its doctrine, and discipline, and ritual. But the Church is no department of civil Government. She has a life and constitution of her own, independent of the State, as is plainly implied in the Scriptural phrases applied to her, such as a "kingdom," a "household," a "family," a "polity." The State has, of course, a perfect right to decline connection with the Church, or dissolve that connection where it exists. On the other hand, the fact of the Church being established by law, whatever that may mean, gives the State no manner of right to regulate her doctrines or worship. And this is true even where the State is itself professedly Christian. And now let us see how the case stands with the Church of England. What does she lose by her connection with the State?

1. The Church herself once a year solemnly and publicly deploras her loss of discipline, and pleads for its restoration. But she pleads in vain as long as the connection between Church and State subsists. The law assumes that the Church is co-extensive with the nation. In matter of fact, however, a large proportion of the nation yield no allegiance to her authority or laws, but claim nevertheless their legal rights of membership whenever it suits their purpose to do so. The result is a relaxation of discipline to such a degree that it has practically ceased to exist. The State, to give one example out of many, has abolished the law of Christianity as to divorce—very much to the injury of public and private morality. But that is not the point. The wrong done to the Church is that the State has not only legalised divorce and allowed the re-marriage of the divorced parties—the guilty as well as the innocent—but that it insists upon the Church giving her sanction and blessing to this open violation of one of her own unreppealed laws. I believe, for my part, that the Church would be a gainer by such relaxation of her laws as would admit to all civil privileges those who do not own allegiance to her. But to insist that the Church shall grant to all such persons the unrestricted franchise of her spiritual privileges is tyranny; and tyranny necessarily entails loss on the victims of it. To forbid the Church to carry out her own laws of discipline is, in fact, to frustrate one of the essential functions of her being.

2. But the State claims to regulate, by means of its courts of law, not only the discipline of the Church, but her doctrine as well. And this claim has been asserted on various occasions during the last thirty years. The character of those judicial decisions is immaterial to my argument, which would lose none of its force if they all gave universal satisfaction. I am aware that the Judicial Committee disclaim the intention to decide as to the truth or falsehood of the doctrines in dispute. But practically the court does decide that point when it rules that certain doctrines may or may not be held and taught in the Church of England. I am aware also that no religious communion, whether connected with the State or not, can withdraw itself from the jurisdiction of the law courts. The Crown is supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, so far as temporal rights are concerned. A secular court ruled this very year that a Nonconformist minister had been wrongfully deprived of office by the tribunal of the communion to which he belonged. But there is a fundamental difference between this and the intervention of secular courts in the spiritual affairs of the Church of England. All other religious communions, including the Established Church of Scotland, enjoy full liberty to define their own doctrines on any point on which the secular court interprets the language of their formularies in a sense contrary to the authoritative ruling of the ecclesiastical tribunals. This provides a safeguard against the imposition of alien doctrines by the State. The Church of England possesses no such safeguard. The secular courts have asserted the right of reading negatives into the plain affirmatives of her formularies, and there is not a single article of the Creed which may not be got rid of by process of judicial handling, while the Church is deprived of

the power of defining her own doctrines. Nor does the danger stop here. The State has lately claimed and exercised the right of regulating the public worship of the Church without allowing the Church any voice in the matter. The very title of the Public Worship Regulation Act proclaims aloud the intrusion of Cæsar into "the things that are God's." Look at the facts. The Archbishop of Canterbury introduced a Bill into the House of Lords. That Bill was contemptuously cast aside by Parliament on the initiative of a secular Peer (Lord Shaftesbury), and a Bill was substituted for it and passed into law which superseded the spiritual courts of the Church by a purely secular tribunal. Some months ago it was successfully argued in the Court of Queen's Bench that Lord Penzance derives his jurisdiction exclusively from the Public Worship Regulation Act—a purely secular Act in which the Church had no voice at all—and that he was not bound to qualify for office as Deans of the Court of Arches had always qualified before. In one sense, of course, Parliament, in union with the Crown, is omnipotent. It can create courts of justice *ad libitum*, and enforce obedience to them by pains and penalties. It could pass an Act next Session granting to Lord Penzance, on the next vacancy in the See of Canterbury, the title, dignity, and emoluments of Archbishop of Canterbury, and that without Episcopal consecration or any other qualification whatsoever beyond a Parliamentary title; and Lord Penzance would then be Archbishop of Canterbury in as true a sense as he is now Dean of the Court of Arches, and would have just as much right to ordain to spiritual functions as he now has to inhibit from spiritual functions, and any clergyman who refused to acknowledge his spiritual jurisdiction as Archbishop of Canterbury would be as righteously imprisoned as any clergyman who now refuses to acknowledge his spiritual jurisdiction as Dean of the Court of Arches. This argument is not disposed of by quoting precedents, even if there were such, from times when the Royal prerogative was a real power, and the Crown was personally in intimate relation and close sympathy with the Church. Personally and constitutionally the Crown is "defender of the faith." Practically however, the Crown now means the Prime Minister of the day, who need not be a Christian or even a believer in a personal God, and a God who is not personal—who does not, that is, possess self-conscious intelligence and will—is no God at all. But not only may the Prime Minister be an Agnostic: every member of the House of Commons, without exception, may be so, and every member of the House of Lords, except the Lord Chancellor and the spiritual peers. What Churchmen have to face, therefore, is the fact that the doctrine and discipline, and public worship of the Church are removed from the control of the Church herself, and placed under the dominion of a body which potentially is not only non-Christian, but non-Theistic in addition. Surely that is a serious loss to the Church, and it is one which results from her connection with the State. I do not say that it is an inevitable result. The spiritual independence of the Established Church of Scotland proves, on the contrary, that it is not.

3. Another loss which her connection with the State inflicts upon the Church is the practical prohibition to choose her own bishops. Nor is it any answer to this objection to say that the State generally makes a good choice. The hardship is, that the chief pastors of the Church are imposed upon her by a secular official who need not be a Christian, and who may be an Agnostic or Mahometan.

4. Being a clergyman myself, perhaps I may venture to suggest, without offence, that our privileged position as, in a sense, State officials has a tendency to infuse imperceptibly something of the spirit of Pharisaism into the character of the clergy; by which I mean the spirit which looks with scorn on those who are outside the privileged circle. I sometimes read and hear language applied to Dissenters by clerical speakers and writers which seems to me to breathe the very spirit of him who thanked God that he was not as other men were, not even as this publican. How subtle this propensity is may be seen by its insinuating itself into the tempers of men who are patterns of Christian virtue. I knew the late Canon Ashwell, for example, and I can

bear witness to his genuine humility and spirit of self-sacrifice. Yet he defends the opposition of the clergy to the abolition of the Corn Laws on the following ground : "The Anti-Corn Law League," he says in the first volume of the "Life of Bishop Wilberforce," "was entirely a Liberal movement ; its strength was in the large towns ; and the circumstance that it was supported with great eagerness by the Dissenting ministers as a body, was not calculated to recommend it to the clergy at large."—"Life of Wilberforce," vol. i. p. 196.) Here, then, we have a dignitary of the Church, a man of exemplary piety and devotion to duty, and above the average in ability, gravely justifying clerical opposition to a measure of incalculable benefit to the mass of the population, not because the clergy had gone into the merits of the question, and had persuaded themselves that the abolition of the duty on corn was a bad thing for the country, but because "it was entirely a Liberal movement," and "was supported with great eagerness by the Dissenting ministers as a body"! What is surprising here is not so much the fact itself to which Canon Ashwell directs attention, as his justification of it. Undoubtedly, the tendency of an ecclesiastical establishment everywhere is to identify the Church with the Conservative party ; and the result is, to make it a matter of political necessity for the opposite party to cripple and paralyse the Church as much as possible. We see this strikingly exemplified in Spain and Italy and France. And is it not true that in England the clergy lose much of their moral influence over the masses from their political alliance with the party of privilege and property?

5. Another disadvantage accruing to the Church from her connection with the State is her want of elasticity ; her failure to enlist in her service and turn to account the various gifts and effervescing enthusiasms which manifest themselves among her children. Macaulay remarked on this defect, and illustrated his reproach by contrasting the worldly wisdom of the Church of Rome, which would have made Mrs. Fry the founder of a new Sisterhood, and Mr. John Wesley the Superior of a new religious order. Can it be doubted that if Wesley had been more judiciously managed, the immense volume of moral force which now energises outside the Church in Wesleyanism, might be working inside the Church, and in her service? The place now occupied by Wesleyanism among the religions of the world is the measure of the loss which in that particular instance her connection with the State has entailed upon the Church.

6. One of the plainest duties of the Church is to enlarge her borders as opportunities offer. Her commission bids her preach the Gospel throughout the world. But the connection of the Church of England with the State paralyzes her action in this matter. We all know how her State bonds prevented her from granting the prayer of the American Church for the gift of Episcopacy, and how the first American Bishop was thus obliged to go to the disestablished and disendowed Episcopate of Scotland for consecration. Madagascar, Kaffraria, and other places supply similar illustrations in our own time. What is this but a violation of one of the fundamental duties of the Church? and it is entirely due to the connection of the Church with the State. There is no time to go into further details ; but I think I have said enough to show that the losses which her connection with the State entails upon the Church of England are neither few nor inconsiderable. Whether they are counterbalanced by the gains is a question which I leave to the judgment of the Congress.

The Rev. T. J. LAWRENCE.

I HAVE been asked to speak on the disadvantages of our position as an Established Church, but before dwelling upon one of the greatest of these disadvantages, let me set forth my own position with regard to the question of Estab-

lishment and Disestablishment. To me, Establishment is not a principle, but a matter of political, social, and religious utility. It is a grand thing to have no small portion of wealth in a community set apart for the public worship of Almighty God, and for the aid of all works of mercy within the realm ; but nevertheless, if the Church of England, the appointed custodian of the wealth, should misuse it—if it should be used to foster pride—if instead of being the heritage of the poor, it should be used to pamper those in high places—I can conceive that it would be a good thing to take the wealth so misused away. I would much prefer, however, in such a case, reform of the Church to its being Disestablished ; I will go further, and say I would prefer the division of this national provision for the worship of Almighty God among all religious bodies who celebrate that worship, rather than that it should be secularised altogether. I think if the time ever comes when Disestablishment shall be a burning political question, the British householder on whose decision the matter will rest, will decide it, not upon any wire-drawn theories as to rights of property or as to whether endowment was given by the State or not. If we are true to our position and our mission, the householder of England will say, "Granted that every penny this Church possesses was given it by the State; it was rather a pity the State did not give it some more, so well has the money been used." But if, on the other hand, we are held to have misused it, no theory of the sanctity of property will save us from Disendowment. I do not think that the question of Establishment can properly be mixed up with that question we have heard alluded to, namely, that of the public recognition by the State and its members of Almighty God. I know no more touching manifestation of national Christianity than that which took place a few days ago around the coffin of General Garfield. If that was not the mourning of a great Christian nation for the loss of one of its noblest sons, then truly the mourning of Christians are words that have no meaning. Did anything more touching ever issue from Lambeth, to be read by order of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, than the short proclamation in which President Arthur enjoined his people to pay respect to the memory of the deceased President? "I appoint Monday next, on which day the remains of our honoured and beloved head will be consigned to their last resting-place, to be observed throughout the United States as a day of humiliation and mourning, and I earnestly recommend all people to assemble in their places of worship, there to render a tribute of sorrowful submission to the will of Almighty God, and of reverence and love for the memory and character of our late chief magistrate." Having thus defined my position on the general question, I will now endeavour to set forth what seems to me, perhaps, the greatest disadvantage of Establishment, leaving it to others to set forth its advantages. I hold that by our position as an Established Church, our interests are bound up so strongly with the existing order of things, that a tendency is produced in the clergy as a body to resist even the most necessary reforms, and to range themselves on the side of unjust privileges and ancient wrongs, instead of obeying the Divine command to undo the heavy burden, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke. When I say there is a tendency to do as I have stated, I do not say that this tendency always overcomes the counteracting tendencies, but sprung as most of us are, certainly not from the lower order of the people, our sympathies are unconsciously biased in favour of the privileges belonging to the class from which we are sprung rather than with the requirements of the class from which our Lord and Master sprang. This is not because we consciously love oppression and wrong, but because in political and social matters class prejudices often obscure our vision. No one can read the history of the last two hundred years without coming mournfully and sadly to the conclusion that the clergy of the Established Church as a body have resisted most of the great political and social reforms that have made the country a fit place to live in, and welded the nation into one harmonious whole. This is a matter of historical proof. What do you say to the fact that in the reign of Charles II. his minister, Clarendon, with the enthusiastic

support of the Church and clergy, passed the abominable persecuting code which still goes by his name in the present day, and by which Nonconformist ministers could be locked up in prison and were refused permission to teach and so gain their livelihood, and were not allowed to come within five miles of any place where they had previously preached. I know that little better things happened at the time of the revolution when the Toleration Act was passed; but unfortunately we soon went back again to our old bad ways, and 1711 saw the passing of an Occasional Conformity Act, and 1713 the passing of a Schism Act. In the last century when some of the worst laws were taken away, generally we were found resisting, and the final emancipation of the Nonconformists and the grant to them of the privileges of citizenship by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act was strenuously resisted by the great body of the Church of this country. And what about the Reform struggle of 1832? The Reform Act of Earl Grey was thrown out by the Lords, and the country for the time was in the throes of a revolution. In the majority of forty-one against the Bill, there were twenty-one prelates. In 1810 Sir Samuel Romilly, in his endeavours to reform our ferocious penal code, introduced a Bill to abolish capital punishment for stealing over five shillings from a shop. That was lost in the Lords by thirty-one to eleven, six bishops and one archbishop being in the majority. It was not always so, and it seems to me that if we are to maintain our proud position, and retain our hold upon the national endowments, we must go back to the times when the clergy were in all ways of progress the leaders of the people. "We have seen the noble prelate who presides over this diocese, presiding over a Co-operative Congress; perhaps soon he will preside over a Trades Union Congress. There is need, I say, to take the lead in all matters of social, and in many matters of political life. The words of our Lord are true of the Established Church as of individual Christians. "Whosoever shall save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel, shall save it." For "life" read "endowments." Give up clinging to every rag of power, and endeavouring to retain every scrap of legal right. Let the oppressed go free and break down every yoke. If we use our influence in the cause of justice and mercy, and make use of our wealth to the advantage of the poor, we shall stand. If we fail to do so, we shall fall, and we shall deserve to fall.

DISCUSSION.

BISHOP MITCHINSON.

My reason for desiring to address you is, because I am probably the only man in this gathering who has had practical experience of State-support and Disestablishment working together side by side. I am here not to propound theories, but simply as briefly as I can to lay before you what I have myself observed on a comparison of the two systems as at work in my Established and my Disestablished diocese; and, remember, I do not mean to say that principles and phenomena which are true of a Colonial diocese would necessarily apply to England. It may, however, be instructive to record some few of those points which came under my own eye during the period that I had experience of Establishment and Disestablishment. And let me remind you it was *bond fide* Disestablishment and Disendowment, not *non-establishment*, i.e., the process of being changed from a State-regulated and State-paid community into a self-regulating and self-supporting one. When I come to compare State-established Barbadoes with the Disestablished Windward Islands, I note that during the whole period of my administration of Barbadoes, though we talked much in our Church Council, we never succeeded in making one real distinct step forward in adapting ourselves to changing circumstances. In the Disestablished diocese of the Windward

Islands, on the other hand, although there was strenuous resistance to Disestablishment on the part of the clergy and a large section of the laity, when once it was a *fait accompli*, and we were brought face to face with the necessity of reconstruction and self-support, Church-life did, as a matter of fact, develop itself with wonderful spontaneity; and I have no hesitation in saying that in the Disestablished islands, the education of each little church in the ways in which the Church should legislate for itself and provide for itself was an unexpectedly rapid process. If you ask me in what respects, I may mention the much greater interest which the laity took in Church questions. When they were invited to come and take their seats in the Legislative Church Councils, and subsequently in the Legislative Synod of the diocese, where they spoke and voted with a wholesome sense of responsibility on matters which concerned the downfall or maintenance of their Church, it was encouraging to observe the growth of tolerance which took place, and how the laity worked cordially and as possessing a common interest with the clergy, with the result of a large introduction into those councils of that practical common sense which is of such importance in ecclesiastical assemblies.

Another step gained under Disestablishment was improved clergy discipline. Previous to Disestablishment unworkable English church-law procedure, or a *fac simile* of it, prevailed as part of the Colonial legislation, and many of those terrible scandals—not ritual or doctrinal (such difficulties are practically unknown in Colonial Sees) but concerning conduct and morals, constantly occurred, and were practically powerless to be redressed. When Disestablishment abrogated all Colonial Church-law, we were forced to frame our own Church courts and system of procedure. And although I grieve to state occasions for the administration of discipline arose subsequently, they never in my time came before a Church court, for the simple reason that the process was now sufficiently clear and direct, and the offending clerk preferred to avoid approximately certain penalties by voluntary surrender.

Again, in our Disestablished diocese we were able to adapt ourselves with singular facility and readiness, by the help of our self-imposed Canons, or of such relaxing power as these Canons afforded, to the circumstances and wants, whether as regards our Church services or our Church discipline, of West Indian life. It had been hitherto illegal to deal with these questions otherwise than according to English Church-law; but as soon as we were able to move on our own account, all our difficulties vanished.

But Disestablishment meant also Disendowment, either total, or partial if we had concurrent Endowment. But even here we made one grand advance; for whereas previously, while we depended on State-paid salaries, our voluntary contributions were all but *nil*, under Disendowment all Church-members, except the very poor, were brought under Church contribution. We were indeed forced to narrow ourselves to the limit of a sect, *i.e.*, to require all who claimed Church ordinances as of right to contribute a minimum sum to Church support as a necessary qualification. But at the same time we based our Church support upon the only solid basis that it can ever stand on, *viz.*, the pence of the community, not the large but uncertain donations of the wealthy. We did succeed in doing this; and the results of Disendowment were not the diminution but the augmentation of clergy-power in the different islands. Disendowment, too, did not mean with us any more than it need mean with you, Congregationalism, or the starving of the Church in country districts. We took care to make our Church finance system central as well as local. Each parish, according to its Church population, was annually assessed to a common fund, and out of this the Church council regulated and dispensed the payment to the clergy of the different parishes, so that literally the strong bore the burdens of the weak. If ever you have to face Disendowment in England, it will be entirely owing to the shortsightedness of the rulers or the selfishness of the members of the Church of England, if the Church is allowed to be blotted out of the country parishes and concentrated in the towns.

The Rev. W. M. HAY AITKIN.

WHATEVER we may gain or whatever we may lose by Disestablishment, we must of necessity lose most of all by any kind of rearrangement of the existing state of things that interferes with the full enjoyment on our part of the favours, the smile, and the approbation of the great Head of the Church. This proposition I am sure we should all acquiesce in. But the thought that should be kept most prominently before our minds in discussing a subject of this kind is this: Do we, any of us, really believe that it is a thing consonant to the mind of God, and a thing upon which the blessing of the Holy Ghost can be expected, that the highest offices of this Church of ours should be distributed by the hand of the Prime Minister, who happens for the time being to be responsible for the government of the country? I do not think anybody attempts to advance that. We only say it has come down to us as a matter of history; it has been received from our fathers, and we endeavour to make the best we can of it. But as a matter of fact, while gratefully recognising, as I do from my heart, that frequently the appointments to the highest offices of the Church are very much such as we desire, I have to ask myself, what would a St. Paul or a St. Peter have thought of the Church of Christ in the olden time if they had been given to understand that it was proposed to refer the appointment of an archbishop to any particular See to the Roman procurator, or to any other state official of the period? Then I have to ask myself, do we possess as a Church those facilities for corporate action which certainly ought to belong to any communion which claims the name of a Church?

We sat listening this morning to a discussion upon the interpretation of a rubric. I think it must have occurred to us that we were in a singular position. All that we could do was to endeavour to interpret the decision of some authority of the past instead of being able to confirm our own personal and collective convictions in the present. The Church, owing to her present connection with the State, is practically deprived of anything like corporate action. We have indeed a Convocation which very imperfectly represents the clerical elements of the Church; but of the great lay element in the Church there is no practical representation, and never can be so long as the present state of things remains. I have to put it before you, not that it is absolutely necessary that our Church should be Disestablished and Disendowed that these things may be set right, but rather that there is a possibility, and indeed a probability, of our losing to a greater or less extent that fulness of Divine favour which must ever be our strength if we make up our minds to remain satisfied with an order of things which can be so little defended. I mean to say that if, in order to sustain our position as an Established Church, it is absolutely necessary that things should go on in this, and many other, respects as they have gone on during the last few centuries—if these be the terms on which we are to retain our privileges as an Established Church, then I, for one, humbly beg to express my deepest, my heartfelt conviction that these privileges are purchased too dearly. If, on the other hand, there be a way to escape from these grave embarrassments—if we can retain the undoubted advantages which belong to an Established Church, and yet gradually by force of moral pressure, or by the assertion on the part of those who uphold the Church in the more active form of her determination to sweep away whatever is regarded as an abuse—if we see our way even to the remote possibility of removing such grave obstruction to the working of the Church—by all means let us not be in a hurry to do anything rashly. Let us work our way gradually to the goal of our expectations. But what I most deprecate is our becoming so far satisfied with the existing state of things as to cease to be conscious of the anomaly. Because good appointments are made by Prime Ministers, we gradually train ourselves to think that, instead of its being a startling and frightful anomaly that any Prime Minister should appoint any dignitary of the Church, it is a very natural and almost justifiable state of things; and there are many who believe that it is quite so. With the opinion of these I am not only utterly incapable of feeling the remotest degree of sympathy, but will go so far as to say I am so incapable of understanding the position they occupy intellectually as to render it impossible for my reason in any way to endorse the proposition. The one prominent point I desire to leave with this Congress is this—God first, and everything else second. We should all agree in the second, but let us agree

with a distinct and practical determination to carry it out, so far as in us lies, in connection with the future history and destiny of our beloved Church. If these Congresses are good for anything, they are good for affording the opportunity of a vigorous manly expression of opinion with respect to those anomalies which we have received as a painful inheritance from our fathers, and which many of us are obliged to acquiesce in because we think that to adopt an opposite course of conduct would be a greater evil, but which our own judgment cannot for one moment justify; and a vigorous expression of opinion from such an assembly as this must assuredly be more or less weighty; and may it lead to stir up throughout the length and breadth of the land a determination to purge our Church from whatever savours of mere worldliness, and by God's help to render her a pure, an efficient, and a thoroughly spiritual agency which God expects, and man too expects she should be.

J. G. TALBOT, Esq., M.P.

It is perhaps fitting that this important discussion should not come to a close without a word being heard from a layman, and especially from one who is a member of that assembly to which reference has been so frequently made this evening—I mean the House of Commons. Therefore, I venture to add a few words to what has been already said to-night. First, I would have you take note of the very important character of this discussion. This hall has been crowded by an audience probably as large as any of those that have filled it during the Congress. And when I ask what is the cause, I imagine the answer would be that the principal cause is that people have come to hear what is to be said for and against the existing condition of things. But so far as I have been able to hear, everything almost has been said on the side of "For" and very little on the side of "Against." I am merely desirous of summing-up and of emphasising something of what has been said, and to remind you of some very few reflections which have not been brought before you. I note this in passing, because it seems to me that it is a most important and noteworthy fact that, in this advanced period of the nineteenth century, when the Disestablishment question has been so long before the Church and the country, at this great Church Congress in the metropolis of the North, there has been so very feeble a voice raised on the side of Disestablishment and Disendowment. That is a fact which we and our opponents have a very good right to take note of and consider. Next, let me ask you to bear in mind that it has come out of this present discussion that Disestablishment and Disendowment are synonymous terms for all practical purposes; that is to say, that you cannot hope to obtain any of the fancied advantages of Disestablishment without at the same time losing all the advantages of Endowment. Let me also ask you to believe, from my Parliamentary experience, that this is a fact which grows in intensity every day. Those who are now clamouring for Disendowment are a very different race of men from those who formerly clamoured for it. In the former days there were people ready to make terms for the Church of England; now, they are candid enough to tell us they do not mean to leave a penny of Endowment in the Church of England, though at the same time they are kind enough to gild the pill for the present generation by saying that probably they will respect vested interests, so that they hope to enlist some of the existing generation of clergy by telling them that their bread and butter shall be provided for, but they tell the Church of England as a body that it cannot expect to retain any of its existing Endowments. Disendowment practically means the cutting off of the greater part of the sources from which our parishes are at present provided with their ministry. It means the necessity of a great effort on the part of the Church of England to supply these Endowments; and it therefore means a cutting off of a great deal of the extraneous work which is now done by the Church of England in her colonies and her dependencies. I say next that we should best preserve the good which we have, and avoid the losses which we must expect to attend an alteration in the present state of things by looking the dangers in the face, and by doing such things as these. First

of all, we must inform the people of the facts of the case. I do not stand here to puff any institution; but there is an institution which has done, and is doing, good work, and which may do more in the future—I mean the Church Defence Institution. There is a vast amount of misconception in the country as to where the revenues of the Church of England come from. I find even a gentleman on this platform addressing you this evening, and talking about the national provision of the Church of England. I want to know when the nation ever made it. I cannot find that these revenues were ever given by the nation. Certainly they were given by persons in olden times, and have been preserved to us by that preservation which the nation affords to all property; but they are not a bit more national provision than the Endowments, which are much more numerous than people remember, of the Nonconforming bodies; and to say that any of these revenues are provided by the State is one of those extraordinary historical fallacies which can only be repeated by persons who are historically ignorant. Again, I would ask you to take care that such reorganisation as we can effect in our Church system should be effective. A great deal of the little that has been said against the present condition of things in connection with Church and State has been said as if we had no Church organisation. Doubtless we have not a complete system of Church organisation; but we have something already in the shape of organisation. First of all, we have the Convocation of the Clergy. I do not say that is a perfect representation of the clergy, but it exists; and English people are always wise enough to make the best of what they have before upsetting it and putting something else in its place. And we have one extraordinary fact in our Church history in the marvellous growth of diocesan organisation which has taken place. Something has been said as to the present condition of things, showing our independent action and effort. Who that has known the history of the Church of England during the past few years but must have watched those marvellous growths of conferences and synods, in various dioceses springing up, let us remember, spontaneously! That is a proof that we have a spirit of organisation amongst us which merely needs to be brought together in a focus, as is being attempted by the Council of these Diocesan Conferences which is now being organised. Lastly, If the Church of England really wants to do anything through Parliamentary action—and the less it does in that way the better, although there are some things that must be done—let it only determine to express its mind. The Nonconforming bodies do this, and tell their representatives what their minds are. But the Church of England very seldom does that; and it does not get its work done in consequence. When it did make up its mind as to the bishoprics, what was done? The Act was passed, and we now have a provision for the foundation of a few new Bishoprics. Even that most celebrated, but not favourably celebrated Act, the Public Worship Act, that again was passed by the representation of the strong feeling which was reported to exist on the part at any rate of the laity of the Church of England. Never despair of the existing relations between Church and State until you have done your very best under them; and, above all, do the best you can to give a vital power and energy to your existing Church organisation; and when you are obliged to go to Parliament to help you, take care that your voice is clear and that you know exactly what you mean.

The Hon. and Rev. W. H. FREMANTLE.

SOMETIMES these great questions are looked upon as merely concerning statesmen or the most general view of the Church. And I should like to say that I have no objection to any of the points to which Mr. Aitken takes exception. Dwelling for a moment on these general views, I think our Church should do that which she believes to be right in God's sight, first of all; but I see nothing contrary to that principle in any of the things he has mentioned, and more especially in regard to the appointment of bishops. If St. Paul had seen the acting Chief of the Government of a great Christian nation charged with that duty, I believe he would have said that bishops are appointed by one who is the minister of God to you for good. But what

I want to point out is that these matters are not matters of general concern merely, but are matters for us as parochial clergymen in our ordinary work as Christian pastors. I believe the connection of Church and State gives us a great vantage-ground. In the first place, it puts us in a position in which we can go to every man in the parish, high or low, rich or poor, and say, "You know that we are sent, not merely as ministers of some small sect, but we are appointed according to the general consent of this great nation, and we are sent to you as members of that nation." That is the position which we claim, and which is very rarely found to be ignored by those to whom we are sent. If we were to go as members of a sect, what business should we have to knock at each door in our districts and ask admission? but we are recognised as ministers of the National Church, and we can, therefore, go freely amongst all classes. That I consider to be a very great advantage. Secondly, we are induced to look at men, not merely as they are in one particular phase of their existence—not merely in that phase in which they are worshippers within the doors of their Church, but we try to bring to bear a Christian influence on them in the whole range of their lives, in their families, in their homes, and in the various associations in which we see them; and it is natural for us as members of the Established Church to look at them from that point of view. And we are encouraged to look at Christianity, not merely as a matter of public worship, but as an offering of a man's whole self to God. We try to enter into the domestic and social life of the people, and thus to breathe the Spirit of God into their hearts, of men through the whole range of life. Thirdly, in our parochial work as ministers of a national church, we try to promote various institutions in the parish—not merely of public worship but also of instruction and of beneficence—which concern the well-being of men in a great many ways. I know that it seems to many persons to be mere folly to speak of every individual in the nation as having to do with the National Church, but I am quite certain it is not folly to speak thus of our parishioners in that way. We can ask every one to help us according to the measure of his capacity; if not in these matters relating to public worship, then in matters relating to education; and if not these, then in matters relating to philanthropy; and in some of these we can ask even persons who belong to Jewish families to assist us by their subscriptions in temporal work—all because we are not members, of a little sect, but of the great National Church to which we all belong. I believe our ministry gains very deeply by being directed to those circumstances in which people act as citizens of this Christian country, and I believe we ourselves gain greatly by our ministry being directed towards the general aspects of Christianity with which we are more particularly concerned. We want to prepare their minds that they may act as members of the State, to educate the national conscience and produce such a state of things as may lead to acts of national justice and national religion—such acts, for instance, as that which made two great nations forego the arbitrament of war and by the employment of forbearance and mutual trustfulness, sign the Alabama Convention and settle their differences in a way which has produced harmony between those two nations where it did not exist before, and has thus rendered possible that scene of loving sympathy which we have witnessed over the grave of General Garfield. What we aim at is something connected with Establishment, though far greater; that is, the production of a Christian nation—not of a number of disjointed Christian sects, but a Christian society acting in harmony in the whole range of its life by Christian conviction. It may be asked, have I nothing to find fault with our present circumstances? I quite allow that there are some things, such as those mentioned by Mr. Lawrence, which are painfully true, with which fault may be found, but I do not see anything which cannot be remedied in connection with an Established Church. I see also evils in Disestablished Churches, if not similar, yet analogous; and I do not believe that in these matters we should gain much, if we gained anything at all, by Disestablishment. I take such things as Mr. Lawrence has mentioned, and I see that they result from the want of a popular character in our own Church system, because the clergyman is set up as an autocrat in his parish and does not get the checks and control which we all require, and which exist in all other departments of public life. What wonder that they should sometimes behave as autocrats? That is the reason I want to see

this autocratic position of the clergy swept away, The changes I wish for would make the Church more popular and more liberal; but I am sure that these changes are not to be looked for in Disestablishment. I see nothing whatever to make me hope for it there. I believe that all we need can be gained through the recognised constitutional method of procedure—the appointment of Royal Commissions to prepare the way for legislation; a far more satisfactory body than that great hobgoblin the Dean of Manchester raised up—a vast national representation of the laity of the Church of England to do that which a Royal Commission could do much better. Certainly, for myself, in reference to those reforms which I should desire, I do look upon the possibility of gaining them under the present regime with some measure of modest hope, but under the Disestablishment regime I should view the prospect with blank despair.

The Rev. DR. ALFRED T. LEE (Preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn).

I WISH emphatically to bring before you the consideration that this is not a question of party either in Church or State. The union of Church and State is the interest of all Churchmen, to whatever political party they may belong; therefore it is to the interest of us all to see that the spiritual life of the nation is preserved. It has been too much the custom to consider that the defence of the Church is the property of one particular party in the Church, whereas it is not the property of any particular party but of all the members of the Church. For many years past it has been my duty to look into this question, and close contact with many classes of people has convinced me that there is a vast amount of ignorance existing as to the real facts of the case, and that the duty of the Church is to take care that all classes of the people are well informed upon this most important matter. There are multitudes of people who believe that the Church was born of the Reformation by Act of Parliament in reign of Henry VIII., and they never think of going back, not to that much over-estimated man, St. Augustine, who was not the real founder of the English Church, but to Aidan and Finan, and the Celtic Christians, who first placed the English Church on a firm and secure foundation. The Bishop of Carlisle thought that Church patronage often resulted in the fool of the family being sent into the Church. Just allow me to remark that the fool of the family could not get into holy orders unless the bishop examined and approved of him. Therefore I cannot but think that the fault lies rather with the bishop than with Church patronage. The Dean of Manchester mentioned that he should regard with sorrowful equanimity the ejection of the bishops from the House of Lords. Perhaps he did not see that the ejection of the bishops from the House of Lords would necessitate the introduction of bishops and clergy into the House of Commons; and there might be then a most pernicious Church party in the Lower House, who would do infinitely more harm than could by any possibility be done by the bishops in the Upper House. Then another speaker talked of the Church being responsible for the penal laws which were passed against Nonconformists. I thought these were the acts of the State, and not of the Church, and he called to my memory an Act of Parliament passed when Nonconformists were supreme, which forbade the private use of the Book of Common Prayer under a penalty of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and the third time the punishment was imprisonment without bail. So that the person who, under the Commonwealth, was pleased to use the Book of Common Prayer three times privately was liable to be placed in the same position as Mr. Green in Lancaster Gaol. It is the duty of every Churchman to make himself thoroughly acquainted with this Church and State question. It is becoming the most important of the day. There is a vast deal of ignorance with regard to it, and our duty to ourselves, to God, and to the Church requires that we should make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with it, and urge others to do the same.

T. LAYMAN, Esq. (President of the Church League for the Suppression of Church and State).

I WISH I had more time in order that you might judge more leniently of the motives of those earnest men who called the League to which I belong into existence. I will simply say that if you look the question, not so much of Disestablishment as of Disendowment, which is really the *crux*, fairly in the face, in the light of what may be believed to be, if not inevitable at any rate very likely, you will find that that tremendous evil is shorn of one half of its terrors; and I will try, if I can only convince a few that the Church would not be one penny poorer from Disendowment; but the evil I should fear would be that the clergy would become too rich. The Endowments belong to God; and God would open the hearts of His people to give so largely of their substance that it is difficult at any rate to measure what the extent of their munificence would be. First of all you have to recognise the fact that at the present moment these Endowments do not belong to the State in any way whatever. They do belong to the clergy and to the poor and to the general work of Christ in this land; but the State is *de facto* the trustee in charge of these Endowments. I would substitute for the trusteeship a trust of our own election—elected by communicants, and through them there should be a trust for the whole Church, beginning at the head, if the Church of England had a head—it has none as yet—but beginning at the head. The Archbishop of York is quite equal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. We may have two heads, we have not one. If I could say a patriarchal trust, I would; but I can say a provincial trust, which would manage all the money that fairly belonged to the province. I would also say a diocesan trust, which would provide largely and liberally for every diocesan object, which would retain within its hold every building which we now own; and had this been in existence three or four years ago, it would have prevented the loss of our churchyards; and if you do not bring all such machinery into existence, you will soon lose your churches. The State, as trustee, will keep them as long as is expedient, and no longer. Let there be but a demand arising in the House of Commons, and the churches will follow where the churchyards have gone. But with the aid of the machinery I have referred to, you would have trusts which would provide largely and liberally for every want with Christian hands out of the rich Endowments of Christian liberality.

H. BYRON REED, Esq. (Darlington).

Two leading fallacies have been underlying some of the addresses to which we have listened this evening, and one appears to be the assumption that we are now discussing the question of whether we shall establish our Church in connection with the English State. I venture to say that that is not at all the question which we English Churchmen have in the present day to consider; and circumstances and arguments which might well commend themselves to us if we were in the position of a Colonial community, or any community laying the foundations of its civil and religious institutions, are utterly out of place in the case of an old constitutional community, which is not the creation of only yesterday, but which has grown up in connection with the State for many hundreds of years. We are told by some of the speakers that Disestablishment, in many cases, might be made beneficial alike to the Church and to the State. I would remind these gentlemen that if ever the day comes, which God forbid, when the English Church shall be Disestablished and Disendowed, she will be Disestablished, not upon her own terms, not at the hands of her own friends and members, but at the hands and upon the terms of those who are her most bitter and malicious enemies; and we have it on the authority of the Liberation Society—which I hold to be the most powerful and influential body for compassing the Disestablishment of our Church—that the mistake, as they call it, which was committed in the case of Irish Church Disestablishment, of allowing full

compensation for vested financial interests, would not be allowed in the case of the English Church, but that all vested interests would be cut down to a minimum, that the compensation given would be only of the smallest possible kind, and that the object of those who compass the Disestablishment of the Church is, in effect, to turn her out naked and crippled, and well-nigh helpless, on the world, to begin again that task of building up the spiritual and temporal fabric which our fathers began in this land 1500 years ago. Although many extraordinary speeches are heard at times at Church Congresses, I never, until to-night, heard a speech find its way here which had evidently been prepared for the platform of the Liberation Society; and I could not help thinking, as I heard that particular speech, that if it were reported *verbatim* and widely circulated amongst the masses of the people, based, as I believe it to be, upon a thorough misconception of historical evidence, it would form a most deadly weapon, not for the reform and benefit of our Mother Church, but in the hands of those who desire her overthrow. I can understand men who have voluntarily cut themselves off from our communion, who tell us that they have neither act nor part as members of the Church, and who acknowledge by everything they do, both in public and private, that they desire no connection with our own religious household—I can understand its banding themselves together for the purpose of bringing back our Church to her condition of primitive poverty by destroying that which has been built up by long centuries. But I cannot understand how men calling themselves English Churchmen, fighting beneath the banner of the English Church, can be so false to that Church's cherished principles and traditions and to the trust committed to their charge, as to lend themselves as the tool's of an unprincipled agitation which, if successful, would—I can express it in no better words than those of the revered Bishop of Lincoln—pauperise the priesthood and paganise the people.

SECTION ROOM, WEDNESDAY MORNING,

OCTOBER 5.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN,

IN commencing the proceedings, intimated that they were honoured with the presence of Sir Richard A. Cross, Her Majesty's late Secretary for the Home Department, who, when he held that high and responsible office, by his attachment to the Church, introduced a bill into Parliament, and by his perseverance carried it through, by which four bishops would be added to the episcopacy of the Church—and under which Newcastle would shortly attain to the dignified position of a city.

THE ADAPTATION OF THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM AND OF PUBLIC WORSHIP TO THE REQUIRE- MENTS OF—

(a) TOWNS. (b) RURAL DISTRICTS.

PAPERS.

The Right Hon. Sir R. A. CROSS, M.P.

“THE sight of a church tower,” says a great writer of our own times,
“whenever it is met with, is an assurance that everything has not been

bought up for private convenience or enjoyment; that there is some provision made for public purposes, and for the welfare of the poorest and most destitute human being who lives within the hearing of its bells. In the most unattractive districts of the country, no less than in the most inviting, this same beneficent provision extends itself; or if it does not, it is owing wholly to the neglect of these later times, when all things have been left to find their own level; and the result has been, as might have been expected from the inequalities of the bottom, an alternation of some deep pools here and there with huge wastes of unmoistened sand and gravel." How all this is to be put straight—how we are to make up for the neglect of past times, and to meet the exigencies of the present and the future, is the problem before us. With all its real advantages, there may at first sight appear to be inherent difficulties in the parochial system, and a want of elasticity tending to prevent its ready adaptation to the increasing wants of modern times. The one distinguishing characteristic of our parochial system is that it is by its very nature a territorial system. So long as no new district is legally carved out of the parish, the clergyman is in possession of a freehold. He cannot be disturbed in the possession of the freehold except for gross or serious misconduct. Within the area of the parish the incumbent has not merely the cure of souls, but the exclusive cure of souls. Any clergyman, therefore, interfering with this exclusive cure, and so offending against this rule, may be proceeded against under the Church Discipline Act. The Committee of the House of Commons, to whom the Public Worship Facilities Bill was referred in 1875, and of which Mr. Salt was chairman, stated that their inquiry had of necessity led to investigation into the intention and operation of the parochial system, and they reported that it was desirable, subject to the control of the bishop, to make provision, and that by legislation, for additional facilities and opportunities of worship in parishes in five distinct cases, when, firstly, the accommodation in the existing churches and chapels is insufficient; secondly, when such churches and chapels are inconveniently situated owing to the shape of the parish, or to the growth of new classes of population, or (in the case of large parishes) to long distances; thirdly, when weakness or ill-health, or poverty, and consequent inability to procure the help of curates, renders the incumbent unable to provide sufficient ministrations; fourthly, when persistent and wilful inattention or neglect on the part of the incumbent, not already provided for by existing legislation, calls for the intervention of the diocesan; and lastly, when a marked divergence of opinion exists between an incumbent and a considerable number of his parishioners with regard to public ministrations in the church. Let us consider these several points shortly. As to the first: it will surely be well to make every use of the existing accommodation before going to the expense of adding to it. This involves primarily the restoration of the free use of the old parish church to the parishioners, subject, of course, to the jurisdiction of the churchwardens, and the redemption and even creation, it may be, of this freedom in churches built under the provisions of many of the Church Building Acts, as well as the large use of additional services. The time will soon come when we shall wonder how it could ever have been otherwise. The churchwardens will easily learn how to protect the fair rights of the parishioners in their church, as against strangers drawn thither by the

excellence of the clergyman or the beauty of the service; and by judicious arrangement and tact will as easily lead the parishioners themselves to forget their former habits of exclusiveness, and to rejoice rather than repine. But when accommodation is after all insufficient, it may very often be far better in the first instance to find the man rather than the permanent building, leaving the rest to follow—the mission chapel, the church, the district, each in its turn, as it is pretty sure to do; for in our National Church the expense of forming a separate parish, with its separate church and clergyman, is so large, and the requirements of the law are so stringent (and perhaps wisely so) as to permanent endowments, that we stand to a certain extent at a disadvantage as compared with our Nonconforming brethren in this respect. In one other point also are we at a disadvantage. The Church, as a Church, has no thorough systematic organisation for the purpose of Church extension. All praise and thanks to our various diocesan associations for large assistance and local organisation and for hearty love for work; all praise and thanks to our venerable and more central societies for the untold good that they have done and are still doing: but I would venture to suggest to our Houses of Convocation in both provinces that it is in their power to organise a system by which the Church, as the Church speaking with authority, would point at once to any of these huge wastes of unmoistened sand and gravel, and call into active energy all their various valuable diocesan central agencies and other agencies besides, so that not only may the poor parish be aided by the richer parishes in the diocese, but the poorer dioceses by the richer and more fortunate dioceses, and by the Church at large. We learn that in Russia, directly a church is wanted, it is built; not by the Government, but by the Ecclesiastical Department, or through the agency of the Synod, or by private benefactions. Surely, then, we should not be behind in devising some scheme by which the Church, as a Church, should provide that wherever there be any sudden call for immediate Church extension, as so often happens where important industries suddenly spring up, the want may be at once supplied, not as at present, somewhat at haphazard, but through authority, on a system, and with certainty. The observations which have just been made apply with equal if not with greater force to the second finding of this committee, when the present evils arise from the inconvenient situation of the church in the parish, or from the growth of new classes of population, or (in the case of large parishes) from long distances. And to the third as well, when the ill-health or poverty of the incumbent is one of the main sources of all the mischief. I have assumed the willing consent of all parties, but what if those who have legal rights under this territorial system think it of more importance to maintain their rights than to promote the welfare of the parish and the Church? The incumbent may put many difficulties in the way of subdivision, in spite of all existing statutes. The patron may do the same, and he may forget that the benefice is at all events for the benefit of the whole parish, and may be unwilling, on subdivision, to give consent or to allow a fair share of the emoluments of the mother Church, although collected as tithes, and gathered in the proposed new district itself, to pass to the daughter Church. Practical difficulties of such a character may fairly give cause for legislation. Should the difficulties become practical, and should other means be first tried and found wanting, surely in 99 cases out

of 100, or in 999 out of 1,000, would not this incumbent only too gladly avail himself of every facility placed in his way? and is not the Church fully able to prevent any difficulty, even in the hundredth or thousandth case? Is there not ample power in Convocation to lay down rules and orders which would be applicable to every case likely to arise, which would surely have a binding effect upon the conscience of the incumbent in any particular case, without coming to Parliament for the right of enforcing legally that which would be so generally accepted without cavil or dispute, and which the general expression of Convocation and diocesan and rural deanery conferences ought to be able to assert as the wish and desire and opinion of the Church? And would the patron himself be able to resist? Nor is any difficulty likely to arise in the fourth case, of persistent and wilful inattention or neglect on the part of the incumbent. Happily such inattention or neglect is rapidly becoming unknown, but the general state of the Church is meanwhile also making itself publicly felt, and finding open expression, first, perhaps, in rural deanery or diocesan conferences, or in such a Congress as the present, will, especially in such really non-contentious matters, rapidly ripen into a more formal expression of the will of the Church in her Convocation; and any such expression of opinion (strengthened as it would already have been by the opinion of the laity already given in Conference or Congress) will surely put to shame any stray incumbent or patron who might, in the first instance, be induced to refuse compliance, unless compelled thereto by law. What, however, am I to say in the remaining case, viz., when a marked divergence of opinion exists between an incumbent and a considerable number of his parishioners with regard to the public ministrations of the Church? Surely this subject must impress all patrons with the grave responsibility which rests upon them in connection with the working out of the parochial and territorial system in their selection of an incumbent. This right of presentation is a trust of the highest character, to be exercised for the benefit of the parishioners and of the Church at large, but for no private or selfish reason. How then if it be bought or sold? The sooner the wise maxim of Chief Justice De Grey be recognised, and the true nature of this high trust be thoroughly appreciated, and the sale of all next presentations in any form or by any side-wind be abolished, the better for the Church; and I freely admit legislation on this point to be necessary and to be urgently required. Surely this subject must impress all incumbents when appointed with the still graver responsibility which rests upon them, in this parochial, territorial, exclusive system, for the incumbent in ecclesiastical affairs is the most important person in the parish, and has become, so to speak, the keystone of the parochial system. Let me refer to the words of the right hon. gentleman the member for Cambridge, in the report which he drew up for the committee to which I have referred: "A petition may come from the parishioners of a church when the services are plain and few, and it may either be for more services, and those equally plain, or for more services, and those of a more ornamental character; or it may represent the feelings of a section of the congregation of a church which is noticeable for the frequency and elaborate ornament of its habitual worship, in favour of alternative services of a more simple description. There may be zealots among the clergy on one side or upon another, who would consider any such representa-

tions on the part of their flock an unwarrantable interference with the rights of an incumbent." But could such a view be upheld? There may be, in the words of the large-hearted Arnold (whose words I have already quoted), many a cleric who would "make his own word a law and himself an idol." There may also be many a layman who is a zealot, and who would thus make his word a law and himself an idol; but when the law of the Church and of the land expressly allows both services and does not compel either in preference to the other, can the clergyman enforce that which his Church does not, and refuse to his parishioners, or any considerable body of them, that which they cannot have unless, under the exclusive powers vested in him by the territorial parochial system, he be pleased to give it to them? Surely in such a case it may be left to the ordinary to decide without approaching either Parliament or even a court of law. Far be it from me as a layman to make suggestions as to how this or that parish should be worked. No one rule can be applicable to all parishes. There is room for every variety of work, and ample scope within our Church for every variety of treatment. I would venture merely in passing to urge upon the consideration of all the admirable letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury on lay co-operation, and to assure the clergy of willingness on the part of laymen, without the slightest notion of encroaching in any way on the duties of the clergy, to assist. But my great wish has been to lead Churchmen to think that in many matters it would be wise quietly to do their own business, and within the scope allowed by law to settle all disputed matters without necessarily rushing into courts of law (as laymen in lay matters often do, and afterwards very frequently bitterly repent), and to try how far the Church is able to provide for each contingency which may arise without hurrying to Parliament for assistance, by habits of self-control and by habits of self-reliance.

The Rev. JOHN JULIUS HANNAH.

THE subject which has been allotted to me is "The Adaptation of the Parochial System and of Public Worship to the Requirements of Towns." I will confine my remarks to large towns which have outgrown the accommodation of a single church, and where, therefore, it has had to be considered whether the original parish is to be divided or not. My only claim to speak with any authority on this subject is derived from the fact that for more than ten years my father has been Vicar of Brighton, which was, I believe, at the time of his appointment the largest undivided parish left in England, and that more than eight years ago I was myself appointed by the Bishop of Chichester to the incumbency of the largest of the new districts which, since the death of the late vicar, have been formed out of the mother-parish. My father and I live and work together, so that I have had daily experience of working both of an original parish and also of a newly-formed ecclesiastical district.

Of late years it has been found that the population of the country has tended more and more to gather into towns, leaving less and less which can be described as a purely rural population. The consequence of this has been that in very many places the old churches, the old endowments, and the old parochial machinery have been found to be entirely

inadequate for the due performance of the work which is expected from them. In most places the difficulty has been more or less effectually grappled with, although, of course, by whatever different methods this has been accomplished, it has seldom been effected out of the old materials: but we have had to rely on the liberality of Churchmen, both to build the new churches required, to support the clergy who serve them, and to maintain the services which are held within their walls, and in consequence of the great disturbance of the old landmarks, and the constant growth of new interests and new machinery, one sometimes hears it said that in London and other large towns the parochial system is a dead letter. But from my own experience of Brighton, and also previously for a short time of a large London parish, I should certainly be disposed to dispute this fact, and to claim the parochial system as one of the strongest bulwarks of the National Church. Its value in the country parishes all are prepared to admit, and I am not concerned to speak on that side of the question, which is the special province of the gentleman who is to follow me. But I claim for it also the utmost practical utility in the large towns. In fact, destroy it there, and we at once become Congregationalists. No sect covers, or even attempts to cover, the whole ground. It is not even their aim or object to do so. They are concerned alone with their own sympathisers and followers. We, on the other hand, claim to be the *National* Church; and if it is objected to us that in some points we have ceased to be so, that numerically there are many who will have nought of us, we can at least, if we will, make good our claim to be national in that—(1) We offer our personal services to all who reside within our parishes, and (2) We offer our churches and our public ministrations to all who will avail themselves of them.

Now, we must of course admit that in large towns where the new arrangements above alluded to have had to be made, and where churches are numerous, we cannot make all church-goers attend their parish church and no other. You cannot ticket people High or Broad or Low, not because of the views they hold themselves, but just because they happen to live in a district where such are the views of the clergyman in charge. If this is your idea of the parochial system, no doubt it is a failure. But I know of no reason why we should even attempt to carry out the system on these lines. It is surely far better that people should be allowed the utmost freedom in suiting their own tastes on these matters. Let those who like a plain service go where they can get what they want, and let those who prefer more music or a more ornate ritual also go where they may find it. A choice of churches is a great safety-valve; there seldom is so much discontent where there is plenty of variety. Only let us throw the parish churches open to all, only let us do our best to make the services frequent and hearty, and the other matter will soon right itself. The churches will be full at all events, and it will not much matter whether the people who fill them come from one side of the street or the other; but though in towns people undoubtedly do and will wander a little in the church they attend, still this is no real argument against the parochial system. Its value consists, not in restricting people's liberty, but in this: That by it every single person who dwells in a parish has a direct and personal claim on the parish priest, and also on a seat in the parish church if he chooses to go there.

In a well-worked parish, however large or small, the network of the parochial machinery will extend to every corner of the district marked out. The district visitors or other agents will constantly keep the clergy informed of all that is going on in the parish, and they will know exactly the duties for which they are responsible within a well-defined sphere.

To my mind, therefore, the main point which has to be considered in answering the question, How best to bring the parochial system to bear on the masses in our larger towns? resolves itself into this—How best to put the enormous overgrown centres of population on the same level as the smaller parishes? or, in other words, How far the old parishes ought to be subdivided, and whether the problem of the extension of the parochial system to the masses is best solved by the creation of new districts (*i.e.*, by the subdivision of the mother-parish), or by the erection of mission chapels, still to be worked in connection with the Mother Church (*i.e.*, by the extension of the parochial machinery in the existing parishes)? Now, I am disposed to think that the former is the better plan, and that in the majority of cases mission chapels will not permanently succeed so well if they are retained in perpetuity as mission chapels. The erection of a chapel-of-ease or mission chapel, to be served by the clergy of the parish church, may often be the most feasible plan for providing at short notice the necessary church accommodation for the wants of any particular district. But in the end that mission chapel will probably succeed the best which, from the beginning, is considered as the germ of a future parish church, and which is placed under the charge of a clergyman who is to be its future vicar, and who is, therefore, distinctly interested in its success or failure. When a congregation has been gathered and workers collected, and a "cause," as the Dissenters would call it, has been formed, then it is probably best that the new place of worship should start on an independent career of its own. It is easy, however, to make a mistake and to carry the subdivision too far. On the one hand, a large unwieldy parish is a mistake, because beyond the scope of one individual to grapple with. But on the other hand, too much subdivision is also a mistake. Probably the population test, fixed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as the limit below which they will not give an endowment from their General Fund, is not a bad one for practical purposes. They fix the limit at a population of four thousand; and it is, perhaps, hardly too much to say that subdivision beyond that point would be, unless under exceptional circumstances, a mistake. Certainly such a population, when centralised in a town, would be better attended to by a vicar and curate who had only one church to serve between them, than by two single-handed vicars, each in charge of a population of about two thousand, and each responsible for the duty of a separate church.

But so long as this principle of subdivision is not carried too far, I have no hesitation in saying that the plan of forming new and independent districts out of overgrown ones has, so far at all events as the case before us goes, been attended with most marked and encouraging success, and has been found to supply the best answer to the problem, How best to make the parochial system a reality among the masses of our larger towns?

Brighton, when the late vicar died, eleven years ago, was one huge undivided parish, containing ninety thousand inhabitants. There were

seventeen consecrated churches in the parish, besides four small mission chapels ; but all these churches were, as far as their legal status went, only chapels-of-ease to the parish church, working in most instances conventional districts, but no single clergyman, except the vicar of Brighton, had legal cure of souls ; so that the parish formed a remarkable instance of the attempt to leave unaltered the old boundaries, and to provide for increased population, without dividing the responsibility of the cure. Let me not for one moment run the slightest risk of disparaging the great work of Church extension which had been carried out by the late Vicar of Brighton, the Rev. H. M. Wagner. Probably few if any men in this century have been instrumental in building more churches than the late Vicar of Brighton and his son, the present highly respected Vicar of St. Paul's. But in providing for the wants of his vast parish, this was the principle on which he acted. He would not hear of any subdivision of it. All marriages to the end of his long life took place in the parish church, and there alone ; and whenever more accommodation was required, he provided for it by building another chapel-of-ease. These chapels-of-ease, I may mention incidentally, were all pew-rented ; and the parish church, with the exception of the four small mission chapels above mentioned, was the only free and open church in the town.

Of course, sooner or later, a change in such a state of things was sure to come, and soon after the death of the old vicar it did come. The offer of a district parish was made by the new vicar to every incumbent of the various chapels-of-ease, on condition that he would make his church conform to the old common law of England, which enjoins that the area of all parish churches shall be free and open to all alike. Some accepted this offer, and some declined it. The consequence is that the double system of pew-rented chapels-of-ease and of free and open parish churches is in full swing in Brighton at the present time, and with the happiest results. For undoubtedly in such a town—and, in fact, in all large towns—some pew-rented churches are imperatively required ; and in Brighton those who preferred it have gone on in their old way, while those who have preferred to have full parochial rights have got them ; and the Vicar of Brighton has in every case at once resigned the marriage-fees and Easter-offerings over the area operated upon, and in every instance an endowment—either from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or from private sources—has been provided, so that the vicars of the new parishes are in no case in a worse pecuniary position than the incumbents of the older pew-rented chapels.

And now, after ten years' working of the experiment, what has been the result ? The hostility which at the first blush was in some quarters aroused by the prospect of the disturbance of so-called vested interests by the abolition of the pews has entirely died away. Those who prefer the old way go on in the old way, and render as of yore most valuable and effective service in providing for the varied wants of the town. But, with one or two notable exceptions, matters remain with them very much as they were ten years ago ; whilst alongside of them there have sprung up, and are now maintained, six new free and open parish churches, the vicars of which are as free and independent as the rectors and vicars of an ancient parish. Two Peel districts have also been formed, which are in all respects similar to the new parishes, except that

the churches in them are not at present consecrated. Some of these parish churches are entirely new, others are the old chapels-of-ease adapted and altered. But every one of them, so far as I know, is flourishing; not one is in any serious financial difficulty; whilst the amount which has been raised and expended on these new parishes is simply marvellous in so short a time. In one parish for instance—St. Martin's—the liberality of one family has replaced the original small mission chapel by a sumptuous church, which cannot have cost much less than £20,000; whilst the newly-appointed vicar, who had for three years, while the church was in building, been working the district as curate in charge—freed from any responsibility in connection with the erection of a church—has been able to raise the funds for an organ, for the alteration of the old chapel into schools, and for the provision of a capital parsonage-house, at an expense of nearly £4,000 for this item alone.

In another parish—St. Mary's—it was thought that when the old proprietary chapel, so long and so honourably connected with the Elliott family, was about to change its constitution and become a free and open parish church, it was a good opportunity to carry out some improvements in the building itself, and a not very ambitious plan was accordingly prepared. When the operations were commenced the old building tumbled down and no further attempt was made to meddle with it. It was at once entirely removed, and in a comparatively short space of time was replaced by a noble structure, which cost something like £17,000, and which, in the opinion of many competent judges, must now be considered as the finest of all our Brighton churches.

In the case of St. James's, again, an old proprietary chapel which once obtained a not very enviable notoriety, the occasion of the change in the incumbency was taken to parochialise the building, and with the result that the old proprietary rights were bought up and abolished, and the old chapel, for which a shilling entrance used to be charged at the doors, was pulled down to the ground, and has been replaced by a very beautiful free and open parish church.

It would be tedious to multiply instances further, so I will merely add that now there are seven free and open parish churches in Brighton, where ten years ago there was but one, and that the parochialising of these buildings has called forth, directly or indirectly, a sum of not less than £53,000 on the fabrics alone. Nor does there seem to be any sign of the stream of liberality ceasing to flow. At the present moment there are two mission chapels which have recently been called into existence, which are following on the same lines and which will both be replaced at no distant date by permanent churches, which will be constituted separate districts as soon as they are consecrated.

And if we look to the matter of the clergy employed, we shall, I think, again find testimony to the usefulness of the extension of the parochial system. I suppose it will be conceded that in the majority of instances only one, or at the most two, curates would be employed at a mission chapel, worked in connection with the parish church. Now, looking at the diocesan calendar for the present year, I find that at the six new parish churches the clergy staff is as follows: At one, eight are employed; at another (my own) four; at three others, three each; and at the remaining one, two.

In every case an endowment has been provided ; but I have purposely abstained from taking these into account, because they have come generally, though by no means exclusively, from the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and are therefore to a great extent mere redistributions of older benefactions. I have spoken, therefore, only of the money actually raised and spent, and the clergy actually employed during the last ten years, in a town, wealthy indeed, but erroneously credited with far greater wealth than it actually possesses ; for to a great extent we are a town of tradesmen and lodging-house-keepers, and with all its apparent wealth Brighton possesses an amount of poverty and squalor which would utterly astonish those who are merely accustomed to its bright and glittering sea-front.

We claim all, or at all events the great majority, of this large expenditure and increase of machinery as the legitimate outcome of the great impetus given to Church work in the town by the judicious extension of the parochial system.

I have left myself but little time to speak of the second part of the subject allotted to me, viz., the adaptation of public worship to the requirements of towns ; but I am unwilling to pass the matter by without just remarking on one or two points which occur to me. According to my own ten years' experience, the institution of a regular children's service held every Sunday in the church has done more than anything else to adapt the services to the wants of the people. We hold our children's service with catechising every Sunday morning at 9.30, and the Sunday-school is held during the time when the elders are at church. This plan, which has now been in operation for more than seven years, and can therefore hardly any longer be looked upon in the light of an experiment, has been found to answer remarkably well. When it was first talked about, the Sunday-school teachers were a little disposed to mourn over the loss of the eleven o'clock service for themselves ; but a short trial of the new system soon reconciled them to the change, and I am not aware that we have lost a single teacher from this cause. The children simply love their service, and the attendance at it is most encouraging. As an incidental advantage, we get rid of the children fidgeting about at eleven, and we also get more room for adults, which we very much require.

I will not at this late period of my precious twenty minutes do more than allude to the vexed question of pews. I will merely remark that I think that the solution of the question arrived at in Brighton is not a very bad one. I have no wish to preach a crusade against pews. In many cases they are almost absolutely necessary, but I humbly hope that I may never have anything more to do with them myself. I hardly think that it can be denied that in cases where more people want to come to church than the building will accommodate, if appropriated, that they keep the working classes and others who hang somewhat loosely by their religious privileges out of the church, and therefore I would maintain that they might well be confined to non-parochial churches, while the parish churches open their doors freely alike to all. A short experience of the working of a large London parish convinced me of the injustice done to the poorer classes by the pew system there. I got hold of the notebook of my predecessor in the curacy, who had carefully tabulated all the dwellers in the mews of our fashionable parish,

and at the end he summed up his remarks with this melancholy reflection : " I fear that almost all of them are habitual deserters from the House of God." I certainly can bear out the experience of my predecessor. But was there not a cause? Our church was always full, and there was no room for more. But it was full of rich and fashionable people, and with few exceptions the poor stayed entirely away. An excellent old gentleman who had been instrumental in providing an additional curate in the shape of myself for the parish, called on me as soon as I got there, and said to me : " What we want you to do here, sir, is to go round and call upon the coachmen, and tell them they ought to go to church." It is my own opinion that I might have been engaged in this interesting occupation from then till now without result, unless the system were changed. My advice, therefore, is, let the chapels-of-ease be pew-rented if necessary, as occasion may require. But with regard to the parish churches, let us stick to the old common law of England, and insist that they be free to all.

A daily service is very useful, and is probably much appreciated by a few. It is an admirable opportunity for the clergy to meet together twice a day and discuss the various matters in the vestry which come before them. It is a great advantage to all the dwellers in the parish to know that twice in the day they are sure to find a clergyman in the church, and I believe that many who never dream of attending the service are yet glad to think that two or three are gathered there in Christ's name, and are sending up their prayers to the throne on high, both for themselves and others. And therefore I consider the daily service of the utmost importance, even though it be not very numerously attended. A late evening service, held one night in the week, will probably, especially if a sermon is preached at it, be far more numerically successful. In certain places occasional services confined entirely to men will be of great use. Very early communions on special occasions certainly attract the working people. I consider it very important never to lock the church up during the day. The habit of using it for private prayer is one of slow growth, but still I have noticed that in this country there is growth in this matter, and it certainly helps the sense of possession if the parishioners can go into the building whenever they like, even if for no more exalted purpose than that of showing it to their friends. A club, or some other place of meeting for the working men, is beginning to be considered a necessary piece of parochial machinery, and without such a place of resort it seems to me very difficult to do much in the way of temperance work. But as the club I have just built in my own parish is hardly yet finished, and has not been opened, I am unable to speak from experience as to how it will work.

The Venerable W. BOYD (Archdeacon of Craven).

THE true idea of what is meant by the parochial system may perhaps be found in the early history of Christianity in our land. When, *e. g.*, one of our Saxon fathers, on becoming a convert to the faith of Christ, was moved and interested about the well-being of his dependents, he built a church and endowed it, ordinarily with a tenth part of the domain, for the maintenance of the priest; when this became a parish church,

the boundaries of the parish were identical with the boundaries of the estate, and all his retainers and people, and all resident within such a limit had a right to the services and ministrations of the priest, and had the privilege of the use of the church, and was buried in the precincts of the churchyard. When this plan became universal, as it gradually did, then the parochial system was complete. Every resident in the country not only had a suitable place wherein to resort to worship God and hear His Word, but he had also, in time of sickness or of sorrow, a friend, a servant of God, to look to for spiritual counsel and advice, who was retained by the bounty of pious men to care for and look after the spiritual well-being of all—young and old, committed to his charge. In our time, then, the theory supposes there to be one fold—and in it many separate flocks, many sheep, and many lambs—many shepherds, and these under the order of many overseers, or chief pastors. Our theory, *i.e.*, would provide that every sheep and every lamb should have his own fold to go to, and every fold should have its well-taught shepherd—and all the shepherds, overseers, or bishops. And this is what now really exists as matter of fact; the whole country is divided into districts or dioceses, and each diocese into many parishes; and over each parish a pastor is placed and appointed by authority of the chief pastor or overseer, the bishop. And to the pastor the bishop looks for the proper and due care and well-being of the sheep entrusted to him. When we stay to inquire how the system is working, and has worked, we have most probably various estimates; but when I hear of one complaining of the *system*, I am reminded of that trite proverb, "Bad workmen are ever first to find fault with their tools." Necessarily in so old a system there must be faults, and in the ever-varying field in which it has to work there must occur cases in which the hard and fast rule of the system must either bend or break. But one thing we cannot fail to remark—how great is the responsibility of the pastor in it; how much, how *everything* depends on his zeal, and diligence, and learning, and Christian love! In one of our large sheep-farms, when the owner finds that his flock is suffering from the ignorance, or idleness, or want of dutifulness in his shepherd, he immediately dismisses him from his service. But our supervision is not so complete as that. While the priest is, in degree, answerable for the souls of all committed to his charge, he is yet, in the main, left very much without control and interference so long, at least, as there is no charge against his moral life, and so long as he keeps himself up to the bare limits and bounds of what is ordered to him and expected of him. And here I can perceive what might be an improvement not so much in the parochial system itself as in the working of it. A young cleric goes to a small country parish, anxious for work, a lover of men's souls. He has received, maybe, a few traditional sayings about the system which he is set to work out. But he soon finds out how much is left to his own judgment, and how little he has been informed or instructed as to his work. If our admirable system was a little more thoroughly understood and explained, if we had bishops enough, what a helpful thing it would be for the young and unpractised shepherd to have the presence and guidance of some one of authority and experience to start him! and if the visit of the bishop is impossible, then perhaps an archdeacon or a rural dean or canon from the neighbouring cathedral might be found. It has happily become the custom

in many places for the bishop himself or his commissary to induct the pastor to his new sphere of work—to present him to his flock as having authority ; and if that visit could be prolonged for a few days I can see a considerable benefit as likely to result ; he would learn a lesson without the usual misery of learning it by painful experience ; he would be told about the parochial system and how best to work it. Bishops are an integral part in our parochial system in country districts. And whereas it is physically impossible for a bishop to perform such offices as I am venturing to suggest, this want points to one place where our system might be improved, or perhaps reminds one of what Bingham says of the ancient office of Chorepiscopus or Country Bishop, whose duty it was to preside over the country clergy and report of their behaviour to the bishop, and do such work as I am speaking of. A few years ago, I think at the last census but two—say twenty-five years ago—the population of the kingdom was somewhat equally divided between the towns and the country ; but it is not so now. From many causes the mass of the population drives to the towns, and they are, of course, the centres of good or evil for the country. In the towns it is to be feared that the system becomes every year less able to hold its own, and every year gives tokens of decay and collapse : the mere circumstance that a variety in our religious views and opinions naturally leads hearers from one Church where the teaching is not acceptable, to another of more genial colour, this alone must exist, and must operate to the prejudice of the system—tending to a form of Congregationalism. In the country this circumstance does not operate, or rather does not exist. And indeed it reminds me of one of our country difficulties : that is to say, it does become a trial to an earnest hearer to have to listen every Sunday to a sermon enunciating the truths of the Gospel in a view wholly unacceptable, and, as may be thought, contrary to the spirit of the Bible and the Prayer-book, and it is a trial, and without remedy, to have to listen to a dull series of platitudes, sententiously delivered, as something quite new, but it may be borne, and as good Herbert says, may teach “a lesson of patience ;” whereas the other is more trying, and requires much charity and forbearance as well. And this perhaps opens a difficult question, whether our system might be amended herein. John Wesley would not have his preachers remain more than three years or so in the same place, and while he thereby secured a change of sermon, a freshness of subject, he lost the influence that a diligent and dutiful pastor ought to gain from a careful life in the same parish. Our present machinery does not allow the possibility of such change and removal, the whole idea is different ; but perhaps this might be possible, were our chapters restored to their full number : and were some elected for their preaching powers, it might be possible to send down to a dull country place a bright cheerful preacher able to adapt himself to a country audience (a power not always possessed by your popular town preacher), and so to awaken a little life. It would run the risk (you say) of making the congregation less satisfied with their ordinary minister in his pulpit, but still would be a wholesome change, and might stir up the resident pastor to more life and diligence. But, after all, the pulpit is by no means the chiefest part of our machinery. Let us follow him into his parish. The first order that meets a young priest say, for example, just sent into a remote country parish, is, that “the curate that ministereth in every parish

church or chapel, not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the morning and evening prayer every day." I cannot spare time to try to answer the objections to this rule, and will content myself with saying that anyhow it is the rule of the Church for us in carrying out our parochial system. In our towns, again, one vicar who does not follow the rule, may say, "Anyone who wants to go to daily prayer will find it in the next parish." In the country it is different; if not in the parish church it is nowhere. Of course, it would be presumptuous in a mere country clergyman to venture to give or suggest a counsel to his town brother; but look at this instance. The country mouse comes down from his lonely charge—or his lazy life, if you will—to spend a day or two with his friend the town mouse in the city of —; he is astonished to find that, though there are half a score of churches and more clergy, there is not a single place open for daily prayer in the town. He is ashamed instead of encouraged, and goes back in sadness to his work. But, indeed, as far as need goes (again putting aside the rule), I think it is not too much to say that the service is possibly more necessary in the village church than in the town. Apathy and listless indifference are what we suffer from—and it was said lately of our country places, "How few are there who regularly say their private prayer!" It must be well, therefore, that prayer should go up to the Great God—the Chief Shepherd—for all who don't pray for themselves, for all of the family who are occupied with their farm, their "milkness," and their household cattle. The pastor who tries can always find two or three to join him in this holy service; and many a time at the sound of the bell, a stranger or wayfarer will stop and turn in, and bow the knee to God. And the picture of a moderate country parish being as one large Christian family promotes this idea very much: that all who can, meet together once daily, at least, to pray to their common Father for things needful for the souls and the bodies of all. And there is another bell in our system, nearly entirely lost and forgotten, what we call the passing bell. It has, I suppose, ceased in the town, where the idea of the family lying side by side in the grave, waiting for the great resurrection, is wiped out by the service of the cemetery. George Herbert refers to this bell most touchingly. Of course, the original purpose of the passing bell was to remind the brothers and sisters that a soul of the family was passing to God who gave it, reminding them that prayer be said in its behalf; so Herbert says the bell is rung (not, as usually now, when the soul has made its flight) in the extremity of sickness, that "all who can, all who are near, may run to church, and on their knees pray to their Father for help and assistance to the dying sinner as he passes through the dark valley of death."

But this implies that our churches are open and accessible; and if anywhere, they ought to be in the country—our system orders it—and it might be the greatest boon to some of our pious poor, who in their crowded chambers have little opportunity or encouragement to come apart, awhile, and commune with their Father. Then, on surveying his parish he finds an outlying hamlet, away from church. He is at once reminded of cottage lectures and mission chapels. I do not think the system wants any alteration, or even extension, in this direction. He can have both as soon as he pleases—the first without any cost; and for the second, there is, or ought to be (if the place is a couple of miles from the church), a schoolroom, which may easily be made available. There

are difficulties, however, even here. The object and purpose of public service in church are, I presume, mainly these : 1. Worship—reverential worship of Almighty God ; 2. Praise ; 3. Then instruction, God's Word, and prayer. The cottage or mission room lecture may supply all these except the first—reverential worship. The others are, of course, necessary ; but I find when these are in use, there is more than a danger that those who frequent them begin to substitute them for the public services of the Church—they satisfy themselves that when occasion offers they go to what they term “a place of worship.” It is as though an Israelite in old time was satisfied with the synagogue, and neglected to repair with his family to the worship of the temple. If our lectures fail in bringing our people to church, I cannot help thinking that they are not so beneficial as we are apt to satisfy ourselves they are. For one of the chief wants in the revived life of the Church (I am still speaking of country places) is the deficiency in this matter of reverence. Nothing is more difficult to teach the rural mind than this. You cannot teach it in a cottage, and yet what is so essential ? To succeed in this matter of reverence, and to get your people to frequent the parish church more constantly, is the successful work only of a man of God thoroughly skilled and furnished. The parson of ever so small a parish cannot undertake such services on a Sunday : his energies are more than overtaxed with his two services and two schools. And though, instead of the second service, perhaps catechising some of the children in church (which is, indeed, the more excellent way), it is no saving of thoughtful preparation, no less laborious than what is called delivering a sermon. We are told at once that he must find either a lay helper or an ordained deacon. Of the two, I think we may look most hopefully to a permanent diaconate. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, points to an authorised and accredited body of lay readers rather than to a diaconate ; and he distinctly says “there is nothing in our system to prevent duly qualified laymen from reading and expounding Holy Scripture, and leading the prayers and praises of the congregation in schoolrooms and other appropriate places.” At this point, therefore, our parochial system wants to be zealously carried out rather than to be altered. But, indeed, in remote country places either the one or other is not easily found. Near the precincts of a town you might be fortunate enough to secure the service of some zealous layman who is devoted enough to give his time, and talent, and zeal to take a service in some one of your distant hamlets—or your schoolmaster, you say ; yes ! But, as I have said, the difficulty is to find your agent, to find one who has the love and the power of speaking the Word of God faithfully and acceptably to the people. All the extension we need at this point is that which I trust we are soon to have—an extension of the diaconate—including such as are in work, or business, or profession, but who for the love of Christ will be content to give their spare time to promote such offices as I am speaking of ; and, though such are rare in rural districts, we must hope that now and then a schoolmaster may be found who would undertake some sort of service lovingly for Christ's sake, in an outlying hamlet. Then there are hamlets or farmsteads still farther away whom the shepherd can rarely visit, and never on a Sunday. And here, perhaps, the working of the system might be advantaged by some alterations in the boundaries of our parishes. It sometimes happens that a hamlet or an

"onstead" may be much nearer to the church of a neighbouring parish than its own. In such cases the boundaries might be readjusted. And yet I have known cases where such redistribution has been anything but acceptable. There is a natural (maybe mistaken) conservative feeling among our country people which makes them cling to the old parish church where they were married maybe, or their children christened, and the churchyard where their dead are buried. Still this is without doubt one of the adaptations which our parochial system in rural districts seems to require. Also, there are without question cases in which a subdivision of a parish may be advisable—but the present law is quite as able to sanction this in the country as in the town. Only, I think in both instances the time has come for a word of caution: we may subdivide too much. By increasing the number of small and inadequate livings, we increase the risk of multiplying the number of inadequate parsons. And though it may be true that you want a more cultivated man for the town intellect and the town superiority, still, you want a man of culture ever so much, and it will be a poor day for our country parishes when they exchange a well-educated, well-trained gentleman for one of less refinement, or of inferior learning in divine things; and the character and influence of the parson in the country is, in its proportion, of more importance than in the town. He does not influence so large an area or population, but he influences them more. In a town, if one clergyman seems to come short, an aggrieved parishioner can go to the next parish; but in the country he has no choice. In the country parish the parson is to be the centre of spiritual life and Christian spirit, and that to the squire and the farmer as well as to the labouring man. He is the worker of the parochial system; all depends on him for it—such as the priest is, such are the people—and this infinitely more in the country than in the town. I think it was William Cobbett who said that one of the chief blessings of the land was to have in every parish a gentleman of intelligence and culture, of religious character and religious knowledge, ready to be a friend to the poorest and neediest, the example and the teacher of all; a good shepherd, no hireling, but one moved by the Spirit of God and his own vows of ordination. He must be diligent in seeking out the lost sheep who are scattered abroad in the midst of this naughty world, that none be lost—if at least he would work out the parochial system. And for his formal teaching on a Sunday, he must not neglect his preparation in his study for sermons and for catechising (I say nothing of personal prayer and his own spiritual life), his treasury of things new and old must be continually replenished. The country parson has time for that, you say: Yes, but does he, as a rule, give heed to reading? Is he much in his study? I believe the country parson has no greater temptation—no greater trial of his faithfulness than the question of diligent preparation for the pulpit. "See what a few there are," he may say, "really not one or two who could understand an idea from St. Chrysostom or Bishop Andrewes. I can easily be ready for them." No, the chief adaptations that occur to me in our "system" in rural parishes is the possibility of some more regular and personal supervision—from a city bishop, or if it might be a country bishop—one who, living in the country, would understand the wants and difficulties of the clergy there, and who would be at hand to stimulate the idle, encourage the diligent. He also would be able to do some-

thing to keep up another very important matter, a good supply of faithful and loving pastors, either by efforts to increase some of our miserably small benefices, or by helping to secure the appointment of such as would do their high duties in looking after the few sheep in the wilderness.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. R. W. RANDALL.

I HOPE I shall not be misunderstood if I say I never remember standing up to address a Church Congress with greater pleasure than I do now, though perhaps for a very singular reason—that I shall only repeat much which has been already said on our subject. Those who are *habituals* of Congresses will perhaps remember that there are certain things which they hear over and over again; and let me remind you it is a good thing to hear things over and over again, because they perhaps don't go so deep the first time you hear them as they do afterwards. It is not a bad thing to repeat, as I say, but first I should like to say something which has not been said before. It seems to me that we are engaged this morning, though this room hardly seems to show it, upon the most burning question that the Church of God can take up in this country. I regret that there was another subject appointed for this time which naturally excites a great deal of interest, and which might prevent our gathering together as loyal and earnest Churchmen to consider earnestly and carefully together what can be done to adapt the parochial system to the services of the Church, or first to gather in people more earnestly to the House of God. I shall pass over what might be said about the parochial system, because it has been so well said already, and I shall only say something which might be said about the adaptation of the services to the Church. In a single word, which fell from Sir Richard Cross, the Church must be beneficent to her people. While he was speaking, I could not help thinking that he bears a name which seems to represent the Church's duty. Very likely he knows that his name "Richard," which I bear also, means "Rich heart." The Church must have this. We must make the churches the homes of our people, places to which they can come in their difficulties and their perplexities, glad to find a rest from all the toil and burden and trial of life. But I am not quite sure that the Church is a home in the sense I mean—that a man can come to it and be quiet when he is there. He must be a very singular man who finds himself at home in many of our churches. What with pews, and pew-doors, and hassocks belonging to other people, which he may be afraid to kneel on, he is likely to feel more like a trespasser than one at home. First of all, the churches must be free. Every corner of the church where the people should be must be free as air. Next, churches must be made helpful. There are churches which are not helpful. Sometimes I have gone into a great and noble church and knelt down to say my prayers. And I have seen a statue of some great military commander with his sword, standing as if he were going to strike me down. Now I want something to help me. If a man raises his eyes, he should find them resting upon something which will help him—some window, some picture, some carving, that will assist him in his devotions. Then we must adapt both hymns and services to our people, and we must make the hours of service rather more convenient. In olden times services were much earlier than they are now; and we must break through the habits of the people. We have tried eight o'clock, I suppose, with success. Then we found seven o'clock better. Some of us have found six o'clock better still. I have known hundreds gather together to receive the

Blessed Sacrament at four or five o'clock. Let us make our hours earlier. I think we shall do some good to our people, if only to their health. I don't think we use our liberties in the matter of service in church as we might do. There is an old Act still in force, passed in the reign of Edward VI., which leaves you free to read a service taken out of the Bible and Prayer-book when you have the morning or evening service. Our societies, guilds, or fraternities (it matters not what name you give to them) should find their home in the Church, meet there to say their prayers together, and to ask God's blessing on themselves, and on their work. Then why should not something more be done to enable us by such means as the law places in our power to turn to account the solemn periods of the Church's year? Why should I not have prayers to help me to keep Rogation days, Ember times, ordination times, etc.? Why should I not have a service of Intercession for the parish? I once asked Bishop Wilberforce if it was lawful to use in the Church the Psalms and Collects of the old Services from the Hours, as they are used on the occasion of holding a ritual, and he said that it was lawful, and that he himself had used them. There can be no reason why we should not use these, not only on special occasions, but at other times. In that we shall find that great liberty is left to us in this matter of adapting the services to the needs of the people. And if we use that liberty we shall make the people feel that the Church can help them, and we shall be able to light up the fire of love for God, and for His Church in their hearts, and shall find that what I begun with is true—that there is no more burning question than this.

The Rev. CANON HOLE.

THE suggestions which I respectfully offer to the Congress as to the adaptation of public worship to the rural districts have this claim on its attention, that they are the outcome not only of thought and observation, but of long, I hope successful, practice also.

1. A large proportion of people who come to church in the rural districts should be taught, for they do not know—and we teachers are too often misled by the common error of supposing that truths so familiar to us must be patent to all men—should be taught, for they do not know the real meaning of worship. If you ask the ordinary labourer, for example, what he intends when he speaks of a place of worship, he would probably tell you, "The church or the chapel in which Mr. So-and-so preaches;" and if our country churches were like that Palace of Truth in which all were constrained to speak the truth—the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—and the question was put to each on entrance, "Friend, wherefore art thou come?" the answers would, I fear, verify but too sadly the old Latin lines:

"Quatuor ecclesias portis intratur ad omnes
Cæsaris, et Simonis, Sanguinis, atque DEI,
Prima patit magnis, nummis patit altera, caris
Tertia, sed paucis quarta patere solet."

Many coming because they are people of importance or wish to be thought so, rich or wish to be so; many coming because their relations come, few coming to worship. Not many would say, "We go our way into His gates with thanksgiving, and we enter into His courts with praise, to worship in His Palace the King of Kings, and with angels and archangels and all the company of heaven to laud and magnify His glorious name." Do many realise, have they been taught by parents and pastors, to believe the Special Presence? Where is the *proskunesis*, the reverential homage, implied in the greatest commandment of all—"Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God"? Where are the

signs of conviction and conversion of which St. Paul speaks, of the unbeliever and the unlearned, convinced and judged, falling down to worship? Should we know from the looks, the voices, the posture of the congregation, that the place in which they met was worthy of the name given it by a general council of the Church, *oikos proskunetos*, the house of worship? I have no sympathy with the elaborate prostrations and rapid genuflections which belong to another Church and climate, and which do not seem to me the surest proofs of true humility and the charity which vaunteth not itself. I was not surprised to hear of a neighbouring clergyman, who rushed from his prayer-desk to raise a strange lady, who he thought was fainting in the aisle, but who was only making the lowest of courtesies to the altar; nor to be told by my own churchwardens that they had gone in great anxiety to the relief of a young priest, celebrating in my absence, and who they had supposed had fallen forward in a fit: but I know that in both these cases the principals were no mere formalists; and there is infinitely more cause to fear that apathy and utter want of reverence which proclaims so sadly, "This is to us no place of worship," and of that reverence, for example, so touchingly recorded in the diary of our Queen of the Prince Consort, who, a short time before his death, and in much bodily pain and weakness, insisted on kneeling devoutly for the prayers in his last worship in the Chapel at Windsor.

2. More frequent opportunities of worship for those who know how to appreciate them: clergy and laity are alike fatigued by that incongruous combination of matins, litany, Holy Communion, sermon, hymns, and voluntaries, which is known as morning service. Idle selfishness postponed "the beginning of this day" into the middle of it (very much as the inhabitants of an episcopal city, when their pleasure-fair fell upon the first day of Lent, put off Ash Wednesday for a fortnight), and still finds it a more comfortable arrangement to speak of "the perils of this night" about three hours after the meridian. But surely every man who believes that the restoration of our churches is to be followed by the restoration of worship (what else have they been restored for?) will account it his duty, and his happiness also, to shake off dull sloth and early rise to pay his morning sacrifice on that day, which the Lord had made His own above all others, in the highest act of worship. There will be ample time for a second morning service, thus giving two opportunities to the parishioners, and with a better hope of sustaining their interest, whether they come to one or both. In the afternoon there might be a children's service and baptism, and evensong, with sermon, when it was really evening. "Four services!" some of the brethren exclaim, "two are quite as much as one man can perform;" and I was surprised to hear a distinguished speaker stating at a Church Congress that he thought two clergymen in fair health might undertake four services. What on earth is to prevent an able-bodied man from taking a service of little more than an hour at eight and eleven in the morning, of half an hour in the afternoon, and something over an hour in the evening, with long rests between each, and shorter rests, if he wishes to avail himself of them, during the psalms and hymns in the services themselves? For a man who has rowed "five" in his college boat, ridden a pulling horse over a stone-wall country, played cricket six hours under a broiling sun, to talk of physical fatigue after two services is simply a delusion, and would be quite incomprehensible had I not during the earlier years of my ministry been blinded by the same hallucination. Why not daily service? The particle of negation has not yet been introduced into the Church's injunction—"The curate that ministereth in every parish church or chapel, where he ministereth, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say morning and evening prayer daily, and shall cause a bell to be tolled thereunto a convenient time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's word and to pray with him." The ordinary morning and evening prayer is still given to be used daily, not weekly, throughout the year. What church in Christendom, what religion out of it, is limited to weekly worship? And yet, as when Bishop Beveridge wrote, daily prayers are slighted and neglected amongst

us far more, to our shame be it spoken, than among any other sort of people in the world. "The Papists will rise up in judgment with this generation, for they observe their canonical hours for praying. The Jews will rise up in judgment with this generation, for they never omitted to offer their daily sacrifices, so long as they had a house of God wherein to offer. The Turks will rise up in judgment with this generation, for when their priests call the people to prayer, as they do several times in the day, they immediately betake themselves to their mosques and temples." Some say we have family prayers. Why, of course we have family prayers, but we are pastors as well as masters, church-holders as well as householders, and what is to hinder us, when we have prayed with our kindred and servants, from offering to our people the privilege of public worship? Are we, who have the greatest work of all to do, to be slumbering, when most of those around us have been two or three hours at their labours? It has been said by our adversaries, "The squires of England were once the idlest class of men in existence, but they have been so enlivened by the sweet uses of adversity, that the rural clergy now claim precedence." They certainly do appear, as a rule, to be less ostensibly employed than their neighbours, but this suspicion would be partly modified if their service bell was heard daily. Some say there will be no congregation. Was then the saint who spoke from golden lips mistaken when he called the Church "the Court of Angels, and the presentment of Heaven"? and is His promise, Who spake as never man, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them," come to an end? But there will be a congregation (I speak from thirty years' experience in a small country parish), for the old will come, and little children will come of their own accord, and who shall doubt that their Christian hymns sound as sweetly to their Lord and our Lord as the hosannas of the Jewish child?

ARCHDEACON BLUNT, D.D.

THE clergy are almost as accurately divided into town and country clergy, as into high and low church clergy, so different are their lives, duties, and difficulties. My duty, as one who has for seventeen years had charge of a population of some 17,000 persons, is to speak of this question as it affects town parishes. Now the first fact to be faced, but not necessarily to be deplored, is that the parochial system in towns has been much relaxed and invaded. The theory of a man always going to his parish church is in some towns obsolete. He goes where he likes the service and the clergyman. Parochial boundaries still define the limits of the clergyman's responsibilities, and the rights of the inhabitants to the service of their clergyman, and mark out districts where the inhabitants must be married in particular churches and be buried by particular clergymen, but that is practically all they do. Baptisms and churchings are performed in any church for any who seek them, and there is usually an arrangement between the various incumbents in a town that each may visit his own congregation and administer to those of them who are sick the Holy Communion. Moreover, churchwardens are not seldom illegally chosen from non-parishioners, so that virtually by insensible stages there has been in many towns a substitution of the congregational system for the old parochial system. Several causes have contributed to this: In London the opening of the metropolitan railway, which almost annihilates distance; in other places the action of the ecclesiastical commissioners, who have offered every inducement to subdivide large parishes. A clergyman like myself, with a population of over 17,000 and three or four curates, can receive no assistance from the commissioners if his income be over £300, but if he will cut up his parish into districts with a population of 4000 attached to

a consecrated church he will obtain £200 a year as an endowment for each. Something may be said on behalf of this system. Over centralisation here as elsewhere is an evil: too much may depend on one man: only one set of views may obtain in all the churches of a large town, while, no doubt, the erection of new centres creates as a consequence of autonomy fresh spheres of interest. On the other hand, pauper benefices are not desirable, and are sometimes difficult to fill, and many poor parishes are thus cut off from the advantages of association with richer localities. Again, the introduction of free and open churches has encouraged the invasion of the parochial system, inasmuch as it gives no exclusive or prior right to parishioners as parishioners, but extends the same privilege to all comers alike. Now I am not here to denounce this system. It is a fact to be dealt with, rather than deplored. In the country the people go to the parish church, for they have no choice. In towns they go where they like. The parochial tie is loosened. The old theory of the church is violated. Yet the church has life and elasticity enough to accommodate itself to the new condition of things. What is to be done? 1. Take no steps to obliterate the parochial system, but maintain it wherever possible, consistently with reasonable liberty. 2. Let brother incumbents as a matter of courtesy, not of right, give all facilities to each other to visit and minister to the regular members of their respective congregations, although to save complication and to assert that the parochial rights still exist, let the fees for marriages and burials be rigidly reserved to those to whom of right they belong. 3. Let there be no jealousy if things are to work smoothly, between daughter and mother parishes or sister parishes in the same town. 4. "Bear ye one another's burdens," is a Christian motto which ought to be fulfilled by richer parishes towards the poorer parishes in the same town, from whom the richer and more fashionable population has floated away, and who yet do all the charings and washings and menial work. Such rich congregations should at least give a few offertories in the year and recognise this claim as one of right. 5. Let each parish work by itself according to its own views and its own lights, though combining together as a token of fellowship on occasions like choral festivals. 6. I need hardly say that there is no "patent" way of working any parish; London, Newcastle, Scarborough, and a small country town, have each their peculiar conditions which must be recognised, but there are certain principles which should always be maintained. (a) Efforts must not be *sporadic*, but concentrated, influencing the few that they may reach the many. (b) Neither must those efforts be *spasmodic*: nothing is more unwise than perpetual experiments; something new, then a failure, and then something new again. It shatters all confidence, and unsettles both pastor and people. (c) Again, there must be a due *proportion* in works as in faith, a true order and development. "Is not the life more than meat?" spiritual necessities first, *i.e.* Church services, frequent communions, regular visiting, good schools, well-ordered Bible classes, before recreation clubs, young men's institutes, cocoa houses. Hobbies are dangerous delights in organising a parish. (d) Supplement the church with a *Mission Chapel* or room in the poorest district for Sunday schools, mothers' meetings, temperance gatherings as well as mission services. (e) Take the greatest pains in choosing and training church-workers—and here I must for a moment speak of that most important class of church-workers—I mean lay-readers—to which the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the mouthpiece of the Episcopate, has just directed the attention of the Church, in a letter which I hope may lead to the recognition of them by the Church as a Church, instead of as heretofore by individual Bishops. Like many others of my brethren, I can speak with much gratitude of the work of lay-readers, and I would say in passing, that I trust this title will be preserved rather than another be found, as "Sub-Deacon," which is not only more pretentious, but somewhat misleading. I would suggest that lay-readers should be chosen from all social classes, from that class in which, if men would minister to Christ and their brethren, they are under existing circumstances almost driven to become Methodist local preachers,

and thus are lost to the church, as well from the most educated classes amongst us.

In some cases they may be paid, in others they would be honorary ; some might give a part of their time, and come to the work as a recreation ; others all their time. But they should be definitely trained for their duties, and examined as to their fitness. And might it not be found that this would be a suitable Archidiaconal function now that the Archdeacons seem to have no relation, as formerly, with the Deacons ? The work of lay-readers should, I think, vary according to the Bishop's licence, and the licence according to their capacity. Some would simply visit and teach, and give cottage lectures, others might take full service in mission chapels ; a few, I would venture to suggest, might be competent to preach occasionally, or perhaps on an emergency, in the church itself, delivering either printed sermons, or their own. We cannot indefinitely multiply clergy—we can very largely supplement them with lay-readers. After all, do let us remember that agents are always more important than agencies. A parish may have the best conceivable organisation, and yet have little to do with the kingdom of God. The building up of the body of Christ is not by the perpetual addition of new machinery, but by the increase of living members, bound to each other by union in Christ their Head.

In conclusion, I would say a few words on the second division of our subject, and would offer some very brief, and, I fear, imperfect hints on the adaptation of public worship to the requirements of town parishes. And here I must assume the co-operation of a good and efficient staff to do the work. First, if there be a Mission-room or Chapel, let the service, whether conducted by clergymen or laymen, be distinctively a Church service, even though there be an admixture of extempore prayer. Let not the service be such that it might be taken for a Primitive revival service, or a Salvation Army drill. Secondly, let the church itself always be open every day and all day long for private devotion. Time forbids my speaking of week-day services, which should certainly be daily, and I confine myself to remarks on Sunday services. Let the Lord's Day always begin with the Lord's Supper. Have a succession of short services with brief intervals between them, so that servants, children, rich, poor, weak, strong, may all have their needs considered. Divide the morning service, for instance, morning prayer and sermon at 10 ; Holy Communion, with address, at 12 twice a month ; Litany, with address, at 12 on the other Sundays. Children's service in the afternoon, or perhaps Sunday school in the afternoon, and short children's service at nine in the morning. Weekly, or certainly monthly, catechising with the subjects always announced beforehand. Do not make the Litany the children's service, unless it is the only time at which it can be said. It is the least suitable service for them. Exquisite though it is, there is too much sameness in it, and it is too penitential for children. A special selected service for children, followed by catechizing, is better : and in that case, perhaps, the Litany might be said with a short sermon at five o'clock. When possible, for instance, on the 5th Sunday in the month, let the Litany be said in the evening service, otherwise, many of the poor may never hear it from one year's end to another. Again, I would plead for that which the Act of Uniformity Act provides, and of which I fear few clergy have availed themselves—the occasional, say monthly, delivering of a sermon, without a service but with the bidding prayer, in the largest Church in the town, (as is the custom in the University pulpit,) in which the great subjects of the Christian faith and the great questions of the day may receive from competent preachers fuller and abler treatment than is possible in the conventional half-hour's sermon. Again, I would suggest that in parishes where such a need exists there should be after the evening service a special address given, with a hymn and a few collects, the whole not exceeding half-an-hour, especially to men, short, pointed, personal, interesting, dealing with questions such as those we heard last night—secularism, scepticism, moral difficulties of scripture. On some other evening in the month

there should be, after the service, if not in the church, in some convenient room adjoining, a short devotional meeting of a totally different character from that I have just mentioned, in which a personal and familiar address might be given, suitable to persons of more advanced spiritual life, edifying rather than converting, to be closed by extempore prayer. Indeed, I for one, wish that it might be lawful for the clergyman either before or after his sermon to offer a short extempore prayer, such as mission preachers lawfully or unlawfully do offer, in which the special wants of the parish, special intercessions or special thoughts connected with the sermon might be expressed in prayer to Almighty God. I believe it would be a privilege with which we might be entrusted, would be little liable to abuse, and would be of very great value to us. Lastly, I would insist upon the Holy Communion as the one central service from which all others should diverge or to which all others should lead. To this end let each parish, town, or country, have its Communicants' Union open to all communicants, into which the young may be transferred after confirmation and where strangers coming from another parish, (and would that they might always come with commendatory letters!) may more readily find Christian fellowship. This will best cement and strengthen all the various agencies and agents of the parish, those parishioners who work and worship, and those worship and cannot work. In this Holy Supper, I need not remind a Church Congress, will ever be found the strongest of all bonds between pastor and people, the truest of all means to unite them one and all to each other in Christ their Lord and Saviour.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. R. MILBURN BLAKISTON (Secretary of the Incorporated Church Building Society).

ONE can hardly speak of parochial work without speaking of Church extension; otherwise parochial work gives place to parochial stagnation. At the present time, owing to the enormous increase of population in our country, there are very few parishes, except in rural districts, in which there is not a very marked increase of population year after year, and this also applies to a very large number of rural districts. There is one parish with a terribly long name in Wales (*Ystradyfodwg*), in which the population has increased within the last ten years, from I think it is 3,000 to upwards of 34,000 people. Now in all parishes in which there is such a vast increase of population, of course the question at once arises in the minds of the parochial clergy, 'What is to be done to meet all the demands that consequently arise?' Is it fair to suppose that the incumbent of a parish, with a moderate population and with a very moderate income, to say that he should provide all the necessary Church machinery and work it when there is an influx of 5,000, 10,000, 15,000, or 20,000 people in the course of a decade? It is impossible for him to do so unaided. Then comes the very practical question, What is to be done? Naturally the clergyman turns to those sources from which he expects to get help—to the diocesan and the central societies. And what can they do? Some of our diocesan societies are in a flourishing condition; others are in a moribund condition. Some can do much; others can do very little. And what can the central societies do? They can only go as far as their funds will permit; by giving grants to aid, encourage, and further the work. But after all, the work that is done both by central and by diocesan societies is inadequate and unsatisfactory. And I desire to tender my thanks most heartily to Sir Richard Cross for mentioning in his paper what I think to be a very great need, namely, the consolidation of diocesan and central societies under the arm and protection of Convocation. Convocation would be doing a grand work if it would gather together the Church societies and make one Central Church Fund, in order that, whenever wants arise in different parts of the country, appeals made to that Church Fund may receive immediate attention and

be well met. At present such does not exist ; but I cannot help thinking that Convocation would be doing a very wise act if it would take up the work of Church Societies in a bold and generous spirit. Some years ago, the late Bishop Blomfield, in one of his Charges, recommended to the clergy of his diocese that they should support in their parishes at least five distinct Church societies. Those societies he especially named, which were strictly Church societies as distinct from party organisations. They were the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Additional Curates Society, the Church Building Society, and the National Society. The first two are societies which I don't wish particularly to speak about now, because one is to a great extent a trading society, and the other deals with foreign church work. But the remaining three are doing work in this country : the work of church-building, the work of providing additional clerical ministrations, and the work of furthering the education of the poor in the principles of the Church. Now if Convocation could unite these three societies, which have *all* the bishops of the Church of England, *ex officio*, on their committees, I think it would do a very great and good thing.

There is another remark I should like to make, in consequence of the reference of Mr. Hannah to mission-chapels. He said they should be regarded as the nucleus or centre of future Church work. I don't think he would deny that there is a great field for mission-buildings, which are not expected to give way hereafter to permanent churches, both in town and country parishes. There are many country parishes which have distant hamlets where it is necessary to have mission-buildings, in order to bring the ministrations of the Church to those residing in the locality. There are parishes in some parts of England where it is quite impossible to expect the inhabitants of outlying hamlets to go to the parish church. To give one instance, which I am well acquainted with, in the West of England. There is a parish with two churches, twelve miles apart, and two mission-chapels, each seven miles distant from one of the Churches, have recently been erected. I believe there is pretty much the same condition of things in many North-country parishes. In town districts, also, mission-chapels are needed. You may have a population of ten thousand people within a square half-mile, but you cannot get them to the parish church, because the parish church is not large enough, or they will not come for another reason. There is a pride among the poor as among the rich. Those who have no caps or shoes or stockings, and are in rags, will not come to sit next to well-clad people. Therefore you must bring the church to them, in order that you may gather them within its walls and lead the very heathen of our so-called Christian country into the way of salvation.

The Rev. J. F. KITTO (Rector of Stepney).

MY only desire to speak a few words upon this subject arises from the fact that for the last fifteen years I have been trying, and am still trying, to solve in practice the problem put before us this morning to discuss, viz., how the parochial system can be adapted to meet the wants of the masses in our large towns. Now my own strong conviction is that it is not sufficient to subdivide parishes in the way sketched by one of the speakers at the beginning of this meeting. I do not for one moment deny that it may be necessary and desirable that overgrown parishes should be divided, but the subdivision may be carried too far, as we were reminded by Archdeacon Blunt, who said that a pauper church is very difficult indeed to manage. Even if you have all the means of parochial machinery, you know that churches may be built and clergy may be appointed to minister in the churches, and yet the churches may not be filled. To my mind the problem which we have to solve is not how to extend the churches and increase the ministers, but how to induce the people to come into the churches that are already built—that is to say, by the means given by the Church of England—

how to induce the habit of worship, and to make people of all classes feel, as Mr. Randall expresses it, that the Church is their home.

Well, with regard to this, it seems to me very difficult to overlook—certainly in the East End of London it is extraordinarily difficult to overlook—the erratic movements of bodies controlled by Dr. Barnardo, Mr. Channington, and Mr. Booth. We have in this part of London these three large and distinct organisations doing what they call mission work, and altogether outside the lines of the Church of England. I think they are teaching us, the Church of England, a lesson that we want to be more elastic not only in the services which we provide, but in the whole of our parochial machinery. The Salvation Army, controlled by General Booth, as he calls himself, is a great religious fact of the present day to which it is impossible for us to shut our eyes. Many of us have to deal with that movement personally and practically, and may we not learn a lesson from it? I think we ought to do so. The lesson which I think we ought to learn is this—that before we can get the people into the church for the orderly worship of our own Church, we must get some other hold over them. We cannot get a man straight out of the street into the parish church and expect him to worship intelligently with those who have been educated in our Church from their very infancy. You must educate a man up to the point of worshipping with you in the Church of England. It seems to me that these irregular organisations are teaching us how this may be done. This is a matter of fact and not of argument at all. It is found that men will go to these services in large halls, and theatres, and so forth, when they will not go to the parish church. It was my fortune to be the rector, for five years, of the parish of Whitechapel, in the East End of London. I had a large and handsome new church built, which I hope was very well used; but it also happened that in the parish there was a large theatre which was unused on Sundays. In the great thoroughfare of Whitechapel Road there was a constant traffic on the Sunday morning of workmen taking their promenade after they had been turned out of their own homes by their wives, who wanted to get rid of them for the time being, but the last place they ever thought of entering was the church. I took the bold step of hiring the theatre for the Sunday mornings and of having services there. Every hair on my head would have stood up in astonishment if I had thought of that step ten years ago. But I was face to face with a practical difficulty—the difficulty was how to get these people into the church. I should of course have liked to have got them into the church, but I did not care where I got them so as I got them at all. Well, we got a very large congregation of men into the theatre—men who would have been walking up and down smoking their pipes, waiting for the opening of the public-houses, if this opportunity had not been given them.

We ought, I must remark, to distinguish very clearly between such irregular services and the worship of the parish church; and for that reason we ought to be very careful how far we manipulate and alter the services of the parish church as to bring them into the character of mission services outside the church. I have been accustomed—I do not think there is any bishop present, or at any rate my bishop is not present—to use my own church for any kind of service I liked. If the bishop had forbidden the services or found any fault with them, I should have given them up; but until he did forbid them I was accustomed to use the church in any way that I thought was for the advantage of my people. Always after the ordinary evening service I held what I think might be extended amongst the masses in our large towns, a special service intended wholly and exclusively for those who did not ordinarily come to church. It is all very well to have a special service, but it is not enough to open the churches, you must go out and “compel them to come in.” Do all you can by persuasion to get the people in. If any of them had been passing this church, they might have been astonished at the number of what were called “touters,” who were employed to invite the people to come in—urging them to attend this extraordinary service. The consequence was we got a large number of persons not in the habit of attending any regular service. In outdoor services the same thing, I think, should be kept in mind. Open-air services can be organised and held anywhere where people will come together; and it is found, as a practical matter that people will attend an open-air service who

will not enter a church. Amongst the working classes there is a feeling that they compromise themselves in some way by going to a church. We find, however, that people who won't compromise themselves so far as to attend Divine service in the parish church, will compromise themselves to the extent of standing inside the churchyard and listening to open-air preaching; and those who will not take this latter step will often go so far as to stand outside with their faces against the churchyard railings, trying to catch any word that is said. But the point is this—we want, in and out of the Church to make our efforts such as will reach the hearts of the people. It seems to me if this cannot be done within the parochial lines of the Church of England—and I am quite satisfied in many places it cannot be—there is no reason why, under the direction and guidance of the bishop, we might not have an order of evangelical preachers to minister in halls, theatres, and in the open air—wherever, in fact, men can be gathered together. We should be very starched and stiff indeed, if we objected to any such agencies. I know there has been an idea that these services might diminish the attendance at the parish church. All I can say about the matter is from my own experience. I am quite sure that the irregular services at which I have assisted did not tend to diminish, but rather to increase, the attendance at the parish church. When I have gone from my church to preach at the theatre, I have scarcely found a single person there who attended the church, except those who were working in the service. I know, as a matter of fact, that many were drawn from those extraordinary services to attend the ordinary services of the parish church, and so great good has been done.

The Rev. EDGAR JACOB (Vicar of Portsea).

I TAKE it that the very expression “The adaptation of the parochial system,” implies the retention of the principle of the parochial system, and that any change must needs be caused by accident. It seems to me important to first define what is the parochial system, and then leave that untouched. I apprehend that the parochial system is this—that there shall be a definite area entrusted to the charge of some one clergyman, that every parishioner within that area has a complete right to the ministrations which that clergyman is able to supply, and that that clergyman is bound to the utmost of his ability to supply the means of grace to those within his parish.

That being the principle of the parochial system I simply say that I hope sincerely there never will be a change in it. But there are certain features in the parochial system which, in their application to large poor parishes, seem to require considerable change. First of all, there is one upon which I shall touch slightly, and there seems a general agreement about it to-day—I refer to the supposition of some people that those who live within the parish are bound to accept the ministrations of a particular clergyman; and there was the co-relative idea that that clergyman had the exclusive care of those people who lived within his parish. There must be, in this respect, the most perfect liberty to parishioners, there must be the co-relative right of liberty to the clergyman. I think that every clergyman has a right to consider under his peculiar care those persons who prefer his ministrations, whether they live in his parish or not. There is a second accident to which I wish to speak. It is this: it is thought very often that a person by going to live within a particular parish escapes responsibility for other parishes beyond his own; and it is thought also, by some of my brother clergymen, that they have no personal responsibility beyond their own particular parishes. I will tell you what this leads to in practice. More than ten years ago I was placed by Bishop Wilberforce in charge of a large parish in the south of London, with nearly 34,000 souls. Now amongst all that people there were only three or four people to whom I could go with the expectation of getting a subscription or a five-pound note. In my present parish of Portsea, with 24,000 souls, there is not one I can ask for five pounds for any object whatever. It is manifest, then, that a poor parish like this must depend largely in Church matters on richer ones, or they

must greatly suffer. Men of business who made their money in the thickly-populated parish, choose, in many cases, some sunny spots in Surrey, and there they build churches, erect spires, and give peals of bells, while the people who have made them their money, and live near their wharves and warehouses, are cared very little about indeed. I have known such men refuse to give a five-pound note for a really necessary charity. One way of dealing with the difficulty to which I am alluding, is to affiliate poor parishes with rich ones, as is often done in London. By this means you get a supply of laymen and laywomen to go from the richer parishes to the poor ones as Sunday-school teachers, district visitors, or in any other lay capacity to give those ministrations which only educated people are able to give to their poorer brethren and sisters. If people would recognise what was their duty to other parishes the Church would be greatly strengthened. When I was in charge of St. James's, Bermondsey, an educated, earnest, refined country clergyman wrote to me and said—"I know your difficulties; if one night or one day in London would be of service to you, it is at your disposal." If clergymen in the country would thus come forward to help their overburdened town brethren, I venture to say it would be of great assistance. There is another accident of this system to which I must refer. It is thought that because the parochial system is so very good, therefore we must have an extension of the parochial system. I wish to express my entire concurrence in what has fallen from Mr. Kitto in this matter. It seems to me there is a very serious danger from sub-division. First of all you make poor incumbents, and, secondly, you leave the mother church to be a poor incumbency. I think that fresh incumbencies should not be created in poor parishes as long as they can possibly be sustained by one man. There is one other matter. There must be variety in our worship—we want more elasticity in our services, we want extempore prayers from time to time—and I believe we cannot get it except by the mission-room system, which ought, in the large poor parishes to which I have alluded, to be very much extended. I can only, in conclusion, say "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

The Rev. W. H. LANGHORNE (Stepney).

I TOOK the liberty of handing in my card in consequence of one or two statements made by the readers, but what I wanted to say has been said already. I think, however, I may make one or two remarks which will be useful for our consideration. They will have reference more particularly to the excellent paper read by Mr. Hannab, which struck me as being the best of the series. The sub-division of parishes is of course a matter of great debate. Reference has been made to the undesirability of making pauper parishes. I don't like that way of putting it, although it was probably not meant to be offensive. I cannot help thinking that the poor have just as much right to have churches provided for them as the rich, and just as much need for them. I believe that the temptation to follow the Salvation Army, the Barnardo's and other systems has resulted from the utter inability of the Church of England, in other days not far distant, to deal with its population. Within the memory of a not very old person there were only four churches, in the east of London, for about 500,000 people. It is said that if you divide these old parishes you will get pauper parishes and have nothing but begging letters and circulars. But what I say is this—that where a church is built among a poor population there ought to be an arrangement made whereby it is capable of being supported. We have heard about country clergy complaining of two services in a day. I think it is a great shame that they should so complain. But I say of the east end of London clergy, that I don't believe there is a harder working lot in the whole kingdom. And they are mostly alone in their work. For ten years whilst I have been there, I have never had a proper holiday: I could not get away, because I could not get anyone to take my place. If I want my duties taken I have very great difficulty. I have at least four services on a Sunday, if you reckon the Sunday-school.

I don't complain of that, but I say that in dealing with neglected and careless populations, who are so much given to drinking and other evils, you have very great difficulty in getting at them. Their present life consists in a great measure in quarrelling and fighting, and it takes time to bring them within the influence of the Church. I say that when we build what you call pauper churches they ought to be as well furnished and as well supplied with machinery as the richest churches. And as we cannot find the means to do this, I think the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or any body who has to do with the building of churches in poor districts, should give them a good start.

The Ven. Archdeacon BLUNT.

ISAID I did not think pauper benefices desirable. That is a very different matter from churches for the poor—churches for the poor I desire to extend.

The Rev. H. J. BULKELEY (Vicar of Lanercost).

NOTHING has been said on the subject of parochial councils. If more of the members of the Church and of different classes are to take an interest in parochial work, we must give them more power. And this is especially the case as regards the more independent, and therefore the more valuable laymen. I believe a great deal of this objection to parochial councils among clergymen comes from the way in which the Church Boards Bill, introduced by Mr. Albert Grey to the House of Commons, was drawn. Some of its provisions were revolutionary, and some of them were harsh; and though thoroughly sympathising with the principle of the measure, I would have been very sorry that it should have passed into law as it was first submitted to the Commons. But all parochial councils need not be formed exactly on that model. I who have worked in London for several years as a member of a parochial council, felt quite sure that such councils can be worked with thorough harmony, and can not fail to be productive of much good. Another suggestion I have to make in regard to large and scattered country parishes, very often it happened—it was the case in his own parish—that the Church and vicarage were many (perhaps even ten or twelve) miles away from some houses or hamlets in the parish, which were themselves close to another church and clergyman's house. A legal readjustment of parochial boundaries and consequently of clerical stipends, would be a difficult and complex matter. But, if this though desirable were practically impossible, could not something be done? Mr. Bulkeley then described the organisation of the parochial council at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square. He would propose that by some higher authority—would that they had some diocesan council—meeting together, say, the Archdeacon, the rural dean, and the incumbent and churchwardens of the parishes in question, some temporary and expedient division of the parish might be made for the purpose of visiting, and generally for spiritual administration.

The Rev. F. F. MACCALLAN (Vicar of New Basford, Nottingham).

My parish is composed in a great measure of factories and factory-workers; and I want to tell the Congress what we are doing in respect to those factories, or at least in one of them. There is a factory in which I have service every morning at eight o'clock; I have had it for the last five years, and I never have less than two hundred and fifty men and women at the services. This is one of the bright spots in my life, in respect of my parish work. Some of the men say they would rather lose their

breakfast than that service. The congregation is composed of all sorts of people. The leader of the choir is a leading Wesleyan; the organist is another Wesleyan; the manager of the factory is a Wesleyan local preacher; we have Congregationalists also. Our service in a morning is one of the most lively things possible, and sometimes people come from a distance to see us. The anxiety of the people to make the service effective is one of the most encouraging things in my parish work. We have compiled a service, under the sanction of the Bishop, which is different for different days; we have a selection of hymns, and occasionally I deliver an address and offer an extempore prayer. If you ask some of the men what religion they belong to, they will say, "The Church six days a week, and the Baptists on a Sunday." I maintain that one of the greatest movements, since the days of Wesley, is what is called the Salvation Army; and that the future, so far as the working-men are concerned, will depend on our making use of their idea. They have got hold of thousands who had never heard the Word of Christ before. They have reached thousands whom we cannot touch at all. We want, when these people have got them within the range of the Gospel, to bring them into the Church. The Salvation Army cannot keep them; they have no food for them; they have that which catches the people at the beginning, but they have nothing to support them. What we ought to set ourselves to do is to lay our plans to draw into our churches those whom the Salvation Army has evangelised in the first instance. I always speak of them very kindly, and am on particularly friendly terms with them. I say that nothing but a movement from God could get hold of such men as they reach. The worst men have been converted by the Salvation Army. Let us speak of the movement with respect, and try to use it. We must have elasticity in our services. The monotony of our services is such that the Salvation Army people cannot stand it. We ought to have something so varied, so simple, and so adapted to the people that they could follow it and take an interest in it. I believe that one of the difficulties we have is this—the matter of drawing Dissenters into the Church. I believe that all churches which are worth attending at all are filled. My experience is that in a big town every church is filled which is worth going to. If you show me a church that is not well filled, I say there is something wrong, either in the parson or in the services. I feel, too, that in our big towns we have not sufficient sympathy with one another. We cease to be a church at all if we cease to sympathise, the rich with the poor. I believe that one of our greatest needs is to have more sympathy between rich and poor parishes.

The Rev. F. W. MOLESWORTH (Washington).

LONG experience has led me to the conclusion that if Christianity is allowed fair play it can hold its own against scepticism, atheism, or any other ism. But it has not fair play in many ways. Some years ago I had a sharp discussion with an atheist, and, in the course of the debate, that person attributed much of his dislike to religion because of the harsh and incessant way in which he had been forced to attend chapel services in his youth. The system of the Church of England is not quite so repugnant as this, but there is much room for improvement. A medical man once told me that Sunday was the most fatiguing day he had in the week; while another well-disposed and candid friend has told me, that instead of coming away from the Church service refreshed and edified, he returned wearied and disgusted. Why was this? Why, because our morning services are too long, our sermons are too long, and our congregations cannot properly join in the services. Our singing is not congregational, our seats are not comfortable, and not as free and unappropriated as they ought to be. I contend that no morning service should have both the litany and the communion service. One would be enough. Some people say, "Oh, shorten the sermon, but don't interfere with the service." I would not allow any morning sermon to be more than fifteen minutes in duration, or any evening sermon more than twenty minutes, unless

two-thirds of the congregation were agreeable. If they had a great preacher, and desired to hear him, they should follow the plan pursued in the Universities—let the address be preceded only by a short hymn or prayer. If they pursued that course, they might have a sermon of an hour if they liked it. They would have to take the arrangement of the music out of the hands of the choirs, and let the singing be of such a character that the congregation could join in. If we did this, shorten the service, and free the seats, we should soon have crowds in churches which are now practically empty.

The Rev. J. H. D. COCKRANE (Vicar of S. Saviour's, Everton).

IN considering as we have to-day, the adaptation of the parochial system to the requirements of the Church, it seems to me that a serious omission has been made by the non-reference to the valuable work which our National Schools render to the cause of religion in every parish. Children's services on Sundays have been spoken of as a means for attracting and elevating the masses, but though these are most useful, they will never, unless they are supplemented by daily Church teaching, have any extensive influence on the population. Unless a parish has its school, where the children of the working classes can be taught the full course of instruction as laid down by the Church, I do not think that we shall reach the masses of the people for the purpose of making them true and hearty followers of the national Church. Every well-worked parish will have the various organisations which preceding speakers have described, but those organisations could never have done one tithe of the good work which has been attributed to them, if it had not been for the diligent and conscientious way in which the masters and mistresses of their schools had devoted themselves to religious as well as secular instruction. I therefore urge upon this meeting the necessity of providing a school as well as a church in every new district, if the parochial system is to maintain its influence. Besides this, I think there must be a rearrangement of the revenues of the Church. When most of the country parishes were endowed with tithes, the large towns were scarcely in existence—England was at that time an agricultural and not a commercial country. In more recent times the large towns have absorbed, and are still absorbing, multitudes from the rural populations. How are these multitudes to be ministered to? When we form a new district we must not only encourage and instruct the people to contribute to the support of their appointed minister, but we must have a diocesan fund to which the richer parishes are invited to contribute for the support of the poorer ones, and we must also have a scheme for taxing the richer livings, so that not only the laity but the better-endowed clergy shall give their quota towards the extension of the Church. If it be said that this is spoliation, I reply that the town clergy have received the superabundant population of the country; and so are relieving the country clergy of some of their work, why should they not also receive some of their tithes? At any rate, I am quite sure that if the parochial system is to be adapted to the requirements of our towns there will have to be a rearrangement of the revenues of the Church.

HOWARD WRIGHT, Esq. (Trinity College, Cambridge).

THERE is one other branch of parish work, which I think should not go entirely unrepresented. It is one without which my own Bishop—the Bishop of Ely—has, after several years' trial, pronounced that no parish organisation is complete. I mean the work that is carried on by the Church of England Temperance Society. In the populous parishes of Northumberland and Durham there is the greatest need of this work. In its rapid spread through the country it proves to be work which is uniting people of all shades of religious opinion; and it is one of its especial points of value, that laymen and laywomen are finding in it full scope for all their energies.

The morning's proceedings closed with a hymn and a benediction.

SECTION ROOM, WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON,

OCTOBER 5.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 o'clock.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH AS REGARDS THE OPIUM TRAFFIC WITH CHINA.

PAPERS.

The Rev. A. E. MOULE.

THREE points seem to be included within the bounds of my subject:

I. What is this Opium Traffic?

II. Has the Church any responsibility in the matter?

III. If so, what is the extent of that responsibility?

I. What is this Opium Traffic? I shall occupy the greater part of this paper in the consideration of this first point, because on a right understanding of this, the other two immediately depend. Of the Opium Trade absolutely nothing is, I believe, known to many churchmen; and to many more it is known only vaguely as a question which calls for an occasional outburst of righteous indignation. Those who have studied its history, and are acquainted with the old arguments urged in its defence can alone join intelligently in that attack which is now steadily gathering force in England.

The East India Opium Trade with China is about a hundred years old. Previous to the year 1769 the trade was insignificant, and in the hands of the Portuguese. Instead of the 80,000 chests of the present day about 200 only were imported into China; the Portuguese purchasing from the Danes in India, and the Danes in their turn from the English. In 1757, by the victory of Plassey, the sceptre of India was virtually transferred to England; and in 1765 the old monopolies held by the native rulers, passed, with the supreme power, into the hands of the conquerors. The Court of Directors of the East India Company took over three of these—saltpetre, salt, and opium into their own hands. In 1775, Warren Hastings presented the opium monopoly to Mr. Stephen Sullivan, a son of the Chairman of the Company; wishing thus to secure support during the stormy days of his eventful life.

But the monopoly would not pay. Opium was unsaleable in Bengal. A market must be found somewhere; and two heavily armed vessels—the *Nonsuch* and *Patna*, laden with opium, dropped down the Hooghly, bound for Canton. The necessity for precaution was known to the Company's engineer; for already the Chinese had taken alarm, and had forbidden the importation of opium under very severe penalties—the opium on seizure was to be burnt—the vessel in which it came to port confiscated—and the Chinese in whose possession it was found put to

death. The trade did not succeed at first ; and for about twenty years opium was introduced in small quantities under the name of foreign medicine. In 1797 the Chinese again formally prohibited importation.

In 1799 the penalty for smoking was first made transportation, and then increased to strangling. In 1800, so vehement were the protests of the Chinese that the supercargo of the East India Company recommended the Court of Directors to prevent the shipment of this article to China, and for a short period its shipment *was* actually interdicted in the Company's ships. In 1821, when the East India Company more formally adopted and worked the monopoly as their own enterprise, the Court of Christian Directors expressed "their utter repugnance to the trade, and 'longed,' " they said, "to abolish the consumption of the drug," yet as the Chinese *would* have it, they continued deliberately to grow and prepare opium expressly for the Chinese market, and to ship it, though known to be contraband, under the English flag. The heathen Governor of Canton, meanwhile, made, in his master's name, a solemn appeal to Portuguese, English, and Americans alike, to abandon this pernicious trade, assuring them that "the gods would carry fair dealers in safety across the ocean, but that over smugglers the terrors of the royal law on earth, and the wrath of the infernal gods are suspended."

This smuggling went on for sixty years. Chinese hereditary exclusiveness, and their offensive arrogance to foreigners, added to numerous instances of magisterial connivance, emboldened the English merchants in the belief that the outcry against opium was not genuine. But in 1834, the old Emperor Tao-kwang, himself a reclaimed opium-smoker, determined if possible to save his country. He first of all took the sense of the people through his high officials. Shall we legalise and tax the trade, or shall we annihilate it? The reply was overwhelmingly in favour of the latter alternative ; and the energetic Lin was sent to exterminate the plague.

"Go," said the Emperor with tears, "see, enquire, and act." By an illegal stretch of power, Lin seized and utterly destroyed 20,283 chests of opium ; and by his outrageous behaviour to Lord Napier, to Captain Eliot, and to the Canton residents, he brought on the war of 1841. The Chinese were beaten ; Hong Kong was surrendered ; five ports were opened for trade, and six millions indemnity were paid ; but the Chinese commissioners steadily refused to negotiate on any terms for the admission of Opium.

England answered China's appeal made at this time to suppress the trade by offering, in a manner the very reverse of generous, to issue a proclamation in the Queen's name, calling on all opium ships to leave Chinese waters on pain of confiscation, if the Chinese *alone* would enforce the penalty. How dared they do this, when beaten and humiliated by the war, the great cause of which was, as Sir Henry Pottinger himself declared, the trade in opium? But make the offer now, and the Chinese, with their strong and vigorous Customs service, might return a different answer. Fourteen years passed. Opium poured in through the five newly-opened ports. The Chinese Government were greatly irritated by the continued and unabashed smuggling. On October 8th, 1856, the lorch *Arrow* was illegally seized on suspicion. The war of 1856 followed ; Canton was stormed, and the expedition

moving northward occupied Tien-tsin. A treaty was concluded on June 26th, 1858, and in the next year Sir Frederick Bruce, Lord Elgin's brother, on his way with a squadron to ratify the treaty at Peking, was repulsed at the Taku forts. The war was resumed. Peking fell, and the Convention of Peking was added to the Treaty of Tien-tsin, and both were signed at Peking, October 24th, 1860. Mr. Lay and Mr. Oliphant, who were personally engaged in the conclusion of the treaty, assure us that the Chinese Commissioners themselves suggested the legalisation of opium, which was therefore introduced into the new tariff rules by Articles xxvi. and xxviii. I can well believe it. Tired and alarmed by England's long and discreditable conflict with the moral objection of Chinese rulers and people, they were afraid to leave this bone of contention unremoved. But in Li-Hung Chang's words, written in the present year, "the war must be considered China's standing protest against the legislation of such a source of revenue." And since that period, in 1869 at the time of the negotiation of a Commercial Convention by Sir Rutherford Alcock, and again in 1877 by the Chefoo Convention, and more recently in the new treaty with America,* the Chinese authorities have given sufficient evidence of their desire to restrict, and, if possible, to suppress, the trade. I sum up this brief historical sketch in the words of the Emperor Taokwang. The trade in opium and the use of opium have caused "the vice and misery of my people;" and Christian England is, in the eyes not of the Chinese only but of the world, the chief offender in this calamitous business.

Now is it conceivable that for one hundred years and more a Christian country should have been engaged in such a traffic; not as a private enterprise observe, for which the nation could not be held responsible, but as a Governmental and therefore a national undertaking? Is there no defence to be set up for the Opium Trade? I proceed to enumerate, in a brief review, the points in the defence; and I believe the consideration will but increase the persuasion that the force of the attack is irresistible.

1. I take the first three arguments together. We are told that the trade in opium is simply a commonplace instance of demand and supply; and in corroboration of this view we are assured that opium smoking in China is an ancient vice, and that England is not directly responsible for the creation of a bad habit. Her Majesty's consular agents in Western China believe that opium-smoking is many centuries old; and they state that it is as common and almost as reputable in those regions as tobacco smoking, and moreover that it is not injurious when taken in moderation. In reply to these statements, observe that the first shipments of opium to China were a failure. Exactly one hundred years ago the cargo was sold at a loss, and actually transhipped to the Archipelago by the Chinese purchaser. The taste for opium has been *created* in other places, notably in Aracan, and the demand thus originated by Bengal opium agents through the means of free distribution for a while; and we may conclude from this, at least this much, that a pre-existent market and an established taste were not necessities in order to account for the experiment of Warren Hastings.

Further, if this be an ancient custom, it is very strange that Maroc

* See Appendix, Note A.

Polo, in his minute and elaborate, and for the most part trustworthy, description of Chinese habits and productions six hundred years ago should make no allusion to opium-smoking and the poppy plant. The Roman Catholic missionaries in their writings, from A.D. 1580 down to the end of the last century, do not refer to opium-smoking. All along the eastern coast of China, one hundred years ago, it was a new and a partial vice.

In the great city of Hangehow, four days' journey inland, as my Chinese teacher, a native of the place, informs me, you could scarcely find a single opium den sixty years ago, and now the city is full of them. During the past twenty years I have myself observed the great extension of poppy cultivation in the Chehhiang province, and also the alarming symptom of an increasing number of opium-smoking *women* applying for treatment at our opium-hospitals. And to travel farther westward, Father Deschamps, who had resided for more than thirty years in Sze-chuen, told Mr. T. T. Cooper that he had *seen* the growth of the poppy introduced into that great province.

A missionary of the China Inland Mission, travelling last year in Yunnan, where poppy cultivation and opium-smoking especially abound, was informed by the old men with whom he conversed that opium had been introduced only thirty years ago, that they considered it a terrible curse, and that they believed it had come from foreign countries (from whence undoubtedly it did come, either in ancient or modern times; overland from India in Mongol days, in the reign of Foe-tso of the Yuen dynasty, A.D. 1280—1295, as a Chinese geography by Sen, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Tuh-kien province, seems to imply; or by sea, in these latter days, to the eastern sea-board, and thence penetrating westwards). With this agrees the opinion given by the Chinese Foreign Minister Wenseang, in conversation with Sir R. Alcock, to the effect that "irreparable and continuous injury was inflicted upon the whole empire by the foreign importation of opium"—"impoverishing and demoralising and brutalising the people; a deadly poison most injurious to mankind." Mr. Hart's testimony, also, to Chinese feeling on this subject is of the very first importance. As Commissioner-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs in China, Mr. Hart issued a pamphlet on "Opium," in July of the present year. He proves, as he believes to demonstration, (1) that opium provides the Chinese Government with a large revenue, and (2) that this is brought about by a luxury which affects an "infinitesimally small percentage of the population." And yet, to quote his concluding words, even "the Chinese who have studied the subject," and "admit all this, *do not find any sufficient reason for welcoming the growth of the trade, or for desisting from the attempt to check the consumption of opium.*"* It is a significant historical fact also that the Tai-ping rebels, whose desire it was to re-establish the Chinese dynasty and so to give expression to a *popular* idea set themselves resolutely against opium.† And the British Government have recently acknowledged the force of the outcry raised against the plague of opium smoking in British Burmah by closing two-thirds of the opium-shops. A writer in the *Times*, commenting on the evidence furnished by Her Majesty's Consul-Agents, makes these two damaging

* Cf. *Friend of China*, Oct., 1881, p. 394.

† Cf. "The Opium Question," pp. 46, 47.

admissions : (1) It is incontestable that opium enslaves, enfeebles, and must kill all who take it to excess ; (2) It is incontestable that opium impoverishes all except the well-to-do. But lay aside, if you please, this rebutting evidence, and accept as decisive and unimpeachable the evidence of Her Majesty's Consuls. Observe the strange dilemma into which the evidence introduces the upholders of the trade who may rely upon it in their arguments.

(a) Opium smoking is acknowledged to be most injurious in British Burmah ; to quote Lord Hartington's words, "it is almost an unmitigated misfortune." (b) But it is said to be comparatively innocuous in Western China.* (c) We reply that on the contrary it is injurious in Western China. (d) We are met by the retort that even so we are not responsible for this state of things, for Indian Opium goes no higher up the Yang tse than the neighbourhood of Hankow ; and all Western China Opium is home-grown. (e) We rejoin that this is a damaging admission ; for if Indian Opium only affects Eastern China, what has the state of Western China to do with the question of demand and supply, and of ancient custom throughout the whole of China. (f) And further, if British Burmah and Yunnan, separated by the comparatively narrow belt of the Shan States, differ so widely that opium is a curse in the one and a harmless luxury in the other, who can deny that opium-smoking may be, as in fact it is, a great curse in Eastern China, where Indian Opium is directly to blame, whatever it may be in far remote Western China, which it is said never to reach.

2. But we are told further that the trade in opium scarcely differs from the trade in spirits ; and further that the use of opium in China corresponds with the use of spirits in England. Without pausing to animadvert on the wider question of the doubtful morality involved in the Governmental taxation and regulation of vice, the reply to this defence is simple and direct. (1.) There is a great difference between manufacture and taxation. The Indian Government do not merely tax heavily the Malevat growth manufactured in the native states of Holkar and Scindia ; they also hold in their own hands the monopoly of the growth and manufacture, and sale, in the crown lands of India. (2) The English Government have never interdicted the trade in French brandy, and the French Government have never gone to war with England in order to compel the legalisation of the trade ; and Lord Hartington's retort that England would never venture to forbid such a trade whilst sanctioning the manufacture of other spirits in England itself is hardly fair, for at the time of the Opium wars, the cultivation of the poppy and the revenue from native opium were comparatively unknown in all Eastern China. (3) Sir Thomas Wade, though quoted repeatedly, must once again bear witness : "It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China, than as a habit many times more pernicious, nationally speaking, than the gin and whisky drinking which we deplore in England."

3. We are told by Mr. Denzil Onslow—and to my mind this argument is the stronghold of the defence—that "we must not rule India by our rigid notions of Christian morality ;" and by Lord Hartington

* Debate on the Opium Trade, p. 29.

† See Appendix, Note B.

that "the Opium Traffic provides a source of income which the whole of the people of India, if they were consulted, would be in favour of retaining."* But this is a dangerous doctrine to propound. If admitted and pursued to its legitimate conclusion, it would lead to the re-establishment of suttee and of immoral and murderous rites in open day; and it would bring to a sudden standstill all Christian mission-work in British India. Of course, what Lord Hartington meant to *imply* was, that if the poor Indian ryots are to be taxed to supply the six or eight millions derived annually from the Opium Trade—on the supposition of its abolition—they would prefer the present system. But they ought *not* to be so taxed. The people of India are not responsible for the trade. The people of England are to blame, and must bear the consequences. If taxation must supply the deficiency (and remember that it is not a perpetual "disheartening" drain of six or seven millions annually which is required;† we want only to tide over the period of transition, and to give time for the development of the revenue from other sources, and for the restoration of 700,000 acres of the best land in India to the growth of crops, if less remunerative.‡ certainly less poisonous; ten years' purchase would probably suffice—some sixty millions sterling, a sum which could be raised as easily in England now as the twenty millions to abolish the Slave Trade fifty years ago)—if such taxation must come, then the people of England must suffer, and not the poor of India. And it may well be remembered, as a gleam of hope over the gloomy prospect, that should the use of opium in China be restricted and abolished, it would imply (to quote figures probably far below the mark, however official), 2,000,000 purchasers with £25,000,000, or, taking the foreign drug alone, 1,000,000 purchasers with £16,800,000, set free for the import trade in English manufactures.§

(iv.) We are told that others will take up the trade if we abandon it. Let them do so!

(v.) We are told that the Chinese are dishonest; that they wish themselves to reap all the advantages of the trade; that they could check the inland transit of opium now if they were so minded; and moreover, that the stoppage of the Indian trade would merely lead to the limitless extension of the home growth in China—a growth already of vast proportions, and beyond the reach of prohibition. But surely, we may reply, *Lin* was honest, however illegal, in 1839, when he utterly destroyed the 20,000 chests of opium instead of secretly selling them. The great Chinese General, Tso Tsung-t'ang, whose victories have brought Russia and China face to face, has set himself resolutely against poppy cultivation in Shensi and Kan-suh, and reports only this year on the consequent improvement in the state of the country. In 1879 the opium crop in Honan and Shensi was reduced to a minimum by vigorously executed anti-opium decrees.|| Chinese fear of offending England by a prohibitory policy as to inland transit has been proved not to be groundless by the four years' delay in ratifying the Chefoo Convention.

* Debate on the Opium Trade, p. 24.

† See *Times*' leading article, Oct. 22, 1881.

‡ But cf. "Indian Finance and Opium," p. 8, where sugar-cane is asserted to be a more profitable crop than the poppy.

§ See *Friend of China*, Oct., 1857, p. 393.

|| See *Friend of China*, Oct., 1881, p. 386.

(vi). We are reminded that if the Indian Government abandons (as is more than likely) the monopoly, yet that this step will merely throw the trade open for private enterprise; and that anything like prohibition of the growth of the poppy is out of the question in India. But surely the very principle of the monopoly implies this same impossible power of restriction and prohibition, and as a matter of history the poppy has been uprooted before now from large tracts in Northern India by order of Government.* And further, we may observe that if this objection be true, if the poppy will still be grown in India, and opium still be wanted by the Chinese, then the British Government may abandon the monopoly without the financial panic alluded to above, and find after all that morality is "cheaper" than Lord Hartington seems to dread. Prohibition in the native States is of course out of the question; but even in this case the transit dues have been from time to time very largely increased, and perhaps have not yet reached their possible limit, a possibility which might be semi-prohibitory.

One point more remains to be urged by the defenders of the present system. "We are not responsible," say they, "for the mistakes and wrong-doing of our predecessors."† Yet surely, if we deliberately continue the same policy and have continuously derived profit from the results brought about by the wars and treaties with China, are we not—the people of England in the present day—impenitent and unyielding as to this Opium Traffic, as verily guilty to China as England was in 1775, in 1821, in 1841, or in 1860?

II. But does this *mercantile* question concern the Church? Yes; immediately and urgently. England and Christianity are united in Chinese thought. The Chinese assume that every foreigner is a Christian. And the acts of the British Government are supposed to be the expression of Christian morality. If the policy is condemned, Christianity is condemned. And does it not affect the Church of England to be told by the most powerful man in China, Li Hung Chang—writing in May of the present year—that "England and China can never meet on common ground. China views this whole question from a *moral* standpoint, England from a *fiscal*!" Is it nothing to be told by Chinese moralists that "the hindrance presented by the Opium Trade to Christian missionaries renders their efforts fruitless?" Are we unmoved by the admission of Mr. Denzil Onslow, in his vigorous defence of this trade, that "there may be some *tinge of immorality* in the Opium Traffic."‡ A tinge of immorality! But the Church is to be "holy and without blemish." And this "tinge of immorality" on England's fair fame means a stain on the white robes of the Church itself.

III. What, then, is to be done, and what are the limits of our responsibility? *We must act at once.* It is the eleventh hour; but we may yet be in time. The Opium Trade was more valuable than ever last year, and reached the total nett value of £8,468,000. It is still possible to retire willingly and with honour. But *we must act INSTANTLY.* The Chinese Government are moving. They propose to increase the tax on foreign opium, and to legalise by taxation the native growth; a double policy which may prove the ruin (1) of our Indian trade, (2) of all hope

* Cf. Parliamentary Papers on Opium, p. 54; and "The Opium Question," p. 77.

† Debate on the Opium Trade, p. 18.

‡ Debate on Opium, p. 24.

of curing China of opium smoking, (3) of all hope of honourably purging Christian England from the long shame of a fight against the moral protests of a great heathen people.

(a) *Let the clergy therefore master this subject.* Ill-informed denunciation and ignorant indignation do no good. If, on examination, the Opium Trade be deemed morally defensible, then let it alone; but if it be pronounced morally wrong, then—

(b) *Let the clergy bring the subject before their people,* and prepare them for self-sacrifice. The sneer “cheap morality” has been heard. We must be ready for *dear morality*, for righteous dealing at *any price*. And remember, that until the people have spoken, we cannot expect the Government of the Queen to act. The people of England are asleep, because ignorant as to this Trade; and the Church will be distinctly responsible if this ignorance and silence continue.

(c) Be practical, and *join the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.* The Bishops of Durham, Ripon, Salisbury, Liverpool, and Mid-China are amongst its Vice-Presidents, and such Churchmen as the Dean of Llandaff and Canon Liddon are on its General Council.

(d) *Pray.* The walls of Shanghai were placarded in 1877 with a heathen exhortation to intercede before Heaven for the abolition of the opium plague. “During a former dynasty,” said this document, “Heaven prohibited opium; during this dynasty, it can be interdicted only by Heaven.”

Until this shame be removed from the Christian name, the Church cannot be free either for advance into rebel heathen lands or for the great fight with infidelity and immorality here at home.

If through God’s mercy it be, though late, removed, the time will be nearer when the Church shall go forth “fair as the moon, clear as the sun,” “conquering and to conquer.”

Mr. JAMES CROPPER, M.P.

IN the short period of time allotted to each paper I shall perhaps make most use of my opportunity if I apply myself specially to two questions connected with the Opium Trade.

I. The position of the Opium Trade in British Burmah.

II. The present attitude of the Chinese Government towards the importation and the growth of opium in China.

When we first took possession of territory in Burmah, now more than thirty years ago, we found penal laws existing against the growth or sale of opium, as well as against the practice of smoking opium; and though the operation of the law was, as usual in eastern countries, sometimes irregular in its action, yet the use of opium was but little known, and the quantity brought in by smuggling inconsiderable.

The general feeling of the people was against the trade, and it was urged, both in Burmah and in England, that by a stringent law against the use of the drug the vice might be altogether extirpated; that a very limited sale would not produce enough revenue to pay the expense of the excise and the salaries of protection officers; that the agents who could be found to undertake the trade were of the very lowest class; and that the extension of the sale of opium would so deteriorate the

population that the revenue from other sources would fall more than sufficient to cancel any fiscal benefit from the duty received by the Government.

On the other hand, the habit of English Government has ever been in favour of restraint rather than of prohibition, and there was abundant precedent for the system of heavy taxation on the article, with the double view of at once restricting its undue use, and of gaining a revenue (proved to be very tempting) to the State.

It is not probable that the idea of prohibition was ever seriously entertained by the authorities, and very soon a system of opium taxing spread over the country which we first annexed, and was adopted in turn over our later possessions.

For a long time no special effect seems to be recorded. Objections were made on religious grounds by the King of Burmah to any trade in opium with his people, and special provision had to be made for even the passage of opium through Burmah to China. Sir Arthur Phayre, as Chief Commissioner, and Mr. Hind, as Assistant-Commissioner, called the attention of the Indian Government to the grievous mischief which was being done more than ten years since, and in May, 1871, Dr. Smith gave evidence on the subject before a Select Committee of the House of Commons.

But the evil produced by the trade was rapidly spreading, and its effects became so obvious that the attention of the Chief Commissioner was drawn to the change it had produced in the character of the people and in the administration of criminal justice.

Few documents are more distressing or more convincing than the report of the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Aitchison, on this subject. He commences by alluding to a petition got up by a very large number of natives in the following terms :—"If you must have revenue, take it in any other form ; double the capitation tax, but do not raise it by encouraging the spread of a vice, for the sake of indulging in which our sons are converted into robbers of their parents."

In consequence of this petition a circular was issued in 1878 instructing the Commissioners of Divisions in British Burmah to obtain the opinions of educated natives on the subject of the increase of opium-smoking among the Burmese, and to submit suggestions for remedies. The replies are appalling in their revelations. It would seem that the natives are quite incapable of using the drug in moderation, that the habit once formed can rarely be shaken off, and that this infirmity is pandered to by dealers, who tempt young men to their ruin by giving them opium for nothing, well knowing that the taste once acquired will be habitually indulged.

The Chief Commissioner sums up the evidence by saying that "the reports show that among the Burmese the habitual use of the drug saps the physical and mental energies, destroys the nerves, emaciates the body, predisposes to disease, induces indolent and filthy habits of life, destroys self-respect, is one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime, fills the gaols with men of relaxed frames, predisposed to dysentery and cholera, checks the natural growth of the population, and enfeebles the constitution of the succeeding generations."

He says, and gives figures to prove his assertion, that the increase of consumption during specified periods of four, seven, and ten years is both

universal and large, and leaves no doubt that the taste for the drug is rapidly extending all over the province and among the rural population.

Perhaps I may be allowed to give a few quotations from the reports of the Divisional Commissioners upon which the above-quoted calculations are founded. Thus, Mr. St. John writes from Akyal, November, 1878 :

"There can be no conception on the part of the Government of the fearful strides with which the demoralisation of the Arakanese portion of this district is progressing, mainly owing to the indulgence of the inhabitants in opium-smoking.

"Perhaps the greatest degradation has been reached in the Island of Lagoo, which is inhabited by some four hundred families, nearly all opium smokers, in the most abject state of poverty. Out of four hundred houses there were not more than twenty which deserve the name of a house, the remainder being small huts or hovels in which the people squat almost in a state of nudity. Men and women alike indulge in an equal degree in the use of this drug."

Colonel Staden writes :

"During my residence in Arakan I have been impressed, and made to feel and acknowledge, in opposition, I may say, to all previous ideas on the subject, that opium is becoming the scourge of this country. The importance of the evil is that the addition to opium consumption is alarmingly on the increase. The vice is rapidly extending, and is appreciably affecting our land revenue. The respectable elders of the people recommend the absolute interdiction of the drug, and the peremptory closing of all shops.

"Then comes the question of smuggling. There will be smuggling under any circumstances, but all native officials say that they can contend with this if only opium is absolutely interdicted, and the possession of the smallest quantity made penal."

Such evidence might be given at greater length, but alike in character; and it must be remembered that it is no rumour or sensational report that I quote, but the business-like replies of the official Commissioners of our own territory. It must be remembered, too, that the contrast of British with native rule is so recent that we are able in our own memory to illustrate the disadvantage which our government of the country has entailed.

The heading of my paper refers to the responsibility of the Church in regard to the opium trade, and it adds additional melancholy to the history of this growing vice in Burmah to read in the Report of the Chief Commissioner that, in his opinion, the change in opinion we have produced, and the education we have given, has helped so far but to remove the old restraint without supplying a new principle in its place. The people are becoming emancipated from many restrictions of their old creed, the sanctions of religious belief are weakened, and the restraints of social custom broken down by our example and instruction, and by the sense of personal liberty which our government creates among the people.

We, in England, are averse to legislate on matters of morality. We believe that it is better to give our people better aims and occupations than to protect their morality by law ; and though the democratic spirit seems to lean to restrictive legislation in respect to Sunday drinking, yet in the main we use our legal powers as moral subjects with a

lightening hand. But we have no right to make such experiments on our subject races, or to trust to the power of public opinion, or an educated self-control in an eastern and a heathen population.

"The consensus of native opinion is," we read, "in favour of absolute prohibition of the drug, as the only practical remedy to be applied to stem the current of this evil."

"I have consulted," says one of the Assistant-Commissioners, Mr. Richardson, "several Burmese of intelligence and education, and one and all have the same radical cure to propose—the shutting of the Excise shops; their verdict is not modified by one 'if' or 'but.'"

Another Commissioner writes: "I have found it impossible to obtain the suggestion of any half measures from the elders consulted; to put away the accursed thing entirely was the only advice which seemed to them of any value at all."

Mr. Hodgkinson, Commissioner of Arakan, writes in language with which I would sum up my argument: "Justice and fairness to the people at large, in my opinion, rather point to the interdiction of the sale of opium, when their very life-blood has been and is being poisoned by a system which, though intended only to supply a want to a few, has resulted in creating a want for many. It may be hard on those addicted to the use of opium that they no longer find their wants supplied. Some may even die; but when the whole body is suffering from a fatal disease, which may be eventually eradicated by the loss of a member, he would be a poor physician who shrank from the amputation, and a dishonest physician if he allowed the disease to run its course for the sake of the fees he would receive from the patient. Government will not act fairly by the people if mere revenue considerations are allowed to stand in the way of the remedy."

I must not dwell longer on this branch of my subject, though it is at present the most open to our action. The immediate results of the reports from which I have quoted has been that, during the present year, the Burmese opium-shops have been very much reduced in number, so that 27 will in future exist in place of 68; also, that the selling price is materially raised with the view of checking the consumption. The Chief Commissioner, in publishing this decision in the *Burmah Gazette* of last April, concludes as follows: "This change in the opium system is necessary in the interests of the people, and could not properly be postponed, and the local officers will explain to the leading men in towns and villages that the new restrictions are imposed in the interests of the people and at the request of respectable Burmese in almost every district and township."

Thus ends for the present a revelation of wide-spread misery and ruin, caused by the mistaken legislation, if not by the greed, of England. The future for Burmah is most important, and Christian men in this country are doubly responsible if they again allow the subject to slumber as before, while their fellow subjects are being demoralised and destroyed.

I believe myself that no half-measures will suffice, but that total prohibition will prove the only remedy in Burmah, and I trust that the attention which is now given to this matter may bring fresh evidence from public and private sources to enlighten Parliament upon the piteous condition of the country.

I have gone the more into the subject of the Opium Trade and its effects in Burmah, because I think the evidence produced must be conclusive as to the real effect of opium-smoking upon its victims.

Interested Chinese merchants, and the newspaper writers they inspire, may deny the influence of opium upon its votaries in China, and assume an air of incredulity towards the statements of travellers and of missionaries. But even newspaper critics have not treated lightly the distressing statements from which I have quoted. All they attempt is to distinguish the nervous system of the Chinaman from that of the Burmese, and with, I think, small success, to assume that the two are different, and the one does not necessarily follow the other. I need not, after what has already been said by Mr. Moule, dwell at any length on the miserable effects produced by opium in China.

If evidence can ever be accepted we must believe the Chinese are suffering by the effects of opium-smoking to a fearful extent. No nation has ever protested so strongly against the action of another nation, or suffered so much in resisting that action, as China has done in resisting our traffic in opium; and there can be no reason to suppose, as Indian officials and Chinese merchants assert, that the drug which has largely destroyed the prosperity of Burmah, and which we in England treat in our shops as poison, can be anything but a fearful scourge in China.

Our own representative, Sir Thomas Wade, condemns it in as strong terms as a Chinese ruler or any Christian missionary. He says: "It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than of a habit many times more pernicious, materially speaking, than the gin and whisky drinking which we deplore at home. It takes possession more insidiously, and keeps its hold to the full as tenaciously. I know no case of radical cure. It has insured in every case within my knowledge the steady descent, moral and physical, of the smoker."

I must not take up more time in stating the case against the influence of opium in China; but I have been struck with a new form of defence which is brought forward to minimise its effects.

Within the last few weeks a volume of statistics has been collected and made public by the Commissioners of Customs at the various Chinese ports, bearing upon the subject; and Mr. Robert Hart, the Inspector-General, in an introductory note describes the whole process of the trade and preparation of opium in China, and endeavours actually to compute the ordinary dose taken, and thus to calculate the actual number of Chinese smokers whom it reaches. He has to assume the daily amount of the drug used by a constant smoker at a quantity which would weigh three "mace," and cost 10½d.; and by an easy calculation he proves, to his own satisfaction, that there are in round numbers a little above a million smokers of foreign opium.

Estimating the population of China at three hundred millions, he thus shows that only a third of one per cent, (one in three hundred) adopt the pernicious habit. Judging of the income of the population in China by any standard we possess, it would hardly seem likely that so large a number can spend a daily sum of 10½d. in smoking. So that the real number affected is probably much larger than Mr. Hart allows. But it is at any rate a strange form of apology for this pernicious trade, that its bad effects only reach a million people! Surely a wrong which pro-

duces ruin to a continuous stream of a million souls, and these mainly adult men, can hardly excuse itself on the ground of its limited effects. Even if Mr. Hart's calculation of the effects of imported opium be correct, we must, as he admits, at least double the number of victims when we add the home-grown opium to that grown in India. And there seems reason to believe that the very hopelessness of checking the foreign importation has led to a relaxation in her laws against home-grown opium, thus making the effect of our trade responsible for at least two millions of Chinese sufferers. Surely we cannot salve our national conscience, or think little of our national sin in connection with the Opium Trade, because the Chinese people number so many that we can only, with all our efforts, reach a small proportion of them.

At the present moment there seem to be rising in China leaders of the people who are not prepared to allow evil customs to continue, simply because they are old. In shipping, in warlike provisions, and in adopting the ideas of other nations, a change is evidently growing up. There are, to-day, strong rumours in the papers published in China of a line of railway to be laid down from Peking to Shanghai, about 600 miles. This, if it take place, will probably forerun fresh and rapid changes of habit and of opinion, and will give a growing sense of national unity and of national power. The old and effete conservatism of faith and opinion is certain to pass away, as it has done in other countries; and any change which gives life to a population of three hundred millions must affect the whole world.

Already some new signs of vigour are evident: the treaty with the United States, recently made public, agrees that "citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of China, or to transport from one port to another, or to buy or sell opium." A treaty with similar conditions has been just concluded with Russia, and I observe, within the last week, that Li Hung Chang, the Imperial Commissioner who signed the Chepoo Convention six years ago, has sent his agent to confer with Lord Ripon, to ascertain how far the Government of India will be inclined to open negotiations respecting the Opium Trade, discussing also the development of the general trade between India and China, especially the trade in Indian yams, and the political question respecting the relative interests in Asia, of China, British India and Russia. These have been made important by the conquests of General Tso, and the wedge of Chinese territory established between Russia and the north-east of British India.

Added to the above signs of political activity, it was announced in the *China Telegraph* of the 8th August that the Chinese Government has decided to increase the tax on foreign opium and to levy a tax on native opium; which report seems borne out by Sir C. Dilke's statement on the subject, during the following week, in Parliament. It is impossible to foretell any national movement, but there seem to me reasons for thinking that the trade with China is on the point of change, and that any change must strike a blow at the Indian opium-revenue. Should the Chinese rulers largely increase the tax on Indian opium, or should they once more take courage to refuse its admittance entirely, our profits will be curtailed and the old position of hostility will revive.

Can we think it possible that another Opium War could disgrace our history? Mr. Gladstone himself said of the last war that "a war

more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of The Chinese, pagans, and semi-civilized barbarians, have justice on their side ; we, the enlightened and civilized Christians, are pursuing objects at variance both with justice and religion." And yet I feel that unless public opinion be continually strengthened on the subject, we may possibly find another dispute lead to another quarrel, and I rejoice in every proof given, as is given to-day by the introduction of this topic in the Church Congress, that the interest and attention of religious bodies is retained.

But if no outward change should manifest itself, still the responsibility of the Church as regards this traffic remains unaltered. The European intercourse which has followed our enforced entrance into the Chinese ports has resulted in the overthrow of the faith which the mass of the natives accepted to such an extent that the intelligent natives say there is now no religion in China.

Superficial observers of missionary effort in the East constantly tell us that we do harm rather than good by unsettling a faith which suits the people and in degree controls them ; that we may make them unbelievers in their gods, but that we cannot supply them with a belief which they will accept. But in China it is the trader and not the missionary who has unsettled the faith of the people, and is not a Christian nation responsible for the result ?

I am thankful to see by the petitions presented to Parliament during the past Session that the great religious bodies in this country are being stirred to active expression on the subject. One petition was signed by Cardinal Manning and nearly all the Roman Catholic Bishops of England and Wales. The Convocation of the Province of York passed a strong resolution in condemnation of the trade. The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England, the general assembly of the Free Church in Scotland, the Baptist Union, the Primitive Methodists, the Congregational Union, the Unitarians, have all, with the Society of Friends, joined in petitions or resolutions of like effect. The Methodist Ecumenical Conference held more recently has spoken out very plainly, and passed a resolution condemning the trade. An American missionary present at that Conference said, "I do not consider that idolatry itself is so much in the way of our progress just now as the opium trade." Almost a similar expression of opinion to this has been given me by the Bishop of Victoria, who is now in England, within the last few days, and, indeed, is the common report of missionary experience.

The Grand Secretary, Hung Chang, writes as follows :—

"My Government is impressed with the necessity of making strenuous efforts to control this flood of opium before it overwhelms the whole country. The new treaty with the United States, containing the prohibitory clause against opium, encourages the belief that the broad principles of justice and feelings of humanity will prevail in future relations between China and Western nations. My Government will take effective measures to enforce the laws against the cultivation of the poppy in China, and otherwise check the use of opium."

We are accustomed to hear all Chinese professions on the subject decried as insincere, but I can see no ground for the charge, and certainly

it is not for us, as Christians, to deny the sincerity of other nations while our own actions are so indefensible.

We nowadays hardly attempt to deny the injury done to China. The defence is that China, if we cease to supply opium, will grow it for herself, and the only excuse we have is that we cannot spare the immense revenue which the trade affords. We perhaps receive none of the revenue, and we individually may feel our conscience clear, but the penalty which comes for national crimes falls often on others than the direct offenders. I have a belief that some movement will be soon made in China, and I feel that it is a duty laid on each Christian person, as well as on the Church as a body, to use influence and to express opinion against the trade in opium, and thus to assist, if not to promote, the efforts of the Chinese themselves. It cannot be that the religious and the political mind of England are entirely separate the one from the other, and the growing sense of shame at our national connection with this offence may make us ready as a nation to accept the opportunity of cleansing our hands from so vile a trade.

The Rev. H. SCOTT HOLLAND.

THE form of the motion before us appears to assume the justice of the charges made against the Opium Traffic with China. It is in view of the terrible memories of the past, and the hideous entanglements of the present, that the question drives home upon us, hard and sharp: What has our great National Church done to hinder, to blame, to undo, to retrieve a vast moral disaster? We are no longer discussing and disputing, attacking and apologising; we are facing together what we know to be a dismal tale of perilous injustice, and, so facing it, we are meditating repentant action; we are looking to the strong forces which may yet be called out into the service of our remorse; we are asking whether, in the presence of so huge a national wrong, we may not presume to let loose the loud thunder of a prophetic and Divine society. I understand myself, then, to be answering the question, Why should the Church speak on such a matter? What has she to do with secular and political affairs? How can she pledge herself to one side or the other of what, after all, must be a piece of statesmanship? Commercial "morals" have often been mean and low before now. Wars and treaties have not always kept themselves level with the standard of the Sermon on the Mount. Yet the Church was not responsible—we condemned. What has she more to do with this than with any other piece of doubtful diplomacy or uncanny finance? There is our question. And, first, I would bring in answer the statesman's apology for his present acquiescence in evil. Mr. Gladstone has directly challenged us. He has taken the question out of the statesman's region, and has thrown the burden, both of its guilt and of its solution, upon the people. For, first, he pleads, the statesmen did, long ago, their best; they overthrew the Government that sanctioned the Opium War, and the nation, to whom appeal was made, sent back that expelled Government to power, and so took upon itself to authorise their deeds. And then, secondly,

he protests that his hands are still tied ; for even though he allows the full iniquity of the past, even though he has himself played a chief part in bitterly and vehemently denouncing the unjust brutalities by which the profits of that flourishing trade have been won and secured to us, even though he deplores the unsteady and uncertain foundation which such a monopoly supplies to our Indian budget, yet (so he complains) while public opinion outside the walls of Parliament remains at its present level, statesmen within the chamber are powerless. To undo a wrong costs an effort. To undo this wrong, which has direct bearing on our public revenue of immense importance, costs money, and that debt, that risk, that expense must fall on us, and not on others—above all, not on Indian ryots, on whom, already overweighted, no smart financier will venture to lay the burden of a single additional tax. India shall not be made to bear the cost of our tardy repentance. So Mr. Gladstone declares. We, who regret, must pay ; England, who sinned, must herself make the effort which penitence and undoing make urgent. But will she? No Chancellor of the Exchequer could dream at this moment of a proposal in his budget to secure India in any degree against the risk involved in the abandonment, however gradual, of the opium-revenue. He could not dream of it ; and the fault is not his, but ours. It is public opinion that alone makes measures possible. The statesman cannot move until the motive force is supplied him, and he cannot consider anything that is not immediately possible, and he is now asking us to make it possible for him to go forward. The work in hand is not his, then, but ours. We have to do our part before he can begin ; and you see our task. It is the task of forming, and of bringing into action, such a power and pressure of public remorse as will ensure to a Minister the recognition and approval and support that alone can make a penitential acceptance of financial risk or loss conceivable or justifiable to the representatives of our counties and our boroughs. And surely in so stating the immediate need, we have accounted for our demand upon the Church to move, to speak, and act.

It is not a Bill in Parliament that we ask her to back as yet. It is not any particular measure, the exact wisdom or judiciousness of which it is always possible to question, that we require her to estimate and approve. Such a crisis is not yet arrived. We are but at the beginning of things : at the preparation of the ground. We have got to create a temper — a temper charged with moral force, fed by moral impulses, sensitive to spiritual touches, moulded in righteousness, and warm with indignant regrets. And let us notice how delicate a structure such a temper involves, how closely its formation is knit up with religious influences, and a religious understanding. What is it that now lends such solid weight to the annual resistance that any resolution on the Opium Traffic now encounters in Parliament? It is always this at first—the belief that what is done, bad and foul as it has been, cannot be undone. The old vile smuggling by which the traffic originally dug its fangs into China is regretted ; the wretched wars by which it throttled her are deplored ; but now that all is over it is sentimental to be miserable over spilt milk. The practical man has to deal with the situation as it stands. He must be content to accept the inevitable ; and how much more, when the inevitable has, as in this happy instance, taken the form of large and comfortable profits?

And this first. And, secondly, the recognition of the horrible coil of difficulties which forbid the undoing of ancient wrong. These difficulties are most real, most urgent; it is useless to disguise or deny them. The moment we resolutely set our minds to the task, and form a definite remedial proposal, they meet us at every turn. The history across which we propose to cut is no short or simple story. Interests manifold and large have clustered about it, entangling and perplexing; interests innocent and enticing, which we are bound to respect. And then the evil consequences again have passed out beyond our control; they have grown on their own account. We might retract ourselves, but we should still leave much undone—much that would continue irreparable and unhampered. The habits that we have fostered in the Chinese have now become ineradicable; their own self-interest would compel them to enlarge their home-growth of opium. Who can answer for their honesty? We are throwing away a certain benefit for what has (unfortunately, it is true) become a doubtful issue. Such is the defence, and against it what has power to avail, if it be not the scrupulous indignation that belongs to the religious temper, to the spiritual mind? It is the spiritual insight, strong in the sense of irresistible law, that alone has force to detect and pronounce that by-gones can never be by-gones so long as their effects are still being turned to profit; that the past is not done with because it is past, that it abides with us so long as its results are still active, abides until its work is definitely undone. Spiritual insight alone sees life in its larger unities, within which the separate moments hold themselves together in vital union. It alone knows well the course that hangs over a career that begins in crime. It knows too well how to measure the worth of that regret that still clutches hard the advantage won by that which is regretted. All this is familiar ground to the spirit; if within its own domain, it knows well how it would deal with such a temper as exemplified in individual life, no one would be at fault, no one would hesitate how to judge, and therefore it is the forming of this religious spirit which is familiar enough with all such intricacies in their personal and individual shape, the pressing of it into the larger region of the corporate life, which alone can land in the vision which can discover, and the moral sophistries which now are sufficient to blind us to their fatal, their dark issues. We must bring the religious motives into play if we wish to make it impossible for the nation annually to shrug its shoulders at the sin which it so profitably puts to use—if we wish it to be vividly conscious of the profound unity that knits its past into the present.

And again, about the difficulties that encumber the way of reform, who that lives under the pressure of religious motive is ignorant of their significance? We all know how swiftly the evil of our lives imbeds itself in good; how it summons to its succour all that will best cover, and must fairly excuse and more effectually screen; how quickly the more innocent parts of our lives become affected by the guilty, and coalesce with its influences, and are intermingled with it. Very soon the fusion is intricate; is involved; and, therefore, it is inevitable that when repentance has set in we shall find ourselves at once in anxious perplexity where to begin, and where to stop, in the work of undoing. It has become impossible to sever the wrong from the right by a decisive

and unhesitating division; impossible to cut away the corrupt without including the sound. To get rid of the poison we must lose something; we must risk some damage. The evil thing, as it goes, will not drop out, clean and entire; it clutches, it drags after it, something we are right to regret. And, in this opium business, the wrong is of long standing; it has a complicated story; it has had varied and far-reaching issues. No doubt now we cannot simply repent, and propose to go on as if nothing had ever occurred. We cannot expect to retrieve, to undo, and yet to lose nothing, to risk nothing, for the sake of recovery. Life is a stern matter; it cannot be lightly trifled with. It takes us at our word with austere exactness. If it be evil that we set in motion, it takes that evil, and uses it, and realises its results, and actualises its effects; and no light and sudden turn of repentant emotion, without effort, and without cost, has strength to negative what has now become fixed and solid fact, living, active, and efficient. The past can never drop out without a sign and without a sound; it can only be put away by a tear and a rent; and these difficulties, then, that annually put to sleep the remorseful prickings of the national conscience, by satisfying it that action in the matter is perilous, and doubtful, and unpromising, are to the spiritual instinct, to the religious understanding, but the familiar bribes that would blind and deaden and corrupt it. It knows them all; they are the constant pleas that follow all wrongdoing, the plea that, in undoing evil, you risk the good; that you cannot act on your repentance without injuring the innocent; that you cannot be sure of achieving the fruits of your penitence; that you throw away a certain good, therefore, for a possible failure. Of course! of course! Who ever expected that penitence for an old sin would be an easy affair—would be done without real loss of many valued advantages? Who ever thought that an act of penitence could hold out a sure reward, that all the ways towards peace would be as certain as the gains already won by wrong? We are not denying or decrying the value of the gains; they are many, and good; the gain to India, the relief of revenue, the increase of trade, the opening for capital—these are positive and often innocent advantages. This would be a real loss if thrown away. Who can doubt it? Who disputes it? What we complain of is not that these gains are wrong, but that they were won by wrong. And we submit that it sounds to the religious ear a strange excuse for refusing an act of penitential reparation that we should lose something by it—a strange plea against undoing a sin, that its gains are so sure, and so delightful, and so indispensable, that it is difficult to say what we should do without them. Surely, to the mind that spiritual habits have made sensitive, this is nothing but the very whisper of the Serpent, and here we touch on higher ground. Penitence finds itself always embarrassed by the risk of losing the good into which the evil has imbedded and forced itself. It must throw away something of worth if it would successfully abandon the worthless. This is inevitable, and this is how the peculiar moral act to which it finds itself summoned can turn the act of loss, the act of risk, into an act of sacrifice, the act of satisfaction. Penitence fulfils itself always in sacrifice; it testifies by sacrifice to its reality: it makes satisfaction by an offering of what it prizes, this is its instinctive impulse; and this sacrificial instinct it is which supplies the motive force, the one needful audacity, by which penitence has the courage to

throw away the good which is intertwined with the evil that it serves to uproot—a good thing has to go; this is hard—but without it the evil remains. It must go, then; but how endure the loss? Only by the brave daring and the inspiration of sacrifice. Penitence finds its material issue in sacrifice; and lo! here is the very sacrifice required.

This is the spiritual temper, and to turn it to our case—the Opium Traffic has wormed itself into our public finances, into our daily commerce—things of revenue, of politics, have gathered about it. It will cost us serious pains, serious damage, to get rid of it; it will then not be done without a sacrifice. And what, then, can ever have force to induce England to make a severe, an anxious sacrifice of much that she fairly and honourably values? Will political honesty? Political honesty will willingly enough keep clean hands if it can; but has it the moral sensitiveness that will risk loss for the reparation of wrong? The effort surely is one that is beyond the work of Parliamentary temper. It is an effort that needs a genuine lift, needs a warm and eager impulse, needs a touch of fire to carry it through. The statesmen confess that such a temper has got to be formed before action is possible, a temper that will bitterly recognise that its sense of its own injustice and wrong is inadequately expressed by a periodical shrug of the shoulders. In such a temper can you, I plead, be moulded and fashioned only out of ingredients that are in tone and character distinctly spiritual, out of influences profoundly religious. It must be a temper which the flame of penitence has heated, which the breath of sacrifice has inspired; a temper which is sensitive to the touch of high and bold imaginations, and which will not endure to rest while the shadow of a great guilt lies heavy upon it, and which cannot bring itself to weigh worldly loss against the wrath of outraged and retributive justice. All this it must be without such forces being brought into play. The weight of evil will now be lifted; the knots wherewith it has bound us now being cut. Without the quickening power of such moral enthusiasm we shall never pass beyond the feebleness of a sickly regret, and it is because of this that we, religious people, that we, the Church, are directly concerned with the question before us. The statesmen appeal to us for such a temper as we, and we only, can fashion. The statesmen challenge us to set in motion forces such as belong to no body of men but those whom spiritual instincts have penetrated and possessed. You ask why are we to do it? Who on earth can do it, if not we? The momentum required of the nation is exactly identical, in type and substance, with the momentum required of each individual man or woman who knows what the burden of old wrong means, and knows the cost at which alone it can be undone. Only from those who so understand life—only, that is, from the religious-minded—only from those who possess direct reliance on a Living and Almighty and Eternal God, who maketh for righteousness—only from such can the nation win the momentum needed. You ask, Why we, why the Church? The answer is, Because nobody else possibly could do what England wants; because the work that Mr. Gladstone asks for is such as necessitates the full energies and living instincts of the religious mind. But, then, can this be? Can a nation's actions be religious by motives? Can the nation be affected or set in motion by the spiritual impulses that act upon individual souls? Is not the nation of which such language is told an unreal abstraction?

It has no substance, no actuality, no soul ; how can it pass under influences that have force only within the domain of personality ? "The nation" has no permanent identity, and no part, therefore ; and what is the meaning of "without a part?"

Everybody understands the seriousness of these questions ; they can be but lightly touched by me. But one thing I will say ; first, that, if this is true, if there is no such thing as national persistence, or national responsibility, or national morality—then all I have hitherto said tends to prove that no effort will ever get rid of the Opium Traffic ; for what I have been pleading is that the political temper—the temper stayed by considerations of wisdom, of practical good sense, of interest, of commercial honesty, of policy, of prudence, of expediency, the temper of committees, and boards, and common-councils, and parliaments—that this temper is insufficient, is inadequate, Mr. Gladstone confesses it. Such a temper regrets wrong ; but regrets carry you a very little way. It is strong, and earnest, and robust action that we are asking for ; and this is not manufactured by regret. Unless the sins of the past weigh upon the present with unanswerable, with inevitable urgency—unless the children's teeth are indeed set on edge by the sour grapes that their forefathers eat—unless there is a possibility of infusing into public spirit the vehemence and the passion of vivid remorse—and of quickening repentance—no chance remains to us of ending this wickedness. We have no momentum to set in work—no energy to let loose. The dead weight of proved fact will be too much for us. We are proposing to alter the currents of history ; to break with a past, to the making of which have gone wars, and treaties, and fifty years of the Imperial policy. It is a big job : it will take big power. But what does all the language that has staggered us really intend ? It challenges us with attributing reality to an abstraction—to making the nation personal. Surely we can retort upon it its own challenge. This impersonal, non-moral nation, which acts on grounds of its own, and for interests of its own, unhampered by the considerations that affect or limit individuals—where is it ? Where does it exist ? How does it exist ? How resolve ? Who has ever seen it ? Whenever you look for it, you find it is, after all, Mr. Jones, or Mr. Smith, or Mr. Brown, or Tom, or Bill, or Harry. But there are individuals, people stirred by personal influences ; how are they to make up the nation's mind for it, a mind free from moral or personal consideration ? Can they abstract themselves and become non-moral ? And if they cannot, how can the nation ? Surely it is not we who are imagining an abstraction. There is no abstraction more abstract than a non-moral nationality. We are as concrete as we can be : we say the nation is the individual of which it is composed ; it is identical with Tom, or Bill, or Harry. That is just our point ; and we say that it is impossible for those three gentlemen, when coming to a decision in an election or a parliament, to divest themselves of all the vital interests and motives that constitute their living humanity. The decision that they come to is a public, a national decision ; and yet it is determined by the forces which make them living and breathing men—forces at work and astir within them, impelling, inspiring ; and if among those forces lives and works the force of a strong religious instinct, sensitive to spiritual need, then the rational decision, which their aggregate choice constitutes, will be other than it would be if that

spiritual pressure was absent or diminished. It is individuals who are the nation, we say; and individuals are moral and religious. Yes; but are individuals only individual? Are they each isolated? Are they not manufactured out of elements which are corporate, and by conditions which are historic? Is this very individuality itself other than English, and that is corporate and national? Have they not, each of them, in him, the very life and motions of the generations behind them? Is their life not one with the life of their fellows and of their fathers? Have they not imbedded within their substance the hereditary history? And if so, how can they, individually, act as if they were free from the burden of the past, from the sins or errors of their parents? How can they profess that a nation has no real unity of life and history? that the guilt of the past is nothing to it now? that it has no real continuity, no continued responsibility? Do you mean that it is nothing to Tom, or Bill, or Harry, at this moment, whether their fathers drank or not? that they are not actually affected in spirit as well as body by the moral elevation or depression of public spirit in the past? that they are not the better for its heroisms, and the worse for its crimes? Surely, surely, it is we who are abhorring abstractions, we who are clinging fast to solid fact, when we insist that an ancient guilt of our people passes into, and belongs to, our life; that its motions are all astr within our blood; that they will not cease to work, to corrupt, to degrade, until a definite act of penitent atonement has purged out the taint.

National life is, then, a matter of flesh and blood; we ourselves constitute it; and if moral and spiritual motives affect us, they cannot be absent from it, and the religious organisations therefore cannot be unconcerned with the large issues of public affairs. They are right in striving to instil a spiritual instinct into the national will. But why, after all, should we yet be arguing what the nation already has formally allowed and accepted, for we are members of a Church established? And whatever minor and incidental reasons for an Establishment we may busy our brain to discover, the one supreme justification lies in the desire of the nation that its highest life should be associated with a religious sanction and a religious aspiration. The nation has selected us as a body to sustain its public *morale* at a spiritual level, to ensure the action of the religious motive amid all its counsels to keep its conscience fine and clean. We are official guardians of the national purity of will. It looks to us to call upon it for high tasks, and then to foster in it heroic manliness, to warn it against any fatal decline on to lower and unworthy standards. Do you ask what is the responsibility of the Church for the Opium Traffic? The answer is, We have our responsibility laid upon us not only by that general necessity which binds all religious bodies to a concern with the national existence, but by the peculiar and inevitable demand that is emphatically involved in the fact of an Establishment. The office that we claim to be fulfilling by vigorous insistence on the moral failure that has allowed this traffic is the very office to which the nation itself has elected us, and for failing which it will in the day of sure and terrible retribution have the right to call us to severe account.

ADDRESSES.

SIR BARTLE FRERE, Bart.

'It does not appear to me that the responsibility of the Church with regard to Opium Traffic with China differs in principle, however much it may differ in degree, from her responsibilities as regards traffic in spirituous liquors with other populations. The unquestionable facts connected with the traffic are few and clear—almost beyond the reach of controversy. That opium is a drug, the regulated use of which is beneficial and necessary in many cases, allowable as an anodyne in other cases, and the abuse of which, when used in excess or improperly, is most injurious to both body and soul—these are facts which will hardly be questioned by any but the extreme advocates or opponents of the unrestricted use of stimulants in general. That more than half the whole supply of Indian opium to China is produced by the direct agency of the Indian Government as capitalist supplying funds for growing the poppy, as manufacturer of opium from the poppy juice, and as guarantor for the purity of the manufactured drug—these also are unquestionable facts. That a very large proportion of the income of the Indian Government depends on the profits of this Government manufacture, and on the Excise Duty on opium grown by others than the Government opium manufacturers, is also unquestionable. That as a matter of practical as opposed to theoretical possibility, it is impossible for the Indian Government suddenly to dispense with, or even by its own act to imperil the revenue so acquired, is demonstrable in argument. That to rely so largely on such a source for the current income of Government required to meet the inevitable charges of the Indian Empire is most unsound financial policy, is also demonstrable by argument. That the laws and policy of the Chinese Empire are directed to stop the use of opium by Chinese subjects; that we, as a nation, have connived at smuggling by Chinese subjects as well as by our own, with a view to evade those laws; that we have repeatedly gone to war, and caused enormous damage to the Chinese nation, one result of which has been to prevent their enforcing obedience by Chinese subjects to their own laws in their own country; and that we have, since we were victors in such wars, failed in our duty as of one nation towards another in our dealings with the Chinese in this matter, are also all facts which cannot, I fear, be denied. What, in such circumstances, is the present practical duty of our nation, and of those who guide its action? First, to withdraw, as speedily and completely as possible, from all direct concern with the manufacture and sale of opium. That this is practically possible, without risk of serious loss of public revenue, is, I believe, beyond doubt. It would simply involve the assimilation of practice in Eastern India to that actually existing in Western and Central India. That the change would beneficially alter the position of Government as regards this question is also, I think, beyond doubt. Morally it would place the Government of India in the same position in its dependence on the taxation of the drug, which the Government of England occupies with regard to Excise and Customs duties on spirits, instead of as at present, in the position of manufacturer and seller of intoxicating articles. Financially it would relieve the Government of India from an unsound position as a Government depending for a great part of its income on the profits of a monopoly of manufacture and sale of opium. Secondly, our Government should endeavour to come to a better understanding with the Government of China on the subject of its dealing with the opium question. It is quite possible that the Chinese Government is not sincere in its professed wish to put an entire stop to the consumption of opium in China, and that the import and consumption of opium would continue either by permission of the Chinese Government, or by the connivance of corrupt officials, even if the Indian Government abstained from anything which could be construed into encouragement of the Opium Trade. But whether the import of Indian opium into China were

stopped or continued, let our Government be free from all direct complicity with forcing the Indian drug on the Chinese market. If the import and consumption of opium in China continues, let it be as a consequence of the weakness, political or moral, of the Chinese Government, not as a result of the misdirected power of the British Government. Thirdly, our Government should cease to be dependent to so great an extent as at present on the revenue it derives from opium consumed in China. The present position is as unsound financially as it is morally. To depend on income drawn from alien sources is never safe. In the present case our monopoly of supply may any day be invaded and fatally ruined by competitive production in other countries—notably in the Eastern and Pacific Islands—Japan—in many parts of Africa and Europe, America, Australia, and in China itself, where the production of opium, seriously questioned as a possible fact twenty years ago, has rapidly developed, and is now a prominent industry in many provinces. I know but of two authorities on Indian finance and taxation who have seriously grappled with the financial problem how to provide an alternative substitute for our Indian opium-revenue.

It is more than twenty years ago since the Right Honourable James Wilson gave prominence to the necessity for possessing such a resource to take the place of opium-revenue, as an argument for his schemes of direct taxation in India by means of an income and license taxes. Sir Arthur Cotton has very recently published his views as to the possibility of providing such a substitute by a systematic development of the land and water taxes, which already so greatly contribute to the Indian public revenue. The problem is extremely difficult, but not insoluble. To provide within itself all the resources needed for national administration is almost a necessary condition of a permanent existence as an independent nation, and no more important question can occupy the attention of an Indian financier than how to free the finances of India from necessary dependence on the tribute indirectly paid by China to India in the price of opium. We now come to the main question before us—what, under present circumstances, is the duty of the Church in this matter? First, there is the great duty incumbent on the Church, as preachers of repentance, to arouse the conscience of the nation to a sense of a great national sin, wilfully committed and long persisted in, against light and against knowledge. Unless the premises already stated can be disputed, this part of the Church's duty needs little argument to enforce it. How has this duty been performed? I fear the answer must be that, as in the case of slavery in other days and other lands, our Church has been too often slow and half-hearted in pressing on her children their duty in this matter. On temperance in the use of intoxicating drinks, the Church may perhaps claim to have done much, but up to this day how many of us have heard here or in India or in China, in public or in private, any earnest argument on the personal or national sin, or personal or national responsibility of actively promoting the manufacture or consumption of opium, or of folding our hands in helpless inactivity over our dealings with China in this matter? But a return to the right path is in this case beset with unusual difficulties. How to withdraw from the position we are in? How to provide so large a proportion of the ways and means of a vast empire as the opium revenue now furnishes? These questions involve financial and economical problems of great intricacy and difficulty. How is the Church to act with regard to them? A possible answer would be, that "this is a secular question. The Church does its duty by denouncing the wrong. Let the secular politician suggest a remedy." But it cannot be the Church's duty simply to denounce one course without suggesting a better; and this brings us, in the second place, to the function of the Church as the great teacher of mankind in every branch of knowledge which bears on moral obligation. It seems to me that this is peculiarly the kind of question in which the Church should take a part as teacher on moral grounds, perfectly independent of party politics. Political economy, and political finance as a branch of it, are peculiarly sciences, which for their complete investigation and application to practical life require a minute and varied

knowledge of human nature—not in the abstract, but as we find it in everyday life. There is probably no class of men who see, in their daily work, more of the springs of human action than our working Churchmen—laymen as well as clerics—whose duties lead them into daily intercourse with the poor; none who ought to have a more intimate acquaintance with many of the facts on which the theories of the political economist and the practice of the political financier ought to be based. Why, then, since the days of Malthus, have we so few names of our clergy or prominent Churchmen who have distinguished themselves as teachers of political economy? The science is surely not less congenial to Churchmen than classical literature, astronomy, or mathematics. Why then should it be so far abandoned to Rationalists and Positivists? To recognise and bring home to the national conscience the national sin involved in our past dealings with China in this opium question—to see how surely our national misdeeds in this matter must recoil on ourselves—to recognise the financial error of depending on such a source of revenue for our needful national income, and to devise a remedy—all these are subjects more appropriate, it seems to me, to the preachers of righteousness and to teachers of the more perfect way of Christian law, than to the rationalist, philosopher, or hard man of the world; and if we recognise the greatness of our present difficulties, we shall see that something more than the cold selfishness of modern philosophy is needed to extricate us from the national dangers and difficulties which inevitably follow on national sin.

The Rev. S. BEAL (Rector of Wark, and Professor of Chinese, University Coll., London).

IF anything could have disarmed opposition, in my opinion it would have been the introductory address which we had the pleasure of listening to this afternoon. I thought there was so much temperate language that it almost persuaded me to say nothing this afternoon; I will, however, state in very simple language my convictions. We must all be agreed that the abuse of opium is a great evil, and providing the Chinese with the drug is also a national crime, if it be a national undertaking. We are all settled on that point, but if I were to tell my people as it is my duty to do, as a parish priest, concerning the evil of this trade, I must be prepared to answer all the objections of those persons in my congregation who have more or less trade preferences, and who have read on the subject with those preferences before them. The first question addressed to me is, "Are the Chinese sincere in their wish to abolish the use of opium?" It is perfectly true that the authorities may be sincere. They do not wish to see their bullion taken away. But are the people anxious to put down the use of opium in their country? This question meets us on the very threshold. Whilst the importation of opium was a smuggling question, we could not have carried the opium there unless they had co-operated with us. And as this trade has so developed, it seems to us that the people are not fairly represented in the protests of the authorities; we must supply ourselves with facts; we must not go on mere suppositions in our arguments. Now the Maritime Customs have investigated this trade very largely in China; they have demanded reports from every port as to the quantity imported and the probable number of consumers. As has been stated, the report of Mr. Hart is that about one million use opium in China. The speaker dissented from this, on the ground that 10½d. is a large sum for a poor Chinaman to spend. It is. I forego taking the ground that as a rule the use of opium is moderate. Now it appears to me that there can be no excuse for a Government monopoly for supplying opium to China. But that does not meet the question in our paper to-day. The opium produced in India is sold by auction; the Government sells the opium to traders, the

traders take it to China, and there it is imported and used. Therefore it appears to me, in making a statement as to the immorality of this trade before our people, we must be prepared to answer the question first of all, "Are the Chinese sincere in their wish to abolish it?" Then if not, our plain duty is to try to raise the moral tone of the Chinese people, whilst we reduce the cupidity of our own people. I would not say that our missionaries do not do this—no one can admire their zeal more than I do; but I say, let it be an intelligent zeal. Let our policy be founded and based on principles which all can accept. First of all let us try to ascertain at any rate some idea as to the real feeling of the Chinese people in this respect. I am no defender of the Opium Traffic, but I wish to place this question on what I call an intelligent basis, so that we may place it fairly before the people and raise public thought. I have only one word more to say—that I think the responsibility of the Church now is more concerned with the regulation than the abolition of it; I cannot understand how we can hope to abolish the trade in opium with China. There is a tax upon it now, but I find that the venality and corruption of the Chinese officials is so great that even where the growth of the poppy is strictly prohibited, still by a bribe the crop is used, and the opium is extracted and sold among the people. Therefore I can scarcely hope that we shall ever abolish this trade. People say, "Let us first do our duty, and let others do as they like." Well, that is a very good theory, but I don't think it is a very practical one; I don't think we can try to stop this opium traffic with any hope of success, unless there is an international understanding, as there was in the case of the slave trade. Let it be prohibited on every hand, and then we may hope to put an end to the external trade in opium. How far we can put an end to opium growing in China it would be impossible to predict; it is rapidly increasing—our hope must be that we may directly or indirectly raise the tone of the Chinese people; show them the evil of the abuse of opium. It may take more time to attain your object in this way, but by showing the people that the use or abuse of this drug is injurious to them bodily, mentally and spiritually, you may, by God's blessing, put an end to the abuse of it. There is only one other observation I have to make with reference to the society which is so nobly and energetically working in this question. That is, that no expression and no argument should be used which will not bear investigation. There is one expression constantly used which I do not understand; it is, that we are forcing opium on China. Now, even in the smuggling days, it was taken over by the Chinese themselves. We do not compel them to smoke it; we do not compel them to buy it. The question I would like to press upon this assembly and those who are interested in this question is this—whether, if we had not taken it to them, the Chinese would not have come to Calcutta, and whether that would not be justifiable, and even tolerable? There is a great deal of impalpable and shadowy *sentiment* introduced into this discussion. Some people are beginning to say it is only taken up as a foil to distract attention from what is supposed to be our Missionary failure in China. But whilst I am far from thinking this to be the case, yet I confess I do not understand the arguments, if they may be so called, which are sometimes employed with a view to excite public feeling about it. We cannot improve the growth of the poppy-plant off the earth—but we may try to regulate its production in India.

The Rev. J. SHEEPSHANKS (Vicar of St. Margaret's, Anfield, Liverpool).

AS one who has for many years taken a deep interest in the question of the Opium Trade with China, and has made a rule of bringing the matter once a year before our people from the pulpit, I rejoice that it has at last attracted the attention of the Church Congress. I do not think that any one who has

made a study of the subject will deny that by our Indian policy we have inflicted a deep injury upon the people of China, in forcing upon them the pernicious drug which we have manufactured in India; and that we have done this in spite of the remonstrances and sufferings of the Chinese, for purely financial reasons—in fact, because the traffic has been very gainful to ourselves. Nor can I admit that any impartial person, who has had practical experience of the effect of opium upon those that use it, can question the fact that it is most pernicious to their physical and mental health. I myself have seen the results of the use of opium among the Chinese immigrants in British Columbia; and I have visited the opium dens in China, and there seen sights sufficient to sadden any lover of humanity. I have seen the Chinamen there in the different stages of the disease which is brought on by the excessive use of opium. I call them *men*, though to the superficial glance they bore indeed but small tokens of manhood; for by their emaciated forms, lack-lustre eyes, sunken cheeks, and fatuous, expressionless countenances, they might rather have been taken to be young girls in the last stages of some dreadful complaint. I cannot myself, therefore, affect to doubt that by forcing our opium, manufactured and exported, remember, under a Government monopoly, we have inflicted a deep injury upon the heathen of China, especially of course those that live in the maritime provinces—and that thus we have committed a national sin, and owe reparation to those that we have injured.

But the question before us now is, "What is the duty of the Church in this matter?" Now, a solution of the difficulty, for a difficulty there undoubtedly is, has been proposed, to which I wish to direct the attention of the members of the Congress. It will be remembered that in a late debate upon this subject in the House of Commons, Lord Hartington gave what I think may be regarded almost as a promise, that "the connection of the Government with the Opium Traffic should be rendered less direct." What did he mean by that? I think that probably we cannot be far wrong in guessing that Lord Hartington had in his mind some such scheme as I regret to notice has apparently been approved of by Sir Bartle Frere in the paper which has just been read to you. It is proposed, in fact, that the Government monopoly of the manufacture of the opium be abandoned, that instead thereof, license shall be given to private individuals, or companies, to manufacture the drug by a system of permits, that a tax shall be put upon it to preserve the revenue of India, and that under those circumstances its export shall be permitted to China as at the present time. Thus, it is urged, the scandal of the connection of our Government with this Opium Traffic will be removed, while the revenue which it brings in to the Indian Government will be preserved. Now the question is, whether the adoption of this plan will satisfy the Church. I ask you to notice that a main feature of the scheme is that the revenue of India will not suffer; in other words, it is expected that the same amount of opium will be exported to China from India as under the present system. It is on this very ground that the proposed plan has been advocated in India, by writers who assert that it is quite as likely as not that more opium will be grown and manufactured under this change of system than now, but that all the force will be taken out of the present agitation in England, when the opium has become a matter of private enterprise, and not of Government monopoly. In other words, *the evil*, in the opinion of those likely to be best informed upon the subject, will remain as great as at the present time; it is as likely to be greater as to be less. But the *scandal* will be removed, and the revenue will be saved. With regard to the revenue, I have nothing to say. We have at the head of affairs financiers of consummate ability. Let them deal with that question; we, as Churchmen, have to deal with the question as one of national morality, and I say that the Church cannot be satisfied merely with the removal of the *scandal*, we must insist upon the removal of the *evil*. Indeed, I do think that the adoption of this proposed scheme might not improbably leave us in a worse position than we are at present. If the Government monopoly were removed, the British public might say, 'We

cannot interfere with private enterprise ; we tax the drug, and that must tend to make it more expensive and diminish its use ; you cannot ask us to do more, and so this lamentable evil would remain unabated. I would venture then to utter a warning voice against the adoption of this proposed scheme.

If I am asked what measures I would advocate, I reply that in my judgment the Chinese Government ought to be left quite free to adopt any measures that it may think fit for the regulation or suppression of this Opium Trade, and no pressure ought to be put upon them for our own selfish ends. No doubt the question is now complicated by the fact that of late years there has sprung up an extensive cultivation of the poppy, and manufacture of opium, in the western provinces of China itself. Perhaps it might be possible for us for the sake of humanity to make an arrangement with the Chinese Government, by which, in return for our abandonment of our policy of forcing our Indian opium upon them, they might promise as far as possible to check, and in time to suppress, the manufacture of opium in their own country.

But, however, it seems to me that it is the plain duty of the Church, and of us as individual Churchmen, professors of a religion of love and good-will to men, to do all that lies in our power to put an end to this pernicious Opium Trade. "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. JOHN SCARTH.

I HAVE spent twelve years of my life in the Celestial Empire, and I assure you there have been many attempts among Chinamen made to get rid of the traffic, but they have all been rendered futile by the action of England. We have not tried so much to combat the opinions of the Chinese, as to destroy the men who upheld them. This has been amply proved during several of our military struggles with the people of that country. Then, again, in our fiscal affairs, we have treated the Chinese badly. We have compelled them to take a 5 per cent. duty on our imports, while we ourselves put upon tea and other things received from China a duty of from 50 to 100 per cent. Now, if we took £7,000,000 from that excess duty—as we could do—and transferred it either as a whole or in part to the Indian Government, the Indian Government would be able to stop the traffic to-morrow. The only question is—are the people of England willing to be taxed to meet such a loss of revenue as I have indicated ? If they are not I hope they soon will be. At all events, the matter will gradually find its way into Parliament. A reform may not come in the next four or five years, or perhaps not for the next ten years : but I confidently expect that the English people, when they understand the question, will rise to the importance of their duty, and allow the profits of the Chinese tea trade to go to India as a means for doing away with an enervating and disgraceful traffic.

The Rev. JOHN GRITTON.

I HEARTILY trust that this Congress will not be dissuaded from instant opposition to the Opium Traffic by the arguments of a speaker who has preceded. He bids us pause till every objection, of every kind, to action shall be answered, till we have replied to every trade prejudice and confuted every statement of difficulty. Did any movement for good, since the world began, wait till nothing more could be said against it ? Was any good ever accomplished against which greed and vanity and self-indulgence could say nothing ? We have a good cause and a great end. Let us follow on, assured that we shall remove difficulties as we go, and that in the end we shall learn that most of the possible objections will have met their confutation before the end comes. A

gigantic evil hinders the progress of Christianity and does wrong to countless thousands of the human race—destroying the bodies and minds of multitudes—that our Indian exchequer may be replenished, and the coffers of English merchants may be filled. By the help of God let us away with it.

We have, moreover, been told that we can only remove the curse of the Opium Traffic by international engagements, that is to say, when we shall have convinced all the world to be of the same opinion as ourselves. This theory was supported by a reference to the suppression of the Slave Trade—a reference historically incorrect. Did England wait till she had persuaded France and Spain, and Portugal and Holland, and Egypt and Turkey that the thing was evil, before she advanced to her own noble renunciation and condemnation of the evil? It is well known that England acted for and by herself—moved thereto by the awakening and motion of the national conscience, not by the cosmopolitan consent of the nations. Let us accept, indeed, the action of England in the matter of the Slave Trade as a guide and example, but let us not forget the facts of history. Let us make our own hands clean, even though it be at the cost of the depletion of our Indian exchequer, and having thus righted ourselves, we shall be able to appeal to the conscience of other nations, and secure the suppression of the Opium Traffic all over the world.

Rev. A. B. HUTCHINSON (Church Missionary from Hong Kong).

My Lord Bishop, nothing but an imperative sense of duty resting on me, as one of the Missionaries of the Church of England to China for some years past, would have induced me to obtrude my views about this important question upon this great Congress. It is asked, What has the Church of England to do with the Opium Traffic? Why should such a question occupy so prominent a position at this important gathering of Churchmen? I reply that the Church of England is, as a Mission Church, vitally interested in the removal of one of the greatest hindrances to her work in China. Our Church, not to speak now of the sister Church in the United States, has large interests at stake in the great empire of China. Already by her energy and devotion three dioceses have been formed there, and three bishops are there at work—Bishop Scott in North China, Bishop Moule in Mid China, and the Lord Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong—Dr. Burdon—with South China under his care. Some ten or twelve native clergy with the orders of the Church of England, and between 5,000 and 6,000 native Christian adherents, whose numbers are increasing day by day, surely constitute a strong claim upon our sympathetic attention to the question before us. The Church of England, through her missions to China, is the great witness for Christ in that land. Well-disciplined and organised, she is proclaiming the Gospel there upon strictly apostolic lines. She now asks the co-operation of all who desire the evangelisation of China's millions in the removal of one of the chief difficulties which she has to encounter in her path.

It is more particularly incumbent upon us to discuss this question as fellow-members of what, thank God, is still a *National* Church, for this gigantic evil owes its origin and its support to the English nation, and to that alone. The Opium Trade is fostered and cherished and extended by the people and Government of Christian England, simply for the sake of profit to the national revenues. It is a question affecting the Government and nation, and not individuals, for I was informed just before leaving China that no English merchants are now concerned in the trade, that being carried on by Jews and Parsees. We are told, amongst other novelties, that we are actually conferring a benefit upon the Chinese by sending opium to a country where the inhabitants suffer severely from malaria; only, unfortunately for the so-called medical evidence, the Chinese do not use it in many districts where fever and ague prevail, whilst it is much used in other parts of the country where there is no malaria. The fact is, the Chinaman smokes opium because he likes it, and for that reason alone. And he is ashamed of his liking for it—it is to him a discreditable vice, not a lawful

pleasure. It has been my trying experience, as an English missionary, to be asked by thoughtful, indignant Chinamen, "Why do you bring us the Gospel which you say saves men's souls and bodies, whilst you send us also the 'foreign dirt,' which destroys both soul and body? Take away one before you bring the other."

Time forbids details—I can simply say that in extensive journeys into the interior of China I have seen traces of its ruin in all directions, villages, towns and cities depopulated, families disintegrated, individuals destroyed by that deadly drug, for the introduction of which we are responsible. Could you, my lord, with the members of this grand Congress, witness with your own eyes the sad and painful scenes of desolation I have beheld—scenes so especially humiliating to an Englishman—I feel sure that your warmest sympathies would be at once enlisted, and a stern resolution be formed to put an end for ever to so baneful a traffic. Our national participation in it is indefensible. China—heathen China—wishes to keep it out, we Christian Englishmen force her, at the cannon's mouth, to admit it. I agree with every word on this point, as on others, that fell from my friend the Archdeacon of Ningpo, but I would ask this meeting whether we would be prepared to endorse a war undertaken to force an entrance for opium into Honolulu or Japan—both these countries most rigidly exclude it; we acquiesce in the exclusion. China also wishes to shut it out, and we will not allow her to do so.

But our legislators of all political parties tell us that, as a nation, we can't do without it—this iniquitous traffic. As Christians we might well follow the example of a convert who once said to me, as he laid down his opium pipe at the feet of Jesus, "I don't know how to do without it, but I trust God will help me with His grace."

Still it is a great question financially, and one I think we are bound to look fairly and fully in the face. What is to be done to supply the £8,000,000 sterling which the drug now produces? It is a grand proposal which many are now making, that we give up the trade at once, whatever the loss. Let me submit to this great assembly another proposal of a more gradual, but, as I venture to think, more statesmanlike character. It is the plan of one who has but to be named to be at once recognised as one of the most distinguished scholars of our day, one who is doing good service on that most important work, the revision of the Old Testament, I mean the Rev. Dr. Kay, many years since the Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. His plan is simply this, that our Government shall at once pledge itself to the abandonment of the trade within the next ten years, and from this date not bring another acre under opium cultivation. Next, to reduce annually by one-tenth the area under cultivation, thus gradually bringing about the abolition of a great wrong, in which, however, at present, many innocent persons are involved. Time will thus be given for the readjustment of the various interests concerned, and the distributed loss be gradually lessened as the land and the cultivators are employed for other purposes. Where there is a will to do the right, there is a righteous way of doing it, and this plan I think is worthy of very serious consideration.

I must confess it is a subject for congratulation that this burning question has been admitted to Congress, in the absence of any other bearing directly upon the great missionary subject. This has to do with the removal of a well-nigh insuperable obstacle to the conversion of some 300,000,000 of heathen. I trust that the message will go forth to China that the great Church of England, whilst deeply anxious for the highest welfare of the sons and daughters of Ham, is determined that she will never rest until this foul blot be wiped away from the fair name of Christian England, and this indefensible evil become altogether and entirely a thing of the past.

DR. BURDON (Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong).

I HAVE been requested to say a few words before this meeting closes on the subject that has occupied our attention. In the discussion to which we have listened doubt has been thrown by one speaker on the sincerity of the Chinese when professing their desire to be freed from the importation of Indian opium. No one acquainted with

the history of the transactions that have taken place between the British and Chinese Governments on the one hand, or with the general feeling of the Chinese people on the other, can reasonably doubt the sincerity of the Chinese when they say they wish to be rid of opium. The Chinese Government, both by acts and by official documents, have evinced their sincerity from the very beginning. In addressing the people I have always found that opium-smoking is a habit condemned by the national conscience. No one will readily admit himself to be an opium-smoker. Confirmed opium-smokers have been known to travel hundreds of miles to a missionary opium hospital for the purpose of being cured. What the national conscience marks as a vice, the better part of the nation may be believed to be sincere in desiring to discontinue. Those who are under its power certainly are sincere in seeking freedom from it. It is a cruel thing of us, after we have done so much as a nation to help on and increase the traffic since our first war with China, to turn round and say that because the number of smokers has increased, both among the people and the officers of Government, neither people nor Government are sincere in seeking the abolition of the traffic. True, it is now extensively grown in China itself. But this is but a natural result of our increased importation of the Indian opium. Opium, like anything else that appeals to the weakness of human nature, was seen to be profitable, and it is not wonderful that the Chinese themselves took to growing it. The internal weakness of the Government allowed the Mandarins to wink at such an infraction of the law, and our wars with China have done much to weaken her internally and externally. It is therefore a fallacy to say that because there are many opium-smokers in China, and because opium is grown in China, the Chinese are not sincere in seeking its abolition.

So is it a fallacy to say that we are not forcing opium on China. It is true we are not doing so now. But the present peaceful and open entry of opium into China is the result of a long course of armed interference on its behalf. Our first war was simply and purely an Opium War, however beneficial in other respects in regulating our intercourse with China. Opium was not then legalised, nor was it stopped—it was still brought to China in greater quantities than ever, and stored in armed receiving ships anchored at the mouths of the different rivers on which the five open ports were situated. What Mandarin would dare to interfere with this open smuggling trade after the terrible lessons of the previous war? The legalisation came after the Treaty of Tientsin, in 1858, but that Treaty, like our first, was forced on China. Lord Elgin did the best he could under the circumstances in which he was placed. He was most anxious to be fair and just to China, and the legalisation of opium was the only course then open to him. But this, and every other clause in the Treaty, was agreed to by China under the compulsion of British guns—and it is under this Treaty our trade is still carried on. Every attempt to change the Treaty, especially in the direction of opium, has failed. Notwithstanding the increase of the traffic and the peaceable way in which it is carried on, it is still true that we, as a nation, are forcing it on China. It is therefore our duty to put down a traffic which is at once a disgrace to England and a curse to China.

SECTION ROOM, WEDNESDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 5.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER took the Chair at 7 o'clock.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON WATKINS.

I REGRET to explain that, very much to his own regret, Sir Thomas Brassey is unable to be present here this evening. He has been summoned by the Admiralty, on Government business, and is obliged to obey that summons. Perhaps many here will know that on Saturday night he delivered a lecture on the subject in this hall, which was filled; and that circumstance may also account for the present thinned audience. The Rev. Mr. Stubbs is prevented from being present, and his paper will be read by the Rev. Brooks Lambert.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS OF THE AGE, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO TRADES UNIONS AND CO-
OPERATION.

PAPER.

[*See Appendix for the Rev. John Oakley's Paper.*]

The REV. BROOKS LAMBERT.

WHAT has English Christianity to say to democracy? Has the National Church "lost touch" with the people? These are two questions which seem to demand an answer from anyone who believes, as I do most firmly, that among the many "voices" of the present, of which the Church is constrained to know the meaning, there is no voice more "significant" (1 Cor. xiv. 10) than that of the people. The social forces of democracy are forces with which, in the future, both in their influence for good as well as evil, the English Churchman no less than the English politician must of necessity reckon. It is now fifty years since De Tocqueville described democracy as a great tidal wave sweeping over Europe, and likened it in its overwhelming force and the certainty of its onward movement to one of those great geological changes which have taken place in the surface of the earth. Certainly there is no sign as yet of any ebb in that wave. If the revolutionary tendencies in society in the United States fifty years ago could impress the author

of "Democracy in America" with "a kind of religious dread," with what feelings of consternation would he have regarded the state of Europe to-day ! Nihilism in Russia, Socialism in Germany, Communism in France, Fenianism in Ireland, are all words suggesting possibilities of social revolution, which the stoutest heart among us may well shrink from facing. And if in England the force of democracy tends in no degree to these evil forms, is there not still every now and then, even in this country, a sense of social strain, a disturbance of social equilibrium, which at least serves to remind us that the continuity of our social and political history might even yet be broken ? Consider for a moment the state of feeling which a check in the working of the complex machinery of our industrial system, a large strike, say, or a lock-out, in one of these great northern towns, produces in the minds of the working-class ; the dull, deadening pain which is involved to great masses of men in the words "hard times ;" the bitter, rankling anger which is apt at such a time to be bred in the heart by the consciousness of the ever-widening gulf between capital and labour, by the knowledge that all this growth of material wealth, to which labour so largely contributes, instead of acting like a mighty wedge, raising the whole fabric of society to a higher level, has been rather placed along such a line of social cleavage that, while it raises the capitalist class above that line to higher capabilities of enjoyment and pleasure, it has crushed down the labour class below it into yet greater misery and deeper degradation. Here, surely, would seem to be all the elements at least of as fierce and, under certain conditions, as uncontrollable a revolutionary force as the world has ever seen. Again, can any one who is conversant with the special features of our territorial system doubt for a moment that the concentration of land in large estates, and the consequent accentuation of the contrast between the rich and the poor, is a source of the gravest danger for the future, if not a direct provocative of social revolution ? "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam*" was the verdict of the historian Pliny on the ancient empire of Rome. God grant that it may not be the verdict of some future historian on the fall of imperial England.

That is the dark side of the question. But there is a bright side also. The night may have ugly phantoms, but we must not therefore close our eyes to the clearer visions of the day. To some men, I suppose, the name of democracy must always have only such meaning as "the guillotine surmounted by the red cap" can suggest. But there are others to whom the ever-strengthening voice of the people, the upward movement of the popular classes, has other meaning and nobler suggestions. To these the spirit of Democracy seems to be revealing new elements of social progress—new conceptions of social duty. These men are under no temptation to echo the old cry—"The barbarians are at the gates ;" rather are they ready to welcome the demand of the people to take part in the world's work, as did the Church of old, when, at the wreck of Roman civilization, she learnt to build up, by means of the Teutonic spirit of individual freedom and social fidelity, a new and higher order of civilization. But with these men faith in Democracy is but another name for faith in human progress, a conviction little, if at all, short of religion itself, that the impulse which is hurrying the world on to new destinies is but God's appointed means of leading His children one step nearer to the solution of that great educational problem which He has set them, of making His

kingdom on earth, as far as possible, a likeness of that which is in heaven. In the progressive realisation of the Divine idea of human perfectibility there is laid upon man a twofold obligation. For each of us there is a social as well as a personal duty. There is a personal duty requiring that we should each daily strive to render our individual lives more worthy of that filial relationship with the heavenly Father which our Master came to reveal. There is also a social duty requiring that we should be strenuous in that "fellow-work with God" by which, according to His purpose, the collective life of man is gradually being fashioned after the image of the kingdom of heaven. Now, it is in the regulation of individual lives and the organisation of collective lives that every religion worthy of the name finds its function. The religion of Christ is no exception to the rule. The Christian Church, in the idea of its founder, had for its object the reorganisation and restitution of society no less than the salvation and deliverance of the individual. Jesus Himself was no revolutionist, yet the kingdom which He established was meant to revolutionise the world. Christ did come to re-model society. And although in the history of Christendom it may be possible to find many chapters which record only the Church's failure to sustain the character of a "Saviour of society," yet when we remember that all history is but the record of imperfectly realised ideas, it is only fair to ascribe the social failures of the Church to a falling short from the original idea, rather than to any want of completeness in the idea itself. The Church of the present will, indeed, be faithless to her Master and her mission if she forget that the grandest and most far-reaching ideal of social duty, which man has ever yet conceived, is to be found in the very definition of her own life. "There is one body, and one spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, Who is above all and through all and in you all. . . . For the body is not one member but many. . . . And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; or, again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you. . . . but God has tempered the body together, that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it, or one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it. . . . Now ye are the body of Christ, and severally members thereof."

It is for the Church to convince men of this. If there are dangers, as doubtless there are, in democratic individualism, it is for her to draw attention to the complementary aspect of Christian socialism by changing the point of sight from the individual to the body. It is for her to show how mere personal claims vanish in comparison with the infinite debt, whereby we are all bound, each in our measure, to fill up that which is lacking to the completeness of the whole. It is for her to do what she can to change a social organisation which is based on the assumption of individual rights and clashing interests, to one based on the sense of social duty and spiritual union. It is for the Church of the present to work out the lofty and sublime idea, of which the power of the Church in the Middle Ages was the grand but the false expression, and to rescue the truth which the Church of the past perverted, by declaring to men that Divine purpose by which, "in the dispensation of the fulness of times, all things shall be gathered together in Christ," whether politics or morals, whether art or poetry or science, "whether

things which are in heaven or things which are in earth." It is for her to claim the kingdoms of this world as the kingdoms of Our Lord and His Christ, not, as in mediæval days, by making secular laws give way to the Church, but by bringing all laws under the control of the Christian spirit. It is for her to teach men that they are best co-operating with God's design of converting into an earthly reality that vision of a kingdom of heaven which He has revealed in their hearts, by making secular pursuits a spiritual occupation. It is for her to teach men that self-sacrifice, and not self-interest, is the ultimate ground upon which the fellowship of human society must rest—that "society exists only for the sake of the human beings who compose it, not merely to further the accumulation of capital." It is for her to declare that though the principle of individual property is abstractly just, yet that the modes of its distribution must be subject to a higher principle still—namely, the common well-being of the human family. It is for her to declare that "the kingdom of heaven on earth" is, in its intentions at least, a Holy Commune, whose watchword is not "the accumulation of wealth through self-interest and competition," but "human progress and well-being through self-sacrifice and association." It is for her, therefore, by supplementing what is incomplete, by supplanting what is evil, to welcome every self-sustained effort, such as Trades-Unionism or Co-operation, which seems to give promise of brighter social future to English democracy. In a word, it is for the Church to declare that in that divine plan for the perfecting of the full stature of humanity, the law of life, for the society as well as for the individual, is one of infinite progress and growth, and that so profound and so wide-spread is the confederacy of the powers of good, that no failure and no series of failures can ever leave uncertain the final supremacy of Christ over all human life. *Christus vincit. Christus regit. Christus imperat.*

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. S. A. BARNETT, St. Jude's, Whitechapel.

TRADES UNIONS and Co-operative Unions are established institutions. They are legal organisations for legal objects. The Church is concerned with them as it is with every established institution, be it the House of Lords or a friendly society. It is concerned to make them serve the common good. The aim of the Church is the highest good of the nation; its method is the spiritualisation of life. To other organisations it is left to create or remould institutions; the Church's method is to fill every institution with the Spirit of God, the Father of Jesus Christ. Reform is the method of statesmen; inspiration is the method of the Church. Workmen's Unions have been created, and may need reform, but it is for the Church to inspire them with the Divine spirit. How to do so is a question of the first importance. The social movements which the world watches are the movements of the working classes. The size of workmen's Unions shows what forces these classes can command; their administration proves that they have leaders who can organise, and followers who can obey.

"It is better worth men's while," says the *Times*, "to study one day's proceedings at the Trades Union Congress than a week's foreign intelligence." Those of us who watched with wonder and admiration the conduct of that Congress recognise the wisdom of this Congress in giving a special consideration to the institutions which workmen have formed. How can the Church spiritualise workmen and inspire their Unions? is the question before us. The power of the Church rests on its success in the past. Judged by modern standards its acts may often have been wrong, but it is no small thing to have kept alive an ideal of self-sacrifice, and to have given to a weary world the life of faith. The Church of Gregory, Francis, Luther, and Wesley has spiritualised life. The Church of the future must be the child of the past. It must do the old work in the new modern world. The modern world is a new world. Men's helpers are now their partners and not their patrons. The poor man half resents a gift, the weak are irritated by patronage, the sick man forces the doctor to take him into consultation, and the uneducated classes elect the School Board. In the new world of to-day the individual helps himself, the nation governs itself. The days of good despots are over: "What is done for the people must be done by the people," says a popular leader whose motto was "For and through the people."

The Church, therefore, to do its old work in the new world, must cease to be a patron or a despot. It cannot spiritualise life by providing services or sermons. It must act with, not for, the people. This involves a change not only in the actions of individual clergymen, but in the very constitution of the Church. Individuals among the clergy may sit as members of Trade Councils, they may take pains to find out real grievances, and they may bring together as their friends both men and masters. The end of such efforts will be that the workmen will be well disposed towards these clergymen as individuals, and more willing, perhaps, to tolerate the Church in which they are officers. Clergymen, though, are not the Church.

It is the Church, the society saturated with traditions of holiness, bound up with the past of the nation and devoted to spiritual ends, which alone has power to bring men to seek God in worship and to spiritualise life. And this Church, to succeed in this new world, must be so constituted that its acts shall be the acts of the people. The Clerical Trades Union has the faults of some other Unions, and takes too much upon itself; it is only a people's Church, a Church worked by the people, and not for the people, which can save the nation. The exact change in the constitution it is for statesmen to devise. Somehow the people must move the organisation which is to spiritualise them, as they move that which governs and educates them. In a country democratic as England now is, the Church must be democratic. Examples are not wanting to make us hope that the working classes once entrusted with the responsibility of Church government would become subject to its spiritualising influence. It is notorious, for instance, how soon a workman raised to be a master takes the master's view; how rapidly the European settled in America becomes American; how the members of the English Bench are raised above corruption by its traditions of purity and honour. When workmen are given a real place in the government of the Church, when they realise their owner-

ship in its greatness, they likewise will feel its influence. Men are the servants of their loves, and they love what they possess. We wait the day when all Englishmen shall feel the Church and its grandeur to be their possession, and give themselves to its service. From this connection between the Church and the people we might expect two practical results :

(1) The misconception as to the object of the Church would cease. The Church is now often regarded as one sect among many sects, the clergy as one body among many bodies, struggling for its own existence. Church is compared with Dissent, and laymen patronise one or the other. Such a conception would fail as men conceived of the Church as the nation's inheritance, a vast power used by their fathers to spiritualise life now entrusted to themselves. A sense of property in the Church would open men's eyes to its use and meaning.

(2) Workmen's Unions would have higher motives and wider aims. At present they represent men educated by the knowledge of poverty and by the spirit of industrialism. In the strength of that education the Unions offer grand examples of self-devotion. The self-devotion, though, is moved by pity for suffering, and is limited to the material interests of a class. Let the Union represent men spiritualised by their relation to the Church, educated by the knowledge of God "full of grace and truth." In the strength of that education the Unions will offer examples of self-devotion, moved by pity for sin and ignorance, and limited only to the highest good of all. If, in a word, the Church will work with, not for, the people, it may inspire the social movements of the day with the Spirit of God, and lead the Unions of each class to abound to the good of all.

Mr. R. K. A. ELLIS (Sunderland).

THE subject which we are considering this evening is suggestive of a thought which must frequently present itself to our minds—that the National Church has special duties and responsibilities in relation to the working classes, and that it is a matter of great difficulty to say, in particular cases, how those duties are to be performed, and those responsibilities to be met. The social movements which we are considering relate to capital and labour ; and we are to regard them in relation to the Church—that is, as helps or hindrances to the promotion of spiritual life among the people. Now, while it is quite true that religion—that is to say, the religious principles which govern our actions—have to do with the daily concerns of human life, it is equally true that the Church, as an organised system, has no voice in the management of our temporal concerns, except so far as they influence, either directly or indirectly, that spiritual life which is her care. To illustrate this, I would apply it to the subject of Co-operation—not using the word in any restricted or technical sense, but in its general application to all industry. It means the working with others to attain a common end ; and it implies the subjection of the individual will to that of the general body, or of certain chosen representatives of that body. There is undoubtedly a tendency in the present day to do by means of united action that which was formerly left to individual effort. Witness all our trading companies, limited and other. But this is in the natural order of things. Co-operation is the principle upon which society itself is based ; the development of the principle is a sure mark of

advancing civilization. We are familiar with such combinations in every department of our daily life and experience. Whatever may have been the case in primitive times, when "Adam delved and Eve span," and whatever may be the conditions under which certain industries are now carried on—agriculture, for instance—it is not for us who live in the busy haunts of manufacture and commerce to feel either surprise or fear at the spread of Co-operation, so long as the end to be attained is a lawful end, and the means used for attaining it are lawful means. The dealer in the raw material, the manufacturer, the retailer, all combine with those who are engaged in the same pursuits, when it suits their interest to do so. And what is the message of the Church to these? None other than the injunction of St. Paul, "Provide things *honest* in the sight of all men." And what other message can she have to those who enter into a partnership of labour—for such a Trades Union really is—for the purpose of obtaining a better return for the sweat of their brow—which is their capital—or to accomplish any other end which is lawfully within their reach? But while we fully admit the lawfulness and expediency of such combinations, we may detect in them, as elements in the social system with which we are dealing, influences or tendencies which demand our grave consideration. There are many things, lawful and excellent in themselves, which have a tendency, in some direction, requiring to be guarded against. Take, for instance, our home life, the glory of our land. It is apt to lead to selfish isolation. I believe that we laymen are often painfully conscious of this. How difficult it is, as many of us know, to enlist the services of men who are content with the ease and quiet of home, in any cause, however good, which lies beyond the narrow circle of their sympathies. Or to take another illustration, we are justly proud, as a nation, of our freedom of thought, and speech, and action. But may we not, as Churchmen, deplore the fact that liberty too frequently degenerates into license—that a spirit of independent criticism leads too often to our airing in public grievances which we had much better obliterate from our minds altogether? And so with the tendency to combine in business even for lawful purposes. The mere breaking up of the field covered by capital and labour into independent, if not actually hostile, camps has an injurious effect. It tends to bring into bold relief those class distinctions which it should be our aim to tone down and efface. It presents to us the constant menace of, as it were, a standing army. Then, again, it supplies as the mainspring of action a purely selfish motive, uncontrolled by any counteracting influence such as individual character might supply. It abandons the golden maxim, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," for

"The good old rule, the simple plan
That he shall take who has the power,
And he shall keep who can."

And closely connected with this is another tendency: it has the effect of merging the individual in the general body, and so of weakening that sense of individual responsibility which is one of the greatest safeguards of character. Not only will men do in combination that from which individually they would shrink, but the habit of acting in concert with, and relying upon the judgment of others, renders the mind and conscience less susceptible to a personal appeal. I have been much struck by the remark of a speaker on this subject at the last Congress. He said: "If you want to influence the best of the working classes, you will get their ear in the best way by approaching them through their chosen leaders." There is no doubt truth in this; it is rather too true. It is one of the dangers against which we should be upon our guard. I do not hail the approach of the day when, in order to reach the underlying mass of humanity, your words must filter through some upper stratum. If we are all conscious that the associations which surround us give a complexion and colour to our lives, much more should we feel this if those influences were limited in the number and the range of subjects which they embraced. And this is, I think, the position of the average working man. Not

but that there are exceptions to the rule. The Trades Union bids fair to become not only the protector of his material interests, but also the director of his thought. The question then arises whether we can by any means widen the sphere of his and our mutual sympathies? Can we not co-operate with him in his attempts to improve his condition, without becoming involved in the war of classes? We shall not do so effectually, I think, by attempting to interfere in the settlement of questions relating to trade disputes, which lie beyond the range of our experience, and with the conditions of which we cannot therefore be familiar. We are too apt to take up in the spirit of a partisan that which requires the cool head and the calm temper of a judge. But there are efforts, great and weighty efforts, which are being made by the labouring classes to diminish the evils of poverty by equalising its burdens—to attain to that noble independence which “owes not any man”—no, not even for the bread and water of affliction. In these we can surely join with him, without the compromise of any principle; we can give him the benefit of such advantages as we possess, whether they be larger experience of the world, or ampler means, or a more refined education. We shall thus assist in breaking down, rather than building up, class prejudice. We shall appeal to a higher motive than that of mere personal gain—the genuine philanthropy which seeks to help others by making them helpful to themselves. We shall thus form a noble brotherhood, in which all, without distinction of rank or party, may become united. Let me give an instance which has come within my own observation and experience of what may be done in this direction. We have in Sunderland an infirmary, which has, until recently, been supported by the contributions of the wealthy. They dispensed their charity through the medium of tickets of admission, a system involving all the evils of patronage on the one hand, pauperisation on the other; in fact, it may be said that it blesteth neither him that gives nor him that takes. It is now a free hospital, to which no passport is required save the need of the patient; and it is maintained, in almost equal proportions, by the pence of the working man and the guineas of his richer neighbour. Last year £1,900 was contributed in pence. This is surely a noble effort, and one worthy of record. We have in connection with it a provident dispensary, the object of which is to entitle the working man to medical relief for himself and his family in sickness, in consideration of a small weekly payment in health. Though now only in the third year of its existence, it numbers on its books 3,500 members. This is the field in which I should wish to see Churchmen work more earnestly than they do, and I doubt not that they will obtain their reward, if they persevere, in the increased confidence and sympathy of those whose hearts we are all most anxious to gain, for even higher and nobler ends than these.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. B. C. BROWNE, Town Councillor, Newcastle.

AFTER the eloquent and well-thought addresses we have had to-night upon this subject, I would not have spoken; but I address you simply as an average employer of labour in the district, to whom Trades Unions and combinations amongst the working classes are simply matters of everyday life. In speaking of Trades Unions, there is one thing upon which sufficient stress had, I think, not been laid, and that is that Trades Unions are simply the practical form and embodiment of a spirit and principle which seem to be inherent in human nature—a principle and spirit which is found in every class, in every country—the feeling of brotherhood and unity of objects amongst a certain class of persons. It is a sentiment which comes very little short of the high principle of Christianity—a sentiment which makes an individual merge and lose sight of himself and of his own interest to benefit those classes of society to which he belongs.

I am always exceedingly sorry when I hear people arguing with workmen against Trades Unionism, by pointing out that by joining the Union an able workman is sacrificing his own interest to that of his inferiors, who are also in the Union. A working man faced with such an argument would, I believe, reply, that if by reason of the unfair wages a high-class man is receiving less remuneration than he would do if work and wages were simply regulated by the ordinary law of supply and demand, still he was willing to undergo this slight unfairness if he could thereby make up for the deficiencies of his less able fellow-workmen and so produce equality amongst all. This principle of Trades Unionism, so far as I can see, requires simply expansion to be carried out on the principles of Christian fellowship and sympathy. It is hardly possible to speak of Trades Unions without referring to strikes. Although strikes are by no means so common as people fancy, still, at the same time, the possibility of a strike is the great strength of the Union; just as soldiers would have to speak of the possibility of a war, and keep themselves prepared for it, yet only a small portion of these soldiers are ever called upon to go into active service. It seems to me that Trades Unions in themselves are simply organisations. It is not right to say that a Union in itself is good or bad; it is simply good or bad according as it is used for wise or unwise purposes; it is simply what its leaders and organisation and governing spirit makes it. It is reasonable that where a large number of individuals have a common interest, they should combine to act as one body. There is no doubt that a great blot upon the working of Unions has been the crime of intolerance; but that is a crime to which human beings and organisations of all kinds are exceedingly liable. But strikes, I repeat, are not so common as most people fancy. When we look at the enormous complications between masses of workmen and their employers, the relations existing between them are not so unsatisfactory as is supposed, and I do not think it is right for anyone to speak of there being a state of things which is lamentable, or bad, or unsound, and which ought to be altered. That which is bad should, of course, be rectified; and I consider that no class of men, as a whole, are willing to do more for, and, further, to do more to elevate, the working classes than we the employers of labour, and know thoroughly, and so much better than anyone else, how to appreciate their good and wise and noble qualities. I believe that there is a far more kindly feeling between the two classes than the outside world commonly supposes. I can certainly say for myself—and I believe for nineteen out of twenty of the employers of labour in the district—with whom I have a good deal to do—that the idea of soreness between us in our relations with the employed, or of irritable feeling, is not present to our mind. But there are painful exceptions, and some of the most painful experiences of my life have been in connection with strikes, and at such times no doubt there is a sore and painful feeling. I have been mixed up, more or less, with several strikes in this northern district. Both sides believe they are right, and neither can see how to give way. But when the temporary strain in the relations between employer and workmen is removed, I think, most masters have kindly feelings towards their men, and I am almost certain—I am perfectly confident—that the majority of the men have kindly feelings towards their employers. We certainly have had much experience of strikes in this neighbourhood, but the question is not exactly the relations between master and man, but as to what the clergy can do. And, if time will serve, I will make three suggestions. A Union must, as I have already said, simply be treated as an organisation. I don't think that a clergyman can say whether it is good or bad; it simply depends upon how it is worked. If a man takes up a share in, for instance, the North Eastern Railway Company, he invests his capital; it may be a wise thing, or an unwise thing, according as the company is managed. So it is with Unions; it may be disastrous to belong to one, it may be fortunate to belong to another. I believe that, as a starting-point, you should take Unions simply as organisations, and that their goodness or badness depends upon whether they are used wisely or unwisely. The second point is this: outsiders ought to be very slow in trying to form a strong opinion as to the merits of any individual dispute, as it happens very often that the persons immediately concerned in the question of dispute find it difficult to make up their minds upon the case. It is almost impossible,

in most cases, for anyone but an expert to decide such questions. The third point, and the one which I think most important, and in which the clergy can do a most useful work, is by trying to encourage a Christian spirit, and point out, irrespective of their particular merits, that there are two sides to every question. In all probability, men on both sides are working with a desire for sincerity and good faith. It is a hard thing to an employer of labour to be asked to give his men an advance of ten per cent. in their wages, which, in all probability, means seven and a half per cent. of his profits (and we know how many there are whose profits are absolutely *nil*) and to have the men clamouring for an advance under these circumstances. But, as a rule, I believe that workmen are very forbearing. The time will come, I hope, when, by mutual forbearance, and a plentiful exercise of the Christian spirit I have spoken of, trade disputes will become rare things, and disputes between master and man will always be amicably settled by means of the existence of a better understanding between the two classes. As to Co-operation, I believe that no one would hail it with more satisfaction than the existing employers of labour, because it will fill the one missing link in the means of prosperity of an otherwise prosperous nation. A man may toil, and make his works pay, but when he wants to be relieved of his responsibility, or obtain more leisure, it is exceedingly hard for him to sell his works or get a proper helpmate, whereby he may partially retire from business. Commonly speaking, he dies in harness, and leaves his widow an organisation which is practicably unsaleable and which no man is capable of carrying on.

CANON LIDDELL.

My claim to speak a few words is very slight. What I do say is the outcome of practical experience in a large working population.

There are only two points I wish to put before the meeting to-night; and they are: What can clergymen do, and what cannot they do, in regard to these questions of Trades Unions' Arbitration and Conciliation? It is clear that clergymen cannot decide any existing trade disputes. I have seen a great many strikes of different kinds. Sometimes these disputes arise upon technical points, such as the intrusion into the works of a "black-leg," that is, of one who at some former time has gone to work at a lower rate of wages than the other men are struggling for. Usually a strike arises upon a question of wages, in which a great many intricate questions are involved.

Now a clergyman, without a knowledge of the many curious technicalities of the trade, upon which the disputes are generally settled, and who has to take into consideration the high-strung feeling of both masters and men, can only endeavour to infuse a little kindly feeling into their relations—he cannot settle the dispute fully and fairly.

But to turn to what a clergyman can do. He may do a great deal by entering into conversation with the workmen, and talking with them as man to man. He should avail himself of any opportunity that is open to him of giving lectures on their industrial position, or on Arbitration and Conciliation.

In these lectures it may be shown how Arbitration and Conciliation really involve Christian principles, and how far a little civility and courtesy would go.

These points should be illustrated by anecdotes; such as the following one, which I discovered in a little manual on Conciliation:

In a manufacturing town there was a dispute between the masters and the men. It was agreed that the men should hold a conference with their employers; and accordingly a deputation was selected, and proceeded to the place of meeting. When the men were ushered into the room, they saw the masters sitting before a table on comfortable seats, but they themselves were directed to a hard wooden bench at the end of the room, where they sat down. On their entrance, the chairman of the employers said to them in a rough tone, "Well, what have you chaps got to say for yourselves?" That one remark of the chairman caused a loss to those masters of £10,000; for the

workmen took up their hats and walked out, telling their work-mates they could not remain to be insulted.

With regard to Co-operation, and especially productive Co-operation, I believe that it will never succeed until men have more faith in each other—more of the Christian principle, more honesty, more perseverance than they have now.

Co-operation requires a unity of heart as well as of purposes to effect its object.

There is one thing which we are bound to recognise as the distinguishing quality which lies at the foundation of Co-operation and Trades' Unions, namely, self-sacrifice for the good of others. This is a duty incumbent on us all. It rests on the character of God Himself, whose name is Love, and who attested that Eternal Love in the sacrifice of His Son.

The Rev. J. C. COLE.

I SUPPOSE that the social movements of an age are not always viewed in the optimist fashion of to-night. I think if we read accounts which are given of the social movements of past days, we shall find that they have always been received with a certain amount of suspicion. Now if this is so, there must be a reason for it. And I take it that the reason these social movements have been received with a fear of danger is, that they have sometimes led to the overturning of States. A State, we will say, has grown up with all its settled institutions, and ways of administering justice between man and man. Then come these movements which strike at the foundation of the established order of society. Can we be surprised, then, that they should be received with some fear of their ultimate consequences? It seems to me that the great danger which exists in so many of the social movements of the present day is that they are apt to proceed upon what we may call theoretical principles instead of the more actual facts of life. Think for a moment how society is built up, how it is built up in the first instance upon distinctive principles—principles of right, principles which are to enable men to live together socially, principles which seek to do justice to all. This is how society came into existence, and how it has been built up in the first instance. Well, then, are we to say that society at the present day is not conformed to its earlier principles? But that is what Nihilism and Socialism say. Therefore I think, while we look at the brighter side of the question, and listen to such glowing words as we have just heard as to the tendencies of theoretical Trades-Unionism and Co-operation, we ought not to forget that there is another side.

This then, it seems to me, is the great duty which the Church and her ministers have to perform. We stand, so to speak, between the two forces; and the Church is able to point out the danger, as well as to speak of the better tendencies of these different movements. And the Church will not be doing her duty unless she does speak out boldly about the tendency—the evil tendency—of many of the social movements of the age. It is the principle of Co-operation which the working classes would perhaps more especially care for. I take that from their leaders—and some of their leaders are noble fellows, men whom I would willingly follow. But you know very well that they are not all leaders: there is the great number of rank and file, whom the leaders do not represent.

We know very little of Atheism and its principles in connection with this country; we know very little of those social forms of life which tend to the degradation of man. But do other countries know nothing of these things? Is man always trying to live up to the best and highest standard to which he should? No, we know that there are social tendencies in the life of our times which will strike at the root of our stability as a people. Therefore we are only doing our duty as Churchmen if we remember this. I would not say a word against the better spirit of the age, nor would I say a word which would tend to make men act less in a spirit of Co-operation. We want more of the spirit of Co-operation, and we want it applied to productive purposes. But the point is, Can it be done? If you can get a good manager for the business—

so it is said—it is almost sure to prosper. And that fact equally applies whenever you endeavour to use Co-operation for industrial purposes. So long as you go upon higher principles, so long will these institutions answer, and so long will the social movements of the age tend to the amelioration of mankind; but wherever the injurious and evil tendencies of society are uppermost, if such influences for evil are not COUNTER-BALANCED, you will only get a moral and pecuniary loss. And I say that we should remember these things in connection with Trades-Unionism and Co-operation. In one of my parishes we had a debating society, a society in which I took some interest. This was in a country parish, and at that time there were some young men in the parish who had come to do some work in connection with the church restoration; and I took that opportunity of getting them together and debating socially; and once we discussed the question of Trades-Unionism and Strikes. I well remember how at one meeting it was unblushingly proclaimed, by the leader of the men, that the sole object of Trades Unions, and the sole value in their eyes, was “to force wages higher.” I endeavoured to show the fallacy of that view, and that it would tend to defeat its own purpose. (Here the bell rung.)

The CHAIRMAN.

MUCH as there was admirable and instructive in the last two speeches, there seems to have been an unconscious narrowing of the question into what is the duty of the clergy in respect to these matters, and what they can do in regard to them. The question is broader than that. It is, “The relation of the Church to the social movements of the age, with special reference to Trades Unions and Co-operation.”

The Rev. JOHNSON BAILY.

IN the question of Trades Unions and Co-operation especially, moral considerations are involved. These organisations at any rate profess to enable men to help one another, and that profession is an elementary principle of Christianity. If the Church is going to deal in any way with these great and powerful organisations, she must take a fair estimate of them, and take a broad view of their principles. I was surprised to hear, in the early part of the meeting, Trades Unions spoken of as embodying every virtue of unselfishness, and held up as an example for the Church to follow. There is doubtless a good deal that is good in such societies, but we must also concede that there is not a little that is bad in them. This evil the Church ought not to be afraid to speak of. Instead of there being pure unselfishness, there is a good deal of downright selfishness. An instance which has been referred to is now visible on the Wear, where for ten weeks a strong Trades Union has been endeavouring to crush a weaker Trades Union by brute force, and has been driving men belonging to the latter from the yards, and from their employments. If we would recognise these Trades Unions at all, we must not be content to flatter them but must point out their faults. These organisations tend to widen the division between classes. The Church allies herself to no class, she is and must be the Church of the nation. It is often asserted—at least it has been—that the Church is the Church of the upper classes. When I heard some of the speeches to-night, however, it seemed to me as if we were trying to make it the Church of the lower classes. Our real duty, and that of the Church, is, I would urge, to stand independent of all classes, and to try and recognise whatever is good in the lower class socially, or in the higher class socially, and to see how far we can check the antagonisms which arise from time to time. The great teaching of the Church must be the proclamation to all men of the right of religion to interfere in all temporal questions, whatever they may be. I think that wherever a clergyman is entrusted with a church in which he has an opportunity of speaking to working men and to their employers, he should fearlessly speak of the claims of religion and of Jesus Christ to have a say in trading questions as well as in those more visibly affecting religion.

Mr. JAMES CROPPER, M.P., Kendal.

I AM suddenly called upon, but I will just express some of the thoughts that struck me as the speakers proceeded. I was extremely struck with Mr. Barnett's remarks as to the way in which the Church might take part in the movements amongst workmen. Everyone joining these movements is more and more struck with two things; first, the intelligence of the workmen, and the almost blind way in which he is going towards a certain aim, which he seems to have found out more by instinct than instruction. His aim is of course the advantage of his own order, and it is towards that that his instructor must point him. I quite approve of a clergyman taking part in those differences which must always occur between employers and workmen, and I think that his advice will be received willingly, and valued as it is given. Of course a clergyman will have to inform himself of the points in dispute; but when he once makes himself master of the facts, his intervention will be valuable in any dispute that might arise. Some very threatening disputes have been warded off by a straight appeal to the workmen, and sometimes small things give the greatest offence, and I know many promising arbitrations upset by the rude speech of an employer. A friend of mine, now a Cabinet Minister, says that he attributed the fact of his being able to avoid disputes at his large works for so many years, to his practice of allowing workmen to come singly or by deputation to his own house, to state any grievances, on every evening at eight o'clock. We must remember, too, that many employers, now owners of large works, were workmen a few years since, who from that condition have been rapidly raised up to the position of master without being in any way prepared to take the position of a master, and without any enlightened views. They may not have that good feeling which actuates those gentlemen who have come here to-night, and therefore we must consider the workmen are justified in protecting themselves against the encroachments of such employers. It is very natural, perhaps, that many of us should allow our views to go with the employers, who are the men who pay the wages. But we must also remember, in considering the workmen's case, that the greed of the employer is often very great. The working man sees the riches, the carriages and fine dresses of the person for whom he works, and it is not surprising that he sometimes feels jealous of the fine things created by his labour, especially when he contrasts the glitter and splendour of his master's, with the plainness of his own humble home.

But I believe a better feeling is likely to dawn. Most of the immense companies—such as railway and other concerns, who are now manufacturing their own requirements, and performing their own mechanical operations—are gradually establishing better relations with their employés. This has been specially noticeable since the passing of the recent Act for the protection of workmen—"The Employer's Liability Bill"—and I should not be surprised, therefore, to see associations between masters and servants becoming the custom at all great works, and aiding in this way to smooth over the differences as they rise. Men do not wish, I believe, to give up what may seem a bright future, because of some simple difference; and employers have no interest in dispensing with their services. The duty of the clergy then, to my opinion, is clear. Whether they know anything of a trade quarrel or not, they can certainly step in between the disputants, induce them to come together, and either by arbitration, or in some other way, may effect a desired conciliation between them.

The Rev. R. C. BILLING, Spitalfields.

GREAT satisfaction has been felt amongst the working people of East London that this subject was set down for discussion at the Church Congress. I am certain that there is at present a strain in the relation between employers of labour and the wage-earning classes; but, while believing this, I do not think a panacea for all evils under which the labouring classes are placed, is to be found in Trades Unions or Co-operative Societies. I think we must tell the working classes plainly and to their faces, that they must practise more temperance and more thrift before they will be able to take

the position we all wish to see them occupy in society. We must, however, bear in mind that the amount of capital the working classes have been able to put aside is very large, despite the losses they have sustained. If we look at the savings banks returns, we find that there has been a great increase in thrift and providence amongst them ; and I believe we have only to accentuate this in our dealings with the labouring classes, to let them see that they have the battle in their own hands, if they would only be a little more self-denying than they have been. At the same time, I do think that there is a feeling abroad that whilst the lower classes are producing much of the wealth of the country, they are not having a fair share of the proceeds of their labour. I trust, however, that much that has been heard from the speakers to-night will be generally accepted throughout the country. If this is done, I believe that there will be a great improvement in the relations of the working classes and their employers. Again, we see how the infirmaries and other charitable institutions are being so well supported by the labouring classes, and I think it is a movement in the right direction, as it shows that the working classes are learning to help themselves. I am in favour of provident rather than charitable institutions. But at the same time we must bear in mind that there is a responsibility which rests upon the wealthy to assist those who are not so richly endowed with this world's goods. The rev. gentleman concluded by asking clergymen to take a deeper and more practical interest in the working classes, by living amongst them, and by participating in their social movements, and sifting the good from the bad, and they would then gain their confidence, and be in a better position to act as mediators between them and their employers in cases of dispute.

STEPHEN BOURNE, Esq.

It seems to me that Trades Unions are organisations formed simply for effecting a purely temporal purpose, while the Church is an organisation for effecting a spiritual purpose. Therefore, as organisations, I cannot see what they have to do with each other. Much the same may be said of co-operation. It is simply the uniting of a certain number of people to effect, at the expenditure of time and money, that for which they have previously been paying some other individual for doing. Both Trades Unions and Co-operation are, I believe, perfectly legal movements, and not only lawful, but justifiable. We have, however, too frequently to complain of and condemn the spirit in which both are too often conducted. We have, of course, no right to condemn the organisation as an organisation, any more than we have to condemn an organisation between employers of labour and capitalists. We have often heard of a probability of there being a deficiency of money between bankers, but we will not condemn them, because they meet to arrange the rates. It is perfectly similar in respect to Trades Unions, so long as they keep within legitimate bounds. The principle, I admit, is good ; but I am afraid it is the execution that is too often bad. The church, as an organisation, has nothing to do with the matter whatever. But the clergyman and the lay members, who happily are now being brought into the means of doing great service, have a vast deal to do with it. Their duty as individuals is to inculcate principles which will induce such organisations to conduct their business in a fit and proper manner. I think the office of the clergy respecting these movements is to be always striving to fulfil the primary object for which they were appointed, namely, the diffusion of the true and fundamental principles of society—principles of justice, principles of mutual forbearance, principles of self-sacrifice—and in this way to permeate the individuals who compose these organisations with a right, proper, and Christian-like understanding, and a true sense of their duties towards each other, and trust in those with whom they come in contact. Beyond this, I would say that if you—that is, the clergy—indoctrinate those with whom you have influence with right principles, then whenever any special circumstance arises, it is a call for a special ministration of that sort. Whenever a strike exists, or whenever any particular burning question arises with regard to the relations of capital and labour, it becomes the duty

of the clergy, and those who have influence to try and direct their teaching towards those specific subjects which are nearest the hearts, or most nearly concern the interest, of those to whom they speak.

The Rev. R. W. HOPPER.

I THINK the preceding speakers have put too roseate a view about Trades Unions. I am sorry—very sorry—to introduce a jarring note, but the fact is that I do not believe in the wisdom or utility of such combinations. I never believed in them, and never will. It has been said here this evening, I believe, that Trades Unions are now a great fact; so, for that matter, is Holloway's pills, and so are many of the quack specifics and shams of the day.¹ We have lately seen attempts made by Trades Unions which are unmistakably not for the general good. Workmen in the country have been trying to fix their day's wages themselves, just as masters in America have been establishing what I call those infamous "corners." A number of men congregate together, decide upon the price of a certain thing, and then compel the public to pay that price for it. That is simply the extension of the Trades Union principles and practice into business, and it is one of the most ruinous systems that at the present time America has to face. I am sorry to add that something similar has been decided upon by the iron-masters of North Yorkshire, and by such acts they will endeavour, no doubt, to raise the price paid for pig iron. In order to do this, however, they have actually decided to blow out several of their furnaces. Thus they will bring misery to the innocent families of the working men, and eventually cause great injury to the trade of the district generally. I have been very much amused at hearing the suggestions that clergymen should act as arbitrators between masters and men, although there is little doubt that nothing could be more disastrous to such a system as this action on the part of the clergy. It is stated by the promoters of Unions that their object is to protect the weak. There is now at the Wear shipyards a very curious instance of this protection of the weak, where I see the strong men, aided by their strong organisations, are turning all the weak out of the shipyard. One good I will admit that Trades Unions have done: that is, sending the unemployed into other districts where employment may be obtained. But for all this vast expenditure of money that is very little good indeed. As to Co-operative Societies, I am convinced that the Church should have no connection whatever with them, as there is little doubt that in many cases the committees are bribed to buy the goods of certain firms. I know it to be a fact that committees are open to bribery of this kind. When this is the case, I think that for the reputation at least of the Church she should not have the slightest connection with such concerns.

The Right Rev. CHAIRMAN.

I HAVE now exhausted the list of speakers, and if I may be allowed to wind up this meeting with a few remarks of my own, I will do so. I confess I have learnt a great deal to-night from the papers that have been read and the discussions that followed the reading of them; and I think that all those who have the faculty of sifting matters and drawing practical conclusions from opposite statements, will perhaps go away, or will wake up in the morning, with sounder conclusions, based on larger views of the question, than probably they entered this room with. It is impossible to deny that Trades-Unionism as a principle is liable to abuse, and that Trades-Unionists are not free from those infirmities which always beset human nature when exposed to similar circumstances. Nor can it be denied that Co-operation may be prostituted by a feeling of mere money-getting. But on the other hand, both Co-operation and

Trades-Unionism must be looked at as admitted facts, and facts of very gigantic and increasing proportions. The question to my mind is whether the Church or whether Christianity can or ought to stand outside these movements and take no cognisance of them. I do not think myself that it can. I think that the expressions used to-night, that the Church ought to be democratic, and work not for the people but with the people, are capable of an intelligible and satisfactory interpretation. Ever since I have been thrown myself among the teeming masses of the North, I have felt that the strength of the Church and the strength of religion lies in its influencing and permeating these classes; and that is what I understood to be meant by the phrase that the Church of the nineteenth century ought to be democratic. Whether wisely or unwisely, whether with a wisdom we should desire to follow or avoid, there is no doubt of the fact that the Roman Catholic Church recognises that principle and is learning to adapt herself to the democratic tendencies of the age. It has been said by one of the speakers this evening that Co-operation is merely a money-getting enterprise. It is not so, by any means, in the northern towns. I see on a back bench the Vicar of Rochdale, who knows what the Co-operative Society is in his town, who knows the gigantic proportions of the undertaking, and how it is connected with the intellectual improvement of the people dealing with those stores started by the Rochdale Pioneers in 1854. They have meetings of various kinds; they have, I understand, the largest library in the town, and a reading-room. And such is the character of almost all the large Co-operative Societies with which I am acquainted in Lancashire. Though I should be sorry to take a part in putting them into competition with the ordinary retail tradesmen, yet I delight to recognise the efforts which the workmen are making in the scale of social and natural progress.

With regard to Trades Unions, if there are abuses attaching to them, it seems to me it is the business of the Church to try and eradicate them. You will never put down Trades-Unionism. It is the only weapon the men have used, or are likely to use; and to suppose that the working-classes will voluntarily give up a weapon which they think it necessary to wield in their own defence is to suppose them to be deliberately blind to their own interests. And, therefore, if there is any selfishness in their rules—which I do not deny, and I think there are difficulties and abuses in their operation—let us try and teach them the more excellent way. In a thousand ways the laity and clergy can bring Christianity practically to bear on the condition of all the classes of society in England. Now, then, how is that to be done? I thought it rather a strange thing when, some years ago, the painters of Manchester came to me and asked me to decide the wage question between them and their employers. I gave my best attention, however to the subject, and I am happy to think that my decision was accepted as reasonably fair—for they came to me two years after, when the terms I had imposed expired, and I again acted as arbitrator. At Ashton-under-Lyme, again, they sent to me to act in a similar capacity, and I felt in deciding in this way between the opposing parties I was quite in my place. I remember that when they were suffering in Lancashire from that long eleven weeks' strike, I said in a sermon at Burnley that I wished our working people and the masters would try to act more upon the principles of political economy, and they would then understand better when there should be a rise of wages. But it should be remembered that employers have been far too reticent in giving information to workmen on trade questions; and if workmen have drawn wrong conclusions as to the rate of profits, the masters themselves are very much to blame for that misconception, and for the difficulties which it brings. I admit, on the other hand, that the profits of late years have seriously diminished. I remember a large manufacturer in Lancashire telling me that it took him as much time and trouble to make sixpence as it took his father to make a sovereign; and that is the case. In my part of the country there are, not co-operating companies—we cannot call them that, for they are not so on the true conception of co-operation—but we have manufacturing companies constructed on the principle in which the shareholders are mainly working men, and they thought because they were getting as much as 28 per cent. in the good times they would always get it. They have now learned that there are bad times

as well as good, and I believe that knowledge has made them more contented with their situations than they were before they had that knowledge. I was saying that during the great strike which created a large amount of distress, a good deal of disturbance, and some serious outrages, I said I wished the working classes and the employers had a little more knowledge of political economy. The idea was taken up in Blackburn, and I was afterwards asked if I would take part in giving a course of lectures in that town on the subject. I think I was in my place as a bishop in taking the chair at a lecture on Political Economy given by Professor Leoni Levi—which was delivered in such a way that the working men were quite able to understand and follow his arguments, on the principle affecting the rise and fall of wages ; and it was his view that strikes had never succeeded in realising the hopes which had been formed when they were entered into. With regard to the present unhappy strike in Sunderland, I heard something about it the other day, but I did not hear enough to be able to form a distinct idea of the merits of the two parties. I will only say that what I did hear was not exactly in accordance with the statements which I have heard in this room to-night ; but as my information was gathered somewhat hurriedly I will not venture to speak on the subject. Something has been said about co-operation in agriculture. Well, I was happy to form part of a commission which was appointed in the year 1868 to inquire into the employment of women and young persons in agriculture. In that capacity I was able to report on a most instructive and most interesting experiment which has been in operation for five-and-thirty years in the little village of Adisham, in Sussex. We there found two communities of working men formed into societies, and working two farms. After working them for more than thirty years the results were manifest. There was more temperance and more thrift than could have been found in any other locality. A previous speaker has said these are the main things a clergyman should interest himself with ; and in this village this temperance and this thrift were produced by the labouring men possessing their own cottages and their own farms. I venture to say a clergyman could not do better with his glebe—and I am sorry to hear the glebes of so many clergymen have been thrown on their hands without them knowing what to with them—I say he could not do better than follow the example of this gentleman, the proprietor of these farms at Adisham, and turn them into co-operative associations for the employment of labouring men and labouring women. Nothing better could be found for the employment of agricultural labouring men. With many of the arguments which have been advanced to-night I most cordially agree. I, for one, do not wish to see the wealth of this country amassed in fewer and fewer hands. The Latin maxim which has already been quoted, *Latifundia perdidere Italiam*, may be verified in England, and that before very long. But a working man in his own home, and feeling the privilege of an Englishman's independence, will be still more ready to open his mind to those who wish to speak to him of spiritual things. I entirely agree with the opinion expressed in Mr. Stubbs's paper that it is the business of the Church to bring the laws under the control of the Christian spirit, and to make every secular pursuit of a religious occupation.

TOWN HALL, THURSDAY MORNING,

OCTOBER 6.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.—THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THEY SHOULD BE CONSTITUTED, AND THE METHODS BY WHICH THEIR DECISIONS CAN BE MADE MORE EFFECTUAL.

PAPERS.

Hon. and Rev. W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE principles on which all Courts of Justice should be constituted are in the main the same. They must have justice for their object ; and, with this object in view, they must be competent to obtain an adequate knowledge of the facts, and to appreciate the principles applicable to the matters of which they take cognisance. Their members must have well-trained legal minds, the possession of which and the honour of their profession are the best guarantee that they will handle the matters which come before them in an equitable spirit and without partiality. That Ecclesiastical Courts were singularly liable to forget these elementary principles in old times, when their judges were all of them ordained persons, is shown by the hatred which they incurred at the time of the Reformation ; that they are liable through technicality and through the cumbrousness of their processes to be a bar to justice now, is a common complaint. For the purposes of simple justice they should be assimilated to the ordinary Courts of the realm as nearly as their subject-matter will allow, so that they may, like them, enjoy the credit of absolute impartiality.

But they have a peculiarity—they are Courts for the trial of special matters, which relate partly to all men in their connection with the ecclesiastical system (that is, with matters of Divine worship), and partly, indeed mainly, to the discipline of the clergy as a peculiar class or profession. In this aspect they are comparable to matters of contract which are capable of being made rules in the Supreme Court of Justice, or to peculiar systems of law—such as that by which Admiralty cases are tried and for which a special Court so long existed.

The analogy of these cases, and the general principles of justice, which I have described, are far more valuable to us than any guidance we might attempt to gain from what may be termed more sacred sources. The New Testament can in no way help us, except by fortifying our sense of justice. If there are some who can bring themselves to write that "Our Lord ordered that judgment should pertain to the Episcopate," we can only wonder at such a strange lack of the historical sense as the enunciation of such a proposition implies. If there are those who

think it important to ascertain how ecclesiastical causes were dealt with in the Middle Ages, we must look upon their researches with a respectful antiquarian interest ; but we must not imagine that they will, in any material degree, aid us in determining the questions now before us. It should be observed that what were called spiritual causes in the Middle Ages, and for some time afterwards—causes in which the Ecclesiastical Courts were largely engaged, and through which they became so hateful to the people—causes for which a great part of the Canons of 1604 were made—were not merely or chiefly matters of Divine worship or doctrine or the discipline of the clergy, but questions of tithes, matrimony, and wills, all of which have at last been removed from the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Indeed, so preponderant were these matters, that it has been of late argued that questions of doctrine and of worship did not come before these Courts at all, but were decided in Synods. There seems to be no ground for this supposition. In the chief doctrinal controversy of the Middle Ages, that relating to the Lollards, the Sheriffs and others were required by statute to give aid to the Bishops in suppression of heresy, that is, to carry out the sentence of the Ecclesiastical Courts ; and the writ *De Hæretico Comburendo* was simply the process by which fatal effect was given to the judgments of these Courts. The Ecclesiastical Courts certainly had power to judge all questions as to the appointment of clergymen to benefices and their removal, and this must constantly have involved the trial of heresy. But the fact that these Courts had so mixed a jurisdiction makes them less valuable as models for the Courts of the present time.

Leaving, however, these antiquarian questions, we come to the more modern times. I do not think we ought to be fettered by the arrangements made at the time of the Reformation, if they should be contrary to sound principles, or if they should be found inconvenient in the present day. But those who believe that the best guarantee for justice is, that Ecclesiastical Law should be administered by Courts mainly of laymen, and closely connected with and supervised by the ordinary judicature of the realm, naturally turn to the Reformation Statutes as the instruments through which this beneficial system was introduced, which has endured for 350 years.

The principle then adopted was that the Sovereign, as representing the Church and Kingdom generally, and especially the lay power, was recognised as supreme head or governor of the Church ; that he had power to repress all manners of heresies, errors, and abuses—that is, that he was recognised as the fountain of all ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction. As consequences of this principle we may mark for our present purpose these two :—

First—That from all Ecclesiastical Courts an appeal should ultimately lie to the Sovereign. This resulted in the formation of the Commission of Appeal issued from the Chancery, and commonly called the Court of Delegates. This Court was superseded in 1832 by the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, to which in 1840 were added, for all matters coming under the Church Discipline Act, the three Prelates who were Privy Counsellors, and in 1873 the whole jurisdiction was transferred by the Supreme Court of Judicature Act to the Court of Appeal, to which were added, as assessors for ecclesiastical appeals, a certain number of Prelates taken according to a rota.

Secondly—That in all Ecclesiastical Courts laymen should be capable of being judges. The language of the statute introducing this change may be quoted as showing what was understood by the Royal supremacy "Your Royal Majesty," says the statute, "is, and hath always justly been, by the Word of God, supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and hath full power and authority to correct, punish, and repress all manner of heresies, errors, vices, sins, abuses, idolatries, hypocrisies, and superstitions, sprung and growing within the same, and to exercise all other manner of jurisdictions commonly called ecclesiastical jurisdiction." And of the Roman system, which confined ecclesiastical jurisdiction to ordained persons, it adds that it is "directly repugnant to your Majesty as supreme head of the Church, your Grace being a layman." (37 Hen. VIII., c. 17, § 1.)

It has indeed been argued of late by those to whom I have already alluded, that since, as they imagine, the Mediæval Courts did not take cognisance of heresy, the Reformation statutes of appeals were not meant to apply to cases of doctrine or of ritual, and that, consequently, the present Court of Final Appeal, which is the lineal successor of that established at the Reformation, has no right to entertain such cases, which, it is argued, ought to be determined by synods. Reason has already been shown for the belief that the Mediæval Courts did entertain such cases. And it is certain that the Statute of Appeals (25 Hen. VIII., c. 19) prescribes that "*all manner of appeals, of what nature or condition soever they be, or what cause or matter soever they concern,*" shall be to the King. Even if a case of heresy were brought before a synod, the synod, which is essentially a deliberative body, could only pronounce upon the truth or falsehood of propositions, or at most pass a censure upon the persons holding them; it could not of itself condemn judicially or inflict punishment. This may be seen by the opinion of the Judges in Whiston's case, when the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury desired to sit as a Court of Judgment. The judges, by a majority of eight to four, gave their opinion that the law books spoke of a power as residing in the Convocation (as a synod) to condemn false tenets and their maintainers, although they were of opinion that even from such a censure an appeal lay, as of common right, to the King. But the Convocation was not allowed, nor did it claim the power, to pass any sentence or to inflict any punishment. Whatever may have been the case with the synods before the Reformation, there can be no doubt that no synod, diocesan or provincial, held in the last 350 years has ever attempted to deal with doctrine or ritual in the sense of coercive jurisdiction. In Whiston's case (1710-1715) the Convocation having shown that they had no power to punish him, a suit was brought with a view to degrade him from the ministry before an Ecclesiastical Court, from which an appeal was made to the Court of Delegates, who retained the suit in their hands. That this should have been done in the end of Queen Anne's reign, when the Government was favourable to the pretensions of Convocation, and when the whole question of its importance had been fully argued out, may be taken as a proof that, whatever power of censure or moral judgment may belong to a synod, coercive jurisdiction belongs to the courts alone. Those who know something of the tumultuary and unjust proceedings of clerical synods when they have dealt with accused persons, whether in the

fourth or fifth centuries or in modern and even Protestant times, will gladly acquiesce in this conclusion.

Putting aside, therefore, the synods as altogether inappropriate tribunals, we may observe that, as a matter of fact, the Courts have, from the Reformation onwards, dealt with cases of doctrine and discipline on the principle of the Reformation settlement, the supremacy of the lay power. It is true that the ordinary Courts were less active in cases of doctrine and ritual during the period from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign till that of Charles II. ; but this was only because the Courts of High Commission sat constantly ; and, after the Restoration, it cannot be doubted that the ordinary Ecclesiastical Courts took cognisance of heresy, as Whiston's case shows. It is to be observed, further, that the Courts of High Commission had laymen joined with the clergy among their members ; and the Court of Delegates, in all but one or two instances, had lay-civilians in them, and the practice grew more and more of adding Common Law Judges to them. In Whiston's case, where six Bishops were on the Court, there were, besides five civilians, three Common Law Judges.

It is in vain that the attempt has at times been made to reduce the import of the Reformation settlement, and to make it mean less than the ultimate subjection of the clerical to the lay power. The last and most impartial investigation of the subject contained in the "Letter to Mr. Gladstone on the Royal Supremacy," by Mr. F. King, a gentleman whose own convictions would lead him to minimise, if it were possible, the extent and significance of the supremacy, is expressed in the following words : "The final appeal was never, as a fact, allowed to lie to the Primate or the Convocation, or to any person or body spiritual, but to the King, and so it has continued to the present hour, the claims of the Church being utterly ignored." Mr. King means evidently by the Church the clergy. The view of the case taken by the Reformation Parliament, and maintained ever since in the English Constitution, was not that the claims of the Church were to be ignored, but that in the person of the King the body of the Church—that is, the laity—took their proper and supreme position, and that what was to be ignored or put aside was the usurpation of the clerical functionaries. As it was said by Henry II. to the Bishop of Chichester : "*Tu pro Papæ auctoritate ab hominibus concessâ contra dignitatum regalium auctoritates mihi a Deo concessas niti præcogitas.*"

The principles thus acknowledged—namely, the ultimate supremacy of the lay over the clerical power, the trial of causes mainly by lay judges, and the final appeal to the Crown, not merely *comme d'abus*, but as to the supreme governor of the Church "over all causes and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil, in these his dominions supreme," are to be maintained on the highest ground of Christian principles and Christian wisdom.

There are those, no doubt, to whom these principles are distasteful, and who are convinced that the clergy have a right to be judges and to frame the judicial system. But they ought to acknowledge (what, indeed, some of late, such as Mr. F. King in the pamphlet I have quoted, and Archdeacon Balston in his Latin sermon at the opening of the present Convocation have admitted), that this claim of the clergy is precisely that against which the Reformation settlement was directed.

The convictions of good men must always be treated with respect ; but we must beg them not to suppose that they have a monopoly of conviction. There are principles opposed to theirs which are held with a conviction and a tenacity which will prove all the stronger the more clearly this clerical demand displays itself. That the nation is interested as a whole in all that concerns the National Church, that the Church of England can fully express itself only through the national organs, that a clerical system of judicature is unjust and consequently displeasing to the Supreme Righteousness, that the religious life must be kept in union with the general life of the nation, that the Holy Spirit works through common life and justice ; these are matters of sacred conviction, which cannot be put aside on account of some few anomalies involved in them, nor by applying to them the dubious name of Erastian ; and the opposite theory of clerical supremacy is not regarded by those who hold these convictions as a sacred thing which is only opposed through a worldly yielding to secular power, but as the expression of the usurping tendency of a single class in the Christian brotherhood—a tendency as much opposed to the spirit of Christianity itself as it is to the principle of the Reformation settlement. As a matter also of high Christian expediency, it may well be felt that lay judges and an appeal to the Crown are far better than clerical tribunals and synods for all parties alike, and pre-eminently for the cause of justice.

Grounding ourselves, therefore, on these principles, we have to consider what changes, if any, are needed in our ecclesiastical judicature. Just at this moment men's minds are somewhat unhinged by the accidental and passing preponderance of Ritual questions, and by the fact that disobedience to the monitions of the Ecclesiastical Court has issued in imprisonment. This last point may be summarily put aside. There is no system under which the ultimate refusal to obey the law as interpreted by the existing Courts can fail to issue in imprisonment. The law as interpreted by the existing Courts must absolutely be obeyed unless we are to be reduced to anarchy. Any fault in the law may be a legitimate cause for agitation to get rid of it, but can only be a ground for resisting it if we believe the law or the Courts to be so iniquitous that the evils of anarchy are less than those of obedience. In any system of judicature we must demand that the Courts should have the means of enforcing their decisions. The more direct and peremptory such means are, the better for us all. Perhaps the solution proposed by Lord Beauchamp's recent bill, as amended by the Lord Chancellor, may be the best—namely, that imprisonment for contempt of court should be limited ; but that if, at its conclusion, the offence be renewed, deprivation shall at once ensue. If it be thought better that monitions and suspensions should, if disobeyed, be followed immediately by deprivation rather than imprisonment for contempt of court, so let it be. In any case, the less the interval between a sentence and its peremptory enforcement the better.

I take leave also to put aside as insignificant the questions which have been raised as to the appointment of the Judge of the Arches Court, and the combination of the two Provincial Courts under one Judge. I confess that I feel it difficult to understand the condition of mind in which such points become important.

Nor do I think it important to notice the various proposals for an alteration in the Final Court of Appeal. The balance of argument in

favour of any of them is very slight, and the real question turns on the maintenance of an appeal to the supreme lay power. But I hope the time allotted me may allow of my calling the attention of the Congress to another aspect of this subject, which seems to me far more important.

It appears to me that the chief cause of entanglement in our ecclesiastical judicature is the obsolete arrangement, which has no analogy in any other parts of our judicial system, by which matters very different in their nature are all dealt with by one and the same clumsy process. I may divide the matters for which clergymen come before the courts into three—matters relating to doctrine, matters relating to moral conduct, and matters relating to ritual.

To only one of these—namely, questions of doctrine—is the present system suitable. For such questions it is of great advantage that the process should be long, and the power of appealing from court to court as large as possible. By these means opportunity is given for full and repeated consideration, and the controversy is handled in all sorts of ways, and every possible light is thrown upon it, before the final decision is made. It is a distinct gain that questions like those involved in the case of Mr. Gorham, in the cases arising out of the “*Essays and Reviews*,” or in the case of Mr. Bennett, should undergo first a preliminary examination; secondly, if thought well, a sifting in the Diocesan Court; then a fuller examination by the Court of Arches; and, lastly, be determined by the Final Court of Appeal. But to no other class of cases is this process applicable.

The mode of dealing with moral offences demands far more consideration than has of late being given to it. Before the Reformation it was one of the great scandals that clerks who had committed offences which would in all other callings have subjected the doers of them to grave penalties remained almost unpunished. With us, it is certain that men who have committed offences are allowed to remain in the ministry long after they have forfeited all chance of doing good service, and that the people suffer seriously by this. At present, when a man has been convicted of felony or misdemeanour, he may, after fulfilling his sentence, begin his work as a clergyman again. Some most scandalous cases of this kind have been known of late years, in one of which the criminal was allowed to take duty in several parishes until his discovery, after which he, under various *aliases*, led a life in which forgery and simoniacal dealings with clerical offices were the two most marked features. It appears to me that the Bishop's Court should have power, on a certificate from the court of law in which the criminal was judged, to pronounce immediately, and without the exhibition of articles, a sentence of deprivation; that this sentence should further, in cases of misdemeanour, be capable of carrying with it a long suspension; and that in cases of felony it should carry with it, unless there were specially extenuating circumstances certified by the judge, degradation from the ministry.

In offences of a moral kind, which may not be offences at general law but only affecting the status of a clergyman, it seems right that some preliminary examination should take place as now by a Commission of which clergymen are members; but after this the analogy of criminal justice should be followed. It would seem best that, in such cases, the Commission should be strengthened, so as to include the Chancellor of

the diocese and some other laymen of high standing, with two or three of the clergy, one of whom should be the archdeacon or one of similar distinction. Should their finding be that there is a *prima facie* case for a trial, the trial should then be conducted on the spot by the judge of the Court of Arches, who should always be, as he is now, a trained judge of equal rank to those who go on circuit, and his judgment should, as in a criminal case, be final, with only such an opportunity for appeal or for a new trial as is now occasionally allowed in criminal cases.

As regards ritual, I think that it should be dealt with, as far as possible, as an administrative matter. There are many cases—such as the whole administration of the Poor Law or of the Education Acts—in which the carrying of the law into effect is left to the discretion, partly of local, partly of central authorities, but without any judicial proceedings. Ritual may justly be regarded as comparable to these. "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike; for in all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners." Why should not this principle be allowed to have a certain play now, not only as to the differences of national Churches, but as to the differences of parishes? Indeed, a considerable difference of use is now allowed; but the discretion for it rests with the incumbent alone. This discretion should be shared by him with the parishioners and with the bishop. For this purpose some form of parochial council or church board should be adopted, through which the parishioners should be able to give effect to their opinion. Whatever powers it may be right to entrust to such bodies, they would at least be able to guide the bishop as to the sentiments of the parishioners; and if it should be found possible, as I believe it would be, to entrust to them the full powers contemplated by the Church Boards Bill, no case would come before the bishop except that in which the church board wished to force on the parson a course which he thought wrong, or in which, the parson and church board being agreed, some parishioner is determined to proceed against both as acting illegally; neither of which would be likely to be of frequent occurrence. But the powers of the bishop should also be enlarged, and he should be able, within a largely extended circle, to allow such a modification of existing usages as he considers to come fairly within the scope of the law. Each case should be taken by itself, and the system should be sufficiently elastic to allow decisions to be revoked if local circumstances should have altered, and a decision in one case should not rule another the circumstances of which may be different. It is also desirable that the bishop should be able to delegate his functions in such matters, in the first instance, to his archdeacons or rural deans. Such a system as this, even if only attached to and working under the judicature, would ease off its asperities, and would give scope to energies of which the present system is often repressive. But I think it might be possible to obviate all resort to the courts in cases of ritual, by giving the decision in all such cases to the bishop *in camera*, with possibly the permission of such a review by the archbishop as is allowed in case of the withdrawal of a curate's licence.

It will be seen that if these proposals be adopted, the Diocesan Courts are not likely to be called much into play. Indeed, the amount of actual litigation would be greatly reduced. It would be

only in extreme cases that a resort would be had to the courts. It would seem, therefore, that, more than ever, the proposal which is sometimes advocated on purely ecclesiastical grounds, to give additional powers to the Courts of the Diocesan Chancellors, is unwise. The less there is to do, the less likely it is that men of high distinction will be Diocesan Chancellors, and the less practice such men will have. The argument, therefore, is increased for enlarging the judicial power of the Court of Arches, as was done by the Public Worship Regulation Act. It can no longer be said, as in the Middle Ages, that it is a tyranny to draw men out of their own diocese before the Arches Court; and the fact of having one judge for the whole country ensures both the services of a man of large judicial experience and uniformity in the method and principles of judgment.

To sum up, therefore, It is rather in the method of proceeding than in the courts themselves that any beneficial change is to be sought. There is no objection of principle, but the greatest advantage, in maintaining the present position of the ultimate Court of Appeal, and in assigning to the Court of Arches the position which makes it practically in all grave matters the court of first instance. But the method of proceeding which identifies the processes for questions of doctrine, of moral offences, and of ritual is radically defective, and should be changed in the way I have indicated; especially the practice of dealing with ritual questions as if they were matters personal to the individual clergyman, and of leaving to aggrieved parishioners the duty of proceeding against their pastor *pro salute animæ* in what is reckoned by lawyers as a criminal suit—a practice to which it is hardly wrong to apply the epithet absurd—should, as far as possible, be discontinued; and a system should be adopted such as I have described, which is administrative, clear, direct, and elastic, and which acknowledges that such matters are not matters of a clergyman's legal rights, but of actual and present expediency for the body of the people.

The Worshipful H. COWIE Esq., M.A. (Chancellor of the Diocese of Durham).

(I.) *The principles on which the Ecclesiastical Courts should be constituted.*

If the discussion of the principles on which the Ecclesiastical Courts should be constituted is to be attended with any practical advantage, it is essential that the limits of the jurisdiction of the courts should, in the first instance, be properly understood.

These courts have no jurisdiction or authority to determine *what ought to be the law of the Church of England*, in point of doctrine or ritual, or in any other respect. Their duty extends only to the consideration and administration of that which has been established by competent authority to be the law of the Church. And they must apply to the construction of the written portion of that law the same rules as have been long established, and are by law applicable to the construction of all statutes and written instruments. They must endeavour to obtain for themselves the true meaning of the language employed, assisted by previous judicial decisions and by the consideration of such external and

historical facts as they may find necessary to enable them to understand the subject matter to which the instruments relate, and the meaning of the words employed. In short they are not Courts of Divinity but Courts of Ecclesiastical Law; and their function is to expound, interpret, and administer that law as they find it, without admitting any discussion as to its conformity or non-conformity with Holy Scripture. And such must always be the limits of their jurisdiction, whatever changes may be introduced into the law itself, unless indeed the legislative and judicial functions are to be confounded, in defiance of the wholesome constitutional principle which has so long kept them separate from each other.

This being so, the first general question seems to be whether these limits are more likely to be strictly observed by tribunals composed of judges regularly trained in the profession of the law, or by tribunals composed of learned divines. Assuming equal knowledge of the Ecclesiastical law on the part of both, it seems not unfair to say that the presumption is in favour of the professional lawyers, for the simple reason that clergymen are not as a rule trained in modes of reasoning adapted to the decision of legal questions—though many individual instances could be cited of excellent clerical judges, both in our own and in bygone days. And this presumption will appear to have been acted on in recent times, when the constitution of the existing courts is examined.

Passing by the Court of the Archdeacon, whose limited jurisdiction is generally admitted to be satisfactorily exercised by the Archdeacon himself or his Official, the Diocesan or Consistorial Courts first call for attention.

(a.) THE DIOCESAN COURTS.

The jurisdiction of these courts is now chiefly exercised in dealing with alterations in the fabric, ornaments and furniture of churches and in churchyards. For these alterations the Ecclesiastical Law requires that the permission of the ordinary, pronounced by a decree of his Consistorial Court, should be obtained in the first instance. These Courts have also to deal occasionally with questions as to seats in churches. The bishop's Official principal and Vicar-general, more commonly known as the Chancellor of the Diocese, is the judge of the Consistory Court. Laymen have been eligible for the office ever since the 37th year of Henry VIII. They must have the qualifications required by the 127th Canon. Among the existing chancellors there are six ecclesiastics, five of whom were appointed upwards of twenty years ago.

The number of successful appeals from the Diocesan Courts has not been so large as to afford valid ground for supposing that the courts would be improved by any interference with the bishops' discretion in appointing the judges, or by any further curtailment of the jurisdiction of the courts. (There may be room for improvement in their *procedure*, but with this we are not concerned.)

(b.) THE PROVINCIAL COURTS.

The Provincial Courts of Canterbury and York have been, far beyond the time of living memory, presided over by lay "Officials principal" appointed by their respective Archbishops. These courts exercise an appellate jurisdiction from the Diocesan Courts, and also in certain cases an original jurisdiction of their own. Under the Church Discipline Act of 1840, the Provincial Court is required to hear and determine

every case of a clerk charged with an offence against the Law Ecclesiastical, which may be sent to the court by letters of request from the bishop of the diocese where the clerk holds preferment, (or if he holds no preferment from the bishop of the diocese where the offence is alleged to have been committed). Although the bishop may, under certain conditions, hear a case of this kind himself with assessors, the bishops have usually elected to send these cases to the Provincial Court, to be heard there.

Before the Church Discipline Act the Diocesan Courts had jurisdiction in these cases, and as now constituted they are probably, as a rule, quite competent to deal with them. Little benefit could, however, be expected to accrue from a revival of the jurisdiction. The grave consequences of a conviction would nearly always induce the convicted clerk to appeal to the Provincial Court; and this consideration alone, apart from the advantage of attaining something like uniformity of decision in cases of such serious import, makes it on the whole more convenient that resort should be had to the higher court in the first instance.

The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874, has introduced some material changes in the working of the Provincial Courts. In the first place, the statute has altered the qualification of the judge, and the mode of his appointment. Before the statute, a Master of Arts or Bachelor of Laws of twenty-six years of age who had subscribed the Articles of Religion was eligible for the office. Under the statute, the judge must be either a barrister of ten years' standing or an ex-judge of one of the Superior Courts, declaring himself to be a member of the Church of England as by law established. The statute provides for one and the same judge being the Official principal of both Provincial Courts on the joint appointment of the two archbishops, subject to the approval of her Majesty. In the event of the archbishops not concurring in an appointment within six months of a vacancy, her Majesty may appoint the judge. The statute also gives the Provincial Courts certain new powers, as to which delusions, described by the present learned judge as mischievous, have been extensively propagated, consisting principally in the idea that the Provincial Court, as now constituted, is no longer a spiritual or ecclesiastical tribunal, but a newly set up temporal or secular one, whose authority is independent of the Church. Now, these new powers are beyond all question powers of procedure only. Thus, power is given to entertain questions of ritual on the requisition of the Archbishop to whom the representation or complaint has been transmitted, without the necessity of a formal charge or "articles" being prepared. But a safeguard against frivolous or vexatious proceedings, similar to that provided in the Church Discipline Act, is maintained in the Act of 1874, though under a different form; for the matter of a representation or complaint cannot be heard by the Provincial Court under this Act if the bishop is of opinion that proceedings should not be taken. Moreover, under the Church Discipline Act the bishop may be set in motion by "any party complaining," while the Public Worship Regulation Act requires the representation or complaint to be made by an archdeacon or churchwarden, or three parishioners declaring themselves to be members of the Church of England, who have resided in the parish during the year next preceding their complaint. The object being of course that the complainants should have somewhat of a representative character. As to the operation of the Act on

the status of the judge, it may well be a matter of speculation what was its effect when the present judge was first appointed, *before* the retirement of the then existing Officials, and also what may be the effect of an appointment by the Crown on a future vacancy in the *possible case* of the two archbishops not concurring in an appointment. But as matters stand *now*, there is not a shadow of pretence for saying that the present judge, who has actually been appointed by both archbishops, is not the Official principal of each of the Provincial Courts, or that his decrees are not in every respect as fully entitled to be enforced in the manner prescribed by law, as the decrees or orders of any of his predecessors. At the same time it is difficult to discover any valid reason why all the advantages of the new procedure could not have been conferred on the old Provincial Courts without causing needless offence by interfering with their former co-ordinate jurisdiction, and with the ancient mode of appointing the judges. And it would seem to be quite possible and desirable to revert to the old mode of appointment, without taking away any of the new powers of procedure which experience may have shown to be really advantageous. It would then lie upon those who desire a further change to show how a better constitution is to be established for the Provincial Courts than that which has existed for centuries, if a separate Provincial jurisdiction is to be maintained at all.

(c) THE FINAL COURT OF APPEAL

For 300 years after the passing of the statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, which put an end to all appeals to Rome, all appeals of what nature or kind soever from the Courts of the Archbishops, were to the King's Majesty in the Court of Chancery, delegates being appointed for each separate case by commission under the Great Seal. At the time of the Report of the commissioners appointed in 1830 to inquire into the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts, the delegates were usually three Puisne Judges, and three or more civilians; but in some cases a further commission was issued consisting of Spiritual and Temporal Peers, Judges of Common Law, and civilians, usually three of each description. In the case of the court being equally divided in opinion, or no Common Law Judge forming part of the majority, a commission of adjuncts issued, appointing additional judges of the same description. There was no appeal from the delegates as a matter of right, but occasionally a Commission of Review was issued upon the advice of the Lord Chancellor. There is no satisfactory evidence that it was usual at any time during these 300 years for bishops to form the majority of the court; and it seems now beyond controversy that for nearly a century before 1830 bishops were rarely found among the delegates at all.

The commissioners reported that it was expedient to abolish the jurisdiction of the judges delegate, and to transfer their right of hearing appeals to the Privy Council; and in pursuance of that Report, the statute 2 & 3 Will. 4, c. 92 transferred these appeals to the King in Council, and in the following year the Judicial Committee was constituted as the tribunal to which the appeals were to be referred.

The Church Discipline Act of 1840 made the archbishops and bishops who were members of the Privy Council members of the Judicial Committee for the purposes of appeals under that Act, and enacted that no such appeal should be heard unless at least one of such archbishops or bishops were present at the hearing. The constitution

of the Judicial Committee was further altered in 1871 by the addition of four permanent salaried lay judges. And lastly, under a statute of 1876, the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary have become members of the court, and rules have been made providing for one archbishop and four bishops being assessors for a year at a time, of whom three at least must be present at the hearing of an ecclesiastical appeal. Objections have from time to time been urged against this Judicial Committee on the following grounds, viz. :—

(i) That the *lay* element is predominant over the Ecclesiastical.
 (ii) That it is a *temporal* court having no sanction from any spiritual authority.

(iii) That it is influenced by considerations of *policy* rather than by law.

(1) Having regard to the proper functions of the court as already explained, it seems by no means essential that it should comprise ecclesiastics as members. The attendance of the prescribed number of ecclesiastical assessors seems to provide sufficiently for the legal members being properly advised wherever the assistance of professional theologians may be required. This system of assessors has, however, hardly yet had a fair trial; and it is not to be expected that Parliament would, in the absence of valid reasons based upon its acknowledged failure, alter an arrangement made after due consideration so recently as the year 1876. But there seems clearly to be as much reason for the members of the committee who hear ecclesiastical appeals being members of the Church of England, as there is for the judges of the Provincial and Diocesan Courts possessing that qualification, and a provision that they should be so qualified would probably meet with general approval.

(2) The second objection (on the ground of the want of spiritual sanction) has recently been stated as follows by one who is regarded by many as a great teacher. Speaking of the imprisonment of a clergyman for disobedience to a decree of an ecclesiastical court (founded on a decision of the Judicial Committee) he says: "This miscarriage of justice was but the accident of a temporal court being unintentionally intrusted with deciding in matters which it was not their province to understand." Now, whether it is expedient or not that a temporal court should deal with such questions, what evidence is there of accident or want of intention in this matter on the part of the legislature? In the first place, there can be no doubt that the ecclesiastical courts had cognizance of heresy before the statute of Henry VIII., and the court of delegates could and did entertain appeals in cases of this character as well as of departure from the prescribed ritual.

Again, the Commissioners of 1830 (who included in their number one archbishop and five bishops) made special mention in their Report of charges brought against clergymen "for disregard of the sacred obligations into which they entered on becoming ministers of the Church of England." These words *primâ facie* cover heresy and departure from prescribed ritual, as well as other offences against discipline. And it does not appear that the Lords Spiritual offered opposition to the statutes of William IV. It must be taken therefore that they as a body did approve of and sanction the new court. But even if cases of doctrine and ritual were not contemplated at the time of the passing of the Acts of William IV., how can it be supposed they were not contemplated in 1840, when the Church Discipline Act made special provisions for the attendance of an archbishop or a bishop at the hearing of every case of

a clerk charged with an offence against the laws ecclesiastical? It is difficult to see what further purely spiritual sanction could be given under our existing constitution to a court of appeal from the archiepiscopal courts. Some suggest that the whole bench of bishops should form the final court of appeal, *i.e.*, a court of appeal from the archbishop, whose court is an appellate court from the diocesan courts within his province. Even if this was a reasonable arrangement, it would hardly satisfy those who now decline to follow the counsels of their bishops and who speak of the existing law as composed of two different laws, one for the bishops and the laity, the other for the priests, and as being administered for the sole purpose of crushing one section of the priesthood.

Again, it has been suggested that Convocation should form the final Court, or at any rate that the sanction of Convocation to a new final court of appeal would make its decrees binding on the conscience of those clergymen who now feel a difficulty in acknowledging the authority of the existing one. The first suggestion seems quite impracticable, while as to the second there is no precedent for Convocation being consulted as to the constitution of an ecclesiastical court. Still, it might not be unreasonable for Parliament to be influenced by the recommendations of Convocation in this respect, provided Convocation was itself first reformed so as to be really a representative body of the Church at the present day.

But even granting that the court is a temporal one, there is nothing peculiar in a temporal court having jurisdiction where temporal property is held by virtue of a contract, as in the case of a beneficed clerk, especially under a constitution where the Ecclesiastical Law itself, as administered by the spiritual courts, is regarded only as subordinate to the common law of the land—*lex subgraviori lege*. Nor is it *primà facie* unreasonable, after the Ecclesiastical Law has been once settled by authority involving the spiritual element, that a purely temporal authority should be charged with its mere administration. Indeed, in spite of the supposed repugnance to the control of a temporal court, clergymen themselves have been known to invoke its assistance against their bishop, even in a case where their temporalities were not affected, *e.g.* in order to compel the bishop to license a curate.

If the objections were acted upon consistently, we would expect to hear of clerks refusing to accept benefices at the hands of lay patrons or to undertake the charge of parochial districts newly constituted under Acts of Parliament.

The third objection, though it sounds plausible, is incapable of being substantiated. No one who will take the trouble to study the ecclesiastical judgments of the Judicial Committee, and to understand the principles to which they have adhered in interpreting the law of the Church, can fail to be struck with the breadth and impartiality of their decisions. And no one of any authority has attempted to maintain that those principles are not in accordance with law, or that any others could be substituted for them better calculated to preserve the spiritual and temporal rights of her Majesty's subjects, whether clerical or lay.

(II.) *Methods of making the decrees of the ecclesiastical courts more effectual.*

This part of the subject is now reduced to a mere question of procedure, for so far as the decrees of the ecclesiastical court can be regarded as wanting in efficacy by reason of want of proper respect for

the courts which pronounce them, the defect is only to be remedied by a change in the constitution of the courts themselves, the propriety of which has been already considered. The power of enforcing their orders when anything remains to be done by a party to any proceeding is regulated by statutes of George III. and William IV. The court pronounces the individual who has failed to obey its orders in contempt, and afterwards signifies such contempt to the Court of Chancery, whereupon a writ *de contumace capiendo* issues, and the offender is committed to prison, just as he would be for contempt in disobeying the order of the Court of Chancery itself. Now (to adopt the words of the general Report of the commissioners of 1830): "It appears wholly inconsistent with any sound principles of jurisprudence that exclusive right of adjudication on certain subjects should be vested in any court, and yet that court be left without the means of carrying its decrees and orders into effect." There is no more reason now than there was in 1832 to expect that if the power of attachment was given to the provincial courts, or even to the diocesan courts, it would not be discreetly exercised; and it would seem, therefore, to be one great step towards rendering their decrees more effectual that the ecclesiastical courts should themselves have full power of enforcing their own decrees, and so be relieved from the necessity of seeking the assistance of the civil courts.

The Public Worship Regulation Act contains special provision for enforcing obedience; but the general power to commit for disobedience is also applicable in cases under that Act. The general power has accordingly been put in force lately, when clergymen have conscientiously persuaded themselves that disobedience to the decree of the Provincial court in a proceeding under the Public Worship Regulation Act was a matter of moral obligation. Imprisonment, however, cannot be regarded as an appropriate punishment for persistent disobedience on the part of a clergyman; and recent experience has shown it to be not only ineffectual for bringing about obedience, but positively mischievous in fostering the delusion amongst the ignorant that the imprisonment constitutes martyrdom for conscience' sake.

If a clergyman feels that he can neither conscientiously continue to obey the duly constituted authorities of the society by whose rules he has undertaken to abide (even pending the reconsideration of those rules, with a view to their possible reformation), nor conscientiously retire from the position which he holds by virtue of his undertaking, the law should relieve him from his dilemma. This should not be done by prolonging his imprisonment, with a view to enforce an obedience which the law cannot ensure, but by removing him, after reasonable warning, from the position where his obedience is required.

An amendment of the law, calculated to meet the difficulty, has been already suggested by a very high authority of unquestionable loyalty to the Church, viz.: that the disobedient clerk should be made liable upon a repetition of his offence to be at once deprived of his ecclesiastical preferment. There would be no novelty in this, the particular case of a second offence of departing from the prescribed ritual of the Church, as the same penalty was imposed by the old statute of Elizabeth, in addition to a year's imprisonment.

In conclusion, it is consoling to reflect that the Commission recently appointed will have (what the ordinary observer has not) the necessary

materials for ascertaining the causes and extent of the alleged dissatisfaction with the constitution and working of the ecclesiastical courts. Everyone who has a grievance in connection with the subject, will have an opportunity of stating it dispassionately, and of having it deliberately considered by those who are eminently qualified to judge of its weight.

In the result, it may be shown that the alleged dissatisfaction is so well-grounded in character, and so wide-spread in extent, as to bring us "within measurable distance of" a deplorable rupture, and therefore to call for the prompt action of the legislature in remodelling the courts. It may be, on the other hand, that the alleged dissatisfaction is not shared by the great body of either the clergy or the laity of the Church of England, but is felt only by a comparatively small number of devoted and pious members, who are not so much aggrieved by the general constitution of any of the courts, as by some recent judgments on points of ritual, which they cannot reconcile with the interpretation their own studies have led them to put on certain expressions in the formularies of the Church. In either case, it is certain that whatever changes may be recommended will be conceived in a desire to advance the true interests of the Church at large, laity as well as clergy, without undue regard to the predilections of any particular theological party.

The Hon. C. L. WOOD.

THE charge that is made against the existing courts having cognisance of spiritual matters is this: that, being supposed to represent the authority of the episcopate, they, in fact, at the present time, represent only the authority of the Crown.

I need scarcely point out how serious a charge this is in the eyes of those who believe that the Church is a kingdom ruled by its King through the instrumentality of an episcopate, connected by an unbroken chain with the Apostolic college, and thus deriving its commission from God Himself.

First, then, to test the truth of the charge itself, by a reference to the admissions of the ecclesiastical courts themselves, by the precedents which govern their decisions, by the relations which exist between the judges who sit in them and the episcopate whose authority they are supposed to represent, and the nature of the cases adjudicated upon in them.

I will confine myself to the two provincial courts, for in the state of suspended animation which at present marks the condition of the diocesan courts, it is not necessary to deal with them. Is it denied that the decisions of the judges of the provincial courts of Canterbury and York—who by the Public Worship Regulation Act are amalgamated into one, in the person of Lord Penzance—are controlled and regulated by the decisions of the Court of Final Appeal? Assuredly not. Lord Penzance is free to decide as he may believe to be right in all matters not hitherto adjudicated upon by the Judicial Committee, but where that body has once decided, his functions are limited to the duty of giving effect to its decisions. Proof that this is an accurate statement is supplied by the fact of Mr. Green's imprisonment, who has now been shut up for more than six months in Lancaster Castle for complying

with those decisions of the late Dean of the Arches which, in obedience to the Judicial Committee, Lord Penzance has been obliged to treat as reversed.

I pass on to the relations which exist between the judge of the provincial court of Canterbury and York and the archbishops in whose name and by whose authority he is supposed to sit. Here I find that the judge, though tied and bound by the chain of Privy Council decisions, is so little the real representative of the prelates for whom he acts, that an archbishop may not only disclaim all responsibility for his decisions, but on more than one occasion has assisted to reverse on an appeal the decision of his own representative.

To give instances: the judge of the provincial court of Canterbury decided against Mr. Gorham, the late Archbishop of Canterbury for him. Sir Robert Phillimore pronounced in favour of the vestments, the present Archbishop of Canterbury against them. The *significavit* for Mr. Green's imprisonment is issued by a judge who is supposed to sit under the delegated authority of the Archbishop of York, yet the Archbishop of York can say that he has nothing to do with, and is powerless in, the matter.

It is no doubt true that each archbishop, up to within the last few years, had at least the power of appointing his own official principal; but even this right, like so many others, is in course of being taken away, for under the Public Worship Regulation Act, if the archbishops do not agree as to the appointment, advantage is taken of the fact to throw the nomination into the hands of the Crown. In view of these facts no one, I think, will assert that the existing official principal of Canterbury and York in any real sense represents the two metropolitans, or dispute the truth of a recent statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury in regard to the relations of the Privy Council to the provincial courts of Canterbury and York, "That whatever court lays down the law in the last instance must have the real management and control of the whole of the matters brought before it." It only remains to show the spiritual nature of the causes decided by the Privy Council to prove that the real management and control of spiritual matters has fallen into the hands of the Judicial Committee; and if, in addition to this, it has to be confessed that the Judicial Committee possesses no authority whatever except what it derives from the Crown, and is moreover composed of persons who, with one single exception, are not necessarily even Christians, then I submit the charge against the existing ecclesiastical courts is proved to demonstration, and that, by whatever ecclesiastical names they may be decorated, they represent only the authority of the State, and not that of the Church. Unfortunately, such proof is only too easy. The Judicial Committee has pronounced upon the doctrine of the Incarnation in the case of Mr. Voysey. It has discussed the means by which that Incarnation is extended to us, when it gave decisions upon the two great Sacraments of the Gospel in the case of Mr. Gorham and Mr. Bennett. It has inquired into the inspiration of Holy Scripture and the "life of the world to come," in the case of "Essays and Reviews." It has claimed the power of the keys, when, in the case of "Jenkins v. Cook," it ordered a man to be restored to communion. It has suspended clergy from the exercise of their sacred functions—not merely ordering them to desist from this or that practice, but to desist from the office and work of a priest altogether—as in the

case of Mr. Mackonochie ; and it has adjudicated upon the manner in which the Sacraments of Christ shall be ministered and received, as in the numerous ritual cases of the last few years.

What could it have done more if, instead of being a court of lawyers appointed by the Crown, it had been a synod of bishops ? and if, in order to avoid the conclusions which flow from such facts, it is sought to mitigate their force by asserting that the Privy Council does not make the law of the Church, but only interprets it, I will call as a witness, to show how fallacious such a distinction is, one who speaks with all the authority of his high position. In a preface to a volume dealing with the appellate jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee in spiritual matters, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in discussing a proposal by which all matters affecting doctrine should be referred by that body to a committee of bishops, declares that, "It would be hazardous to allow small bodies of ecclesiastics or laymen virtually to impose fresh articles of faith, and thus continually to be modifying the meaning of written documents. A reference to another body outside the Judicial Committee would be," the Archbishop goes on to say, "to concede to that body a power equivalent to that of making new laws." But are we not justified in asking, Why, if a reference to a body outside the Judicial Committee is in effect to concede to that body a power of making new laws, to invest them with virtually the power of imposing new articles of faith, and to subject the Church's "written law," as the Archbishop says in another place, "to the chance of being superseded by the rescript of a committee," the same thing is not equally true of a reference to the Judicial Committee itself ? I submit that the case is the same in both instances, and that it is impossible to deny, on the Archbishop's own showing, that the authority claimed by the Judicial Committee practically enables it "to override the written law of the Church, virtually to impose new articles of faith," and thus, in regard to all the courts subject to its jurisdiction, practically, and to all intents and purposes, to substitute the authority of the Crown for that of the episcopate in the determination of spiritual matters. I pass on to some of the excuses that are made to justify a state of things so damaging to the Church.

The determination of spiritual causes by lawyers appointed by the Crown is said to be justified by the statute of Henry VIII. (37 Henry VIII. c. 17), permitting Doctors of Civil Laws, being married persons, to execute ecclesiastical jurisdiction, from which it is argued that the Crown can appoint whom it likes to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whereas the real object of the statutes would appear to be merely to remove any doubts as to the validity of the acts of married chancellors, just as, under the similar Act in regard to dispensations (28 Henry VIII. c. 28), it is provided that all children born of marriages celebrated under certain dispensations granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury are to be accounted legitimate and able to inherit, any foreign laws and canons to the contrary notwithstanding.

So with respect to the contention that the legislation of Henry VIII. cutting off appeals to Rome, justifies the transference from the spirituality to the Crown of the final determination of matters which touch the doctrine and worship of the Church. It has been overlooked that even if the words of the Statutes of Appeal upon a fair construction could be held to justify such a conclusion, there is no evidence to show that the courts from which the appeal was given to the Crown in Chancery,

were themselves in the habit of deciding what we should now call spiritual cases.

I am exceedingly desirous not to overstate the case; but I will venture to predict, with some confidence, that, though it might be rash to say those courts could not have entertained a case touching the faith and sacraments of the Church, as a matter of fact there is no evidence to show that they did do so, but that, on the contrary, so far as there is any record of such cases at all up to 1533, the evidence all goes to prove that they were dealt with in an entirely different way—viz., by the bishop personally, or in synod, or in the last resort by the archbishop, sitting in the Convocation of his province.

In confirmation of this, it may be worth while to mention that at the time of Henry's legislation there is, I believe, no trace of any appeals being carried to Rome from the ecclesiastical courts, except in regard to matrimonial suits, questions of tithes, obventions, fees, faculties, etc., which are precisely the matters enumerated in the Act of Henry cutting off appeals to Rome; that such cases of heresy of which there is record were finally adjudicated upon in Convocation—facts which all harmonise with the subsequent declaration prefixed to the Articles, that if any difference arises, the clergy in their Convocation are to have licence to settle it; and coincide, moreover, with the actual practice of the Court of Delegates, which, during the three hundred years of its existence, cannot with truth be said to have ever decided a spiritual case as we understand the term. The Parliamentary return of the cases heard by the delegates admits that there are only seven of them "which can be shown even remotely to have involved any question of doctrine." How very remote that connection is will be seen by a reference to them.

The first case is that of William Woodard, A.D. 1663. The charges against him were that he had used profane and blasphemous speeches against the Lord's Prayer. That he declared that he had attained such perfection he could not sin, and that one William Francklin, a rope-maker, was Christ the Saviour.

The second case is that of Theophilus Hart, A.D. 1668. The charge here was of adultery and incontinence, the promoter also alleging the fact of Hart's suspension by his ordinary for disaffection to the Church of England. No sentence was, however, pronounced.

The third case is that of a clerk of the name of Davies, and turned upon a sentence of sequestration in the Arches Court for having allowed his vicarage to fall out of repair, of having spoken against William and Mary, and of having neglected to read the Thirty-nine Articles within two months of his induction.

The fourth case is that of one David Jones, accused of brawling, and of declaring that the Book of Common Prayer was good for nothing, and people might as well read it at home as come to church.

The fifth case is that of Whiston, a doctrinal case, but in which the jurisdiction of the court was disputed, and in which no final sentence was pronounced.

The sixth case is that of "*Peirson v. Gell*," which turned upon the necessity for a faculty for a window in St. Margaret's, Westminster.

The seventh case, that of a clerk of the name of Evanson, which, so far as the Arches Court and the Court of Delegates are concerned, chiefly related to the technical point whether in the Consistory Courts

the citation agreed with the articles charged. The appeal on the merits was never heard.

It is upon the strength of these cases that the claim of the Court of Delegates ever to have heard appeals in doctrinal cases rests, and I venture to say they do not sustain it. Explain the fact as you will, it remains a fact that the Court of Delegates never did decide a doctrinal case, and that the Judicial Committee must look elsewhere than to the practice of the court constituted under the Statute of Appeals, if it is to justify its claim to adjudicate upon matters touching the faith and worship of the Church.

There is yet another circumstance, which goes far to prove the weakness of the claim to appellate jurisdiction in spiritual matters urged on behalf of the Crown, and that is the contradictory arguments by which it is supported. On one side it is said that the jurisdiction of the Church of England is lodged in the Crown and its advisers, that the union of Church and State depends upon it, and that freedom from the Privy Council is to be obtained only at the price of separation. On the other, it is asserted that the control exercised by the Privy Council over the Church does not differ in kind from the control which the civil courts must necessarily exercise over all religious bodies possessed of property, whether established or disestablished. Both these positions cannot be true together, and if history, as I believe, disproves the first, experience disproves the second. We do not, as a matter of fact, find the State courts determining the doctrine and worship of the Roman Church or of the Wesleyan Methodists.

In truth, there is one, and only one, valid excuse which can be made for our relations as a Church to the Privy Council, and that is the fact that we have drifted into them. They have been the result not of any one act upon which you can lay your finger, but of a gradual development, for which the deadness of the last century and the long-continued suppression of Convocation are largely responsible.

I pass on to the principles which must govern any satisfactory reform. They seem to me to be as clear as they are simple.

First, in some form or another, the government of the Church must rest with the Episcopate and the synods of the Church. For this purpose there is a general agreement that the diocesan courts, archidiaconal and episcopal, should be revived.

In regard to the judicial functions of the bishop himself, the distinction which formerly obtained should be still regarded. Much of the more secular business that would come before him might well be settled by a chancellor, for whose decisions the bishop should feel himself to be responsible; spiritual matters touching the faith and worship of the Church being decided by the bishop in person, with the counsel and consent of a body of chosen presbyters representing the clergy of the diocese. In both cases there should be an appeal to the metropolitan; in regard to the more secular side of the bishop's jurisdiction to a properly constituted judge of the provincial court; in regard to matters of faith and the worship of the Church, to the archbishop and other bishops of the province in Convocation. In the latter class of cases, which, it is probable, would be of very rare occurrence, the decision of the metropolitan should be final; in the former, that is, in regard to those more secular matters concerning which an appeal lay to the

Court of Delegates, a similar appeal from the court of the province might be allowed to such a court as that suggested by the *Reformatio Legum*.

And here I desire to press how great the presumption is in favour of any scheme of reform which, under existing circumstances, does not necessitate the intervention of Parliament. Experience confirms every day the truth of those words of the present Prime Minister written to the late Bishop Wilberforce—"That there is no good to be got for the Church from Parliament; it must be developed from within." But such a reform as I have indicated might be carried out to-morrow by the simple action of the bishops, if they would agree to adopt it. The bishops have at present the power of veto on any prosecution, whether under the Church Discipline or the Public Worship Regulation Acts. Let them exercise that veto on any case touching the faith or worship of the Church that it is sought to bring before them. Then let the bishop, if the case is one which he thinks ought to go on, putting aside for the moment all notion of coercive authority, hear it himself in the manner suggested. From his decision let there be an appeal to the archbishop, who, with the other bishops of the province, should hear the case in the Upper House of the Convocation of his province, with such assessors from the Lower House as might be thought desirable. I can hardly conceive that any clerk would refuse compliance with the final decision of such a body; but, were he to do so, let the bishop to whom the original complaint had been made withdraw his veto on a prosecution, and let the clerk take his chance before the existing courts, which would thus only take cognisance of cases really previously heard and decided by the Church.

It will be objected, perhaps, that such a method for enforcing spiritual authority is clumsy and circuitous, and that after all it does nothing for the reform of the existing ecclesiastical courts.

The reply is, that such a scheme does relegate the final determination of spiritual matters to the episcopate, which is the really essential matter; and that, in regard to the existing ecclesiastical courts, the acknowledgment of their mere civil authority will be as effectual a remedy for existing evils as the revival of their spiritual jurisdiction, and a much easier matter to accomplish.

Two essential conditions, however, for acquiescence in the rulings of the episcopate, or of any courts, however reconstituted, remain to be stated. It must be made quite clear that such rulings represent the mind of the Church, and not that of the Privy Council. For this purpose it must be clearly laid down that all future rulings of bishops or courts are entirely untrammelled by the existing decisions of the Judicial Committee. I cannot too strongly insist upon this point.

To ask those who believe in the Divine right of the episcopate to the government of the Church to submit to episcopal decisions on the ground of that Divine right, when you tell them at the same time that those decisions are bound by the rulings of any secular court, is a mockery and a sham. A bishop, with his eyes fixed on the judgment-seat of Christ, conscious that to that Tribunal alone he is responsible, and that in regard to his decisions he is bound not by Acts of Parliament or the rulings of any secular tribunals, but by the principles and rules of that great spiritual society through which he derives all his

authority over the conscience, is, indeed, an object of the highest reverence, and great is the responsibility of those who disobey him; but for a bishop, who is the mere instrument for enforcing the decisions of a court to which the Church owes no allegiance, nothing can be claimed, and to him nothing will be given.

The second essential condition of obedience is that interpretations put upon the laws of the Church should be based on principles such as Churchmen can accept. There are two ways of viewing the Church of England. First, as a national institution, with formularies which derive all their authority from Acts of Parliament. Secondly, as a part of the Church Catholic, with a continuous existence from the earliest times, and with customs and laws handed down from them and in force now when not expressly altered. The first view has practically expressed itself in the recent decisions of the courts; the second is that which is entertained by the great mass of the clergy and laity. Believing, as they do, in the continuity of the Church and its law, it is impossible they can accept decisions, which in the interpretation of that law, instead of the ancient law of the Church, have regard solely to the words of an Act of Parliament and the rulings of secular courts. No means can be effectual for enforcing decisions based on such a principle. None need be objected to, if they are only set in motion by an authority and on behalf of a principle of interpretation the Church can recognise. To deplore Mr. Green's imprisonment on the ground that such a punishment is an unsuitable method for enforcing the decisions of an ecclesiastical tribunal is entirely to miss the real point at issue. It is not the means that have been employed to extort Mr. Green's submission that are the real cause of complaint. It is the claim of the courts which have procured his imprisonment to adjudicate in spiritual matters at all, which is the real ground of offence.

I beseech our rulers not to shut their eyes to this, which is the kernel of the whole question, till it is too late, or to suppose that by substituting deprivation for imprisonment all will be made smooth. Existing difficulties cannot be met by such superficial remedies. What is wanted is a frank recurrence to true and primitive principles in regard to the judicature of the Church. Attempts to justify the present appellate jurisdiction of the Crown by a reference to the arrangements alleged to have been made by the Reformation statutes, are worse than useless. Arrangements which may have been tolerable three hundred years ago, when the relations of the Sovereign to Parliament and of the Sovereign to the Church were entirely different, may be absolutely intolerable now.

How does it tend to settle present difficulties to prove that Henry VIII. and Elizabeth encroached upon the Church's rights? Make it clear to us that they did, and it will only be another reason for insisting that such encroachments shall continue no longer. Prove to us that the clergy of that day betrayed their trust: it will be but an additional reason for taking good care that we do not follow in their steps. We can accept the "supremacy" if it be the acknowledgment that within its own dominions the Crown is the source of coercive authority, and that such coercive power as the clergy possess for enforcing their spiritual authority is derived from the Crown. We are compelled to reject it if it is to be interpreted to mean, and that interpretation forced upon us, that the determination of spiritual causes is to be taken out of the hands

of the clergy and placed in the hands of any the Crown may see fit to appoint.

It is most important, in view of the Royal Commission now sitting, to inquire into the constitution of the ecclesiastical courts, that there should be no misunderstanding on this point.

It is impossible for those who profess the Catholic faith to recognise any arrangements which do not restore the determination of spiritual matters to the bishops and synods of the Church, neither can they acquiesce in a state of things such as the present, in which one section of the clergy is allowed with absolute impunity to act in defiance of all their most sacred obligations, boasting how far removed they are in doctrine and practice from the teaching of the Catholic Church, while another is suspended and deprived, on the motion of complainants whose own neglect of the Sacraments is so notorious that were it made the subject of complaint before an ecclesiastical court it would necessarily result in their excommunication.

The vindication of the liberties of the English Church was alleged by the Reformation statutes as a justification for the legislation of that period, but if it was well in the sixteenth century to acquiesce in the rupture of the external unity of Western Christendom for the sake of the liberties of the Church of England, it can hardly be well in the nineteenth to acquiesce in their surrender to a Sovereign whose attachment to the Church may be purely nominal, and to a Parliament composed of men of all creeds and none. It might have been prudent not to have raised the question; but it has been precipitated by the Public Worship Regulation Act, and having been raised it cannot be avoided. Dealt with as it has been of late, a catastrophe seems inevitable, for it requires no prophet to discern that the present strain upon the relations of Church and State cannot long continue. Dealt with it as it might be, and as I pray God may yet be the case, present troubles may after all prove to be only the necessary means for bringing about that restoration of godly discipline, the lack of which is the great weakness of the Church of England. Speaking of these troubles, the Archbishop of Canterbury has deliberately said "that if the diocesan and provincial assemblies of the Church had not fallen into disuse, it might have seemed a not unnatural course to refer to them disputed cases of breach of discipline and unsoundness of doctrine."

Now that the synodical system of the Church is in course of being revived, I would remind his Grace of those words, believing as I do from the bottom of my heart that they indicate the one true and only solution of our existing troubles.

ADDRESSES.

Sir WILLIAM WORSLEY, Bart.

My subject is as follows:—"The principles on which ecclesiastical courts should be constituted, and the methods by which their decisions can be made more effectual."

We must be guided as to the principles upon which Church courts should be constituted by historic and constitutional considerations, as well as by

existing circumstances. The methods by which their decisions can be made more effectual will, to some extent, develop themselves out of the previous investigation as to principles.

It is beyond my ability and quite beyond the time at one's disposal on this occasion, to make a careful survey of so large a matter as Church history. I must be content to state the conclusions at which I have arrived, together with some supporting evidence.

It appears, then, to me that

1. The Church is a Divinely constituted kingdom, with the commission of her King, the Lord Jesus Christ, to do His work among men.

2. That in virtue of this status as a kingdom, Christ's Church possesses certain inherent rights which may be stated, for the purposes of our inquiry, as follows :

(1.) The right of legislation.

(2.) The right of executive power to carry out her laws.

(3.) The right of judicial decision in regard thereto.

I think that these rights may be fairly claimed for the Church.

A stronger commission, one more weighted with Divine sanction, can hardly be conceived than that given by Jesus to his disciples, when He sent them forth even as the Father had sent Him forth.

The Church has worked all through her history upon this basis of Divinely constituted authority, and in an orderly method, with Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, Synods and Councils. It is quite true that the Church, having her work to do on earth and among men, has been brought into contact with the civil powers of empires and nations, and, where they were friendly, was ready to and did enter into relations with them for mutual support ; but there is no evidence that I know of to show that she ever surrendered to them authority in matters of faith or worship. The evidence rather goes to show that such matters were defined and regulated by Councils, Synods, and Bishops.

It is not easy to go farther back in the legal records of our country than the Council of Brasted, held near Sevenoaks, in Kent, by King Withred, in the year 696. In that, among the earliest of our recorded assemblies, was laid down the foundation of subsequent policy, both as regarded the enactment and execution of ecclesiastical laws—

“ Let the Church be free, and maintain her own judgments.”

In King Edgar's time, when Bishop and Alderman or Sheriff sat side by side in the County Court, “ the one was to interpret to the people the law of God, and the other the laws of man.”

By the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164, the Church's inherent rights were recognised, and these Constitutions were the formal declaration of English law at that time. They declare that the final resort for all ecclesiastical causes whatever was, within the realm, to the Archbishops' Courts ; and so the matter remained unchanged down to the year 1533.

In the year 1533, two changes were made by the great Statute of Appeals.

1. The Upper House of Convocation of each Province was substituted for the Archbishops' Courts for certain specified classes of causes, in case the matter hath, doth or shall touch the King, his heirs or successors.

2. The power of the Crown to permit an appeal to Rome, from the Archbishops' Courts was annihilated as regarded the same class of causes in an ordinary case. So that now the Archbishops' Courts, for all the causes specified by the Act, an appeal to Rome being forbidden, became absolutely final by statute unless they touched the King, in which case, as above said, they would be referred to the Upper House of the Convocation of that Province in which they arose.*

This great Statute of Appeals, moreover, recited “ that if any cause of the law Divine happened to come in question or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, interpreted and shewed by that part of the body politic called the spirituality, now usually called the English Church.”

* Joyce.

I am aware that the 25th Henry VIII., which constituted the Court of Delegates, made certain changes, but it is not clear that this Act ever received the sanction of Convocation, in which case it would lack the Church's authority.

There are, moreover, certain farther considerations which seem worth putting on record in connection with this statute, the 25th Henry VIII.

1. At the first institution of the appeal to the Crown in Chancery under it, it was probably intended that in cases of doctrine the cause, by Royal order, shall go either to a Provincial Synod or to three or four delegated Bishops.*

It is doubtful if spiritual questions strictly so called ever did go on appeal to Rome. It was rather questions touching matrimonial, testamentary, and temporal business which were so dealt with; heretics were quietly burnt at home, without needless delay, in the good old times, I believe.

2. The Court of Delegates sank into disuse during the tyrannical usurpations of the Star Chamber and High Commission.

3. After their annihilation, when the Court of Delegates was revived, from lapse of time the principles of its original constitution were forgotten.

4. That thus instances of doctrinal cases having been carried before it may be quoted.

5. But that these are so few, being only four at most, as under the conditions of the case to afford no valid precedent for a continuance of a like practice.

I will now for a moment refer to

1. The concluding passage of the introduction to the Prayer Book, showing that what is therein presented "hath been by the Convocations of both Provinces with great diligence examined and approved."

2. To the Royal Declaration before the Articles, given by and with the advice of the Bishops, and declaring that if any difference arose concerning injunctions, canons, and other constitutions whatsoever thereto belonging, the clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, leave being had under the Broad Seal so to do.

3. And finally, to the 37th Article itself, which recites that in attributing to the Crown the chief government, the spiritual functions touching the ministering of God's Word or of the Sacraments are expressly excluded.

I have now done with the evidence as to the Church's authority being historically and constitutionally recognised, and must consider the fact that she is in union with the State—an Established Church.

This is one of those existing circumstances to which I refer in the opening words of my speech.

It involves the claims of the State, in relation to Church affairs, and its coercive power.

The problem really before us is how to bring into harmonious action, in matters ecclesiastical, the spiritual judicature of the Church with the rights of the State.

At present all is chaos. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to which Parliament, without any sanction from the Church herself, allotted, by an after-thought, all ecclesiastical appeals, has failed owing to conflicting decisions and other reasons to conciliate public confidence.

Lord Penzance's Court has inherited whatever distrust belongs to the Court above.

1. It rests on Parliamentary sanction alone. The Church never agreed to the Public Worship Regulation Act.

2. Its judge is appointed in a different way from that in which the old Judge of Arches was appointed.

3. It blends two courts which were of appeal into a single court of first instance.

4. It has not shown any power to give peace to the Church. On the contrary, we have witnessed the painful spectacle of clergymen undergoing prolonged imprisonment in a common gaol rather than submit to decisions

* *Reformatio Legum.*

in spiritual matters, which they, at any rate, felt to be in conflict with the clear directions of the Prayer Book to which they were committed.

All this being so, and without entering upon the vexed question of who is absolutely right or wrong, which might kindle polemical bitterness in our discussion, I would venture to say that the present need is some fresh point of departure which may obtain general confidence as resting upon historic and constitutional principles.

Looking, then, for these principles as developed in the working machinery of the Church's system, we find

1. That the bishops had a Court—a Consistory Court—composed, in theory at any rate, of named presbyters from the Synod, and of legal experts.

I would here express a strong opinion in favor of Diocesan Synods being generally brought into use by our bishops. A bishop, acting with the advice and help of his presbyters, cannot fail to command an authority and obedience which he may lack if he relies upon his simple '*ipse dixit*.'

2. That the archbishops likewise had Provincial Courts of appeal, similarly composed from the dioceses comprised in their Provinces.

These courts, as it seems to me, should be rehabilitated and made inexpensive and practical, nor can I conceive that any great difficulty need arise in so doing.

I believe in nineteen out of twenty cases that these courts would be amply able to decide ecclesiastical causes with satisfaction to the parties concerned and for the welfare of the Church.

There remains, however, the final appeal of all to consider. It is, of course, possible that we might fall back upon the principles of the 24th of Henry VIII. and make the Archbishops' Courts final in all causes within the realm which do not touch the King; but more probably we shall require some court to take the place of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and Lord Penzance. The question will then at once arise, upon what lines shall such a court be constituted? I should indeed be bold were I to speak too confidently here; but without attempting to be infallible, I venture to make the following suggestions:

The court of Final Appeal in Ecclesiastical Causes should be a standing court, and not like the Court of Delegates *pro hac vice*.

It should be composed of persons named by the Crown, but these persons should be spiritual persons, *i.e.*, that the choice should lie among Archbishops, Bishops, and presbyters, in certain proportions from each province. It would probably be convenient that the Archbishops and the Bishop of London should be *ex officio* members. These spiritual persons should be aided by legal experts, also named by the Crown, and chosen if possible from those who act in the like capacity in the Diocesan and Provincial Courts.

I think such a plan as the one thus given in outline would, in a sufficiently satisfactory way, restore to the Church her inherent of judicature without neglecting the claim of the State, with which she is for the time being linked.

I must not, however, conclude without observing finally that the restoration of judicature is not by itself sufficient.

The legislative and judicial powers are always interwoven in every kingdom, and *must* co-exist. If not, you bind on the present the will of the past.

The Church in Convocation must have *ample time* and *free opportunity and power* allowed for legislative purposes in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical.

She must have power to declare her meaning where interpretations contrary thereto have been laid down.

Again, the officers of the Church, its Bishops and Archbishops, to whom so much is to be conceded and for whom so great and loyal an obedience is claimed, must, in consideration of the relation between the Church's inherent powers, judicial and executive, be the Church's own creation at least to a much greater extent than is now the case.

I would not, however, even here sever the link which joins her to the State,

but I cannot see why a Diocese, in Synod under the Dean, should not name three persons for a vacant See, of whom the Crown should select one; and why Archbishops should not be in like manner selected out of Bishops named by Convocation.

The judgments and authority of men so appointed would, I believe, carry conviction and command obedience, and so make peace by submission for Christ's sake to law capable of reform and well administered.

DISCUSSION.

Summary of Mr. DENNY URLIN'S Speech.

THE history of the past points conclusively to organic changes in the ecclesiastical system. It would be difficult to sketch out in a few words a plan of reform which would content the masses. It would, in my opinion, be enough to pass a Bill of two sections, one repealing the Public Worship Regulation Act, and the other copying the draft clause in the Irish Church Act, which gave that Church the power to frame a constitution and laws for herself. That is what I should like to see, but it is not what I shall see in my own time. What, however, are we likely to obtain? We are not likely, for instance, to obtain for the Church the benefit of complete self-government. Parliament will not forego its claim to interfere, yet Parliament may give its sanction to a well-devised measure of repeal and consolidation. Above all things, I should wish such a Bill to be carefully drawn, and to receive the assent of both Convocations. I do object to the affairs of the Church being settled in a private Government draughtsman's office in London. The Bill I propose ought to be submitted to the Church and receive the formal approval of the Convocations of both Provinces. It is necessary that the Church should devise her own system of discipline, and that her work should be so done as to command as well as deserve respect.

Summary of Mr. LEWIS DIBDIN'S Speech.

IN discussing this subject two grand principles ought to be kept in view—the supremacy of the Crown and the power of the Legislature. In such facts we shall find the reason for the peculiar constitution of the ultimate appeal in Church cases, whether to the King in Chancery, or to the King in Council. The law-makers of the Tudor period were not the coarse bunglers they are too often represented to be. In creating the appeal to the King in Chancery, they formed a Court which had the constitutional sanction of Parliament, and gave effect to the direct personal jurisdiction of the King 'to hear and determine all causes ecclesiastical.' Turning from what has been to what ought to be, I hold that these two principles which ran through the legislation of bygone ages ought to be still preserved. Few, I believe, desire to rid the Church of the Royal supremacy. If the Reformers were right, it has a higher origin than the will of man, and therefore cannot be abrogated. So long as the Church is established the authority of Parliament cannot be shaken off, and as to claiming new rights and privileges for Convocation in its present condition, I doubt the wisdom of such efforts and I despair of their success. Let us not rudely break through—at any rate, let us not thoughtlessly sweep away—a delicate constitutional adjustment by which different separate jurisdictions, which might easily cause trouble by their antagonism, have been made to work in harmony for more than three centuries. The third principle which, in my opinion, ought to have an influence in the constitution of the ecclesiastical courts, is that the power of the Crown and of Parliament should be so used as to

enable the Church to do her high and holy work as completely and as well as possible. We are often told that it is a part of the Constitution that the Church should have its rights. And so it is. But her highest right and her noblest duty is to bring the Gospel to the hearts and souls of men. The Constitution, therefore, demands that the powers, whether of the Crown or of the Legislature, shall be used so as to promote this end. That end, however, is not promoted but seriously hindered, if the Courts which should settle all differences are themselves the cause of discontent and dissension. I think, therefore, it is well worth while to consider whether there are not matters of detail which, in deference to the sentiments of many amongst us, might be altered without the sacrifice of either of the two great principles I have mentioned. I do not feel any pleasure in contemplating the revolutionary schemes brought before us this day, but there are one or two changes which might be adopted with probable advantage. The Court of Final Appeal might, for instance, be made exclusively a Church court. At present it also deals with colonial appeals. Again, I think the judges ought to be chosen exclusively from amongst members of the Church of England. Special knowledge of Ecclesiastical Law might be required of them, though where we are to find a body of ecclesiastical lawyers I know not. Some such modification, while it would not satisfy the heated spirits of many, would give to our children a Court of Final Appeal which, without departing from the grand old constitutional lines of the Reformation, may yet in calmer days command the respect and obedience of Churchmen generally.

THE NEWCASTLE BISHOPRIC FUND.

At this stage of the proceedings

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT said :

I WILL take this opportunity of calling upon the Bishop of Manchester to make an announcement which, though it has no reference to the question before the meeting, is one in which I myself take a deep interest.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.

It has been suggested to me, and I fell in at once with the suggestion as soon as it was made, that I should be the medium of communicating to this Congress a desire which is in my own heart, which your bishop presiding over us has deep in his heart, and which, I think, will be found to be deep in the heart of every loyal Churchman. In my sermon at the opening of this Congress, I ventured to express the hope which is felt that the bishop of the diocese would be enabled to make to us some definite announcement with regard to the endowment of the See of Newcastle. I had been led to hope, from rumours which had reached me, that the sum required for the endowment was completed ; but I am sorry to learn that there is still a deficiency of about £10,000. The suggestion which has been made to me, and which I venture to put before you, is that inasmuch as there are 3,500 members of this Congress it would be a gracious—it would be a worthy act if, before we separate, we could break in with more considerable force upon this deficiency—if every one of these 3,500 members would subscribe something according to their ability, and I do not think that I am exaggerating that ability at an average of one pound each. £3,500 would be a worthy commemoration of the visit of the Church Congress to Newcastle, and would, I think, almost open a new epoch in the history of the Church of England. Something has already been done. I have nothing more to say ; but I would mention that Archdeacon Watkins will read out some of the subscriptions that have been given or promised in this matter.

The Very Rev. ARCHDEACON WATKIN.

I WILL read out the following list of subscriptions :

	£	s.	d.
Offertory in Parish Church	224	0	0
Lord Tankerville	500	0	0
J. Hall, Esq. (second subscription)	500	0	0
Bishop of Manchester.	50	0	0
Mrs. Fraser	50	0	0
An unbeneficed Clergyman	5	0	0
Archdeacon of Ely	20	0	0
Mr. Beresford Hope	10	0	0
Lord Nelson	10	0	0
Mr J. G. Talbot	5	0	0
Archdeacon Thicknesse	5	0	0
Mr. Malcolm McColl	1	0	0
Sir Wm. Worsley	5	0	0
Rev. W. M. Ede	10	0	0
Mrs. W. M. Ede	10	0	0
Anonymous (a)	1	0	0
Mr. Ed. Lawrence	1	0	0
Rev. J. Ingham Brooke	10	0	0
In thankfulness for the extension of the Epis- cocate by the appointment of the Bishop of Bedford	2	2	0
Anonymous (b)	1	0	0
Dr. Eastwood	1	1	0
Rev. R. C. Billing	1	0	0
Commander Dawson, R.N.	1	0	0
Bishop Perry	5	5	0
Bishop Mitchinson	5	0	0
Bishop of Meath	5	0	0
Dean of Chester	2	0	0
Rev. D. Townsend	2	2	0
Baroness Burdett-Coutts	100	0	0
Mr. Burdett-Coutts	50	0	0
Rev. Mr. Archdall	2	2	0
Canon Gregory	10	0	0
Rev. T. W. Perry	1	0	0
Rev. E. H. Birley	1	0	0
Rev. C. D. Goldie	3	3	0
Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies	5	0	0
Rev. Chas. L. Dundas	1	0	0
Rev. H. Christopherson	5	0	0
Rev. J. J. M. Perry	1	1	0
Bishop of Liverpool	5	0	0
Mr. Denny Urlin	1	0	0
Rev. J. A. Atkinson	1	1	0
Rev. J. V. Porah	2	2	0
Rev. G. W. Kennion	1	0	0
Hon. and Rev. Canon Pelham	1	0	0
Mr. Christopher Bushell	50	0	0
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woodward	2	2	0
Mr. H. C. Richards	1	0	0
Rev. John James	2	0	0
Rev. Canon McNeile	1	0	0
Anonymous (c)	1	0	0
A Lady Friend to the Church	1	0	0
Rev. Edgar Jacob	1	0	0
Rev. H. Jackson	1	0	0
A Friend	0	2	6
Rev. J. Allen Wilson	1	0	0
Mrs. Allen Wilson	1	0	0
Rev. C. N. Whitfield	1	1	0
Rev. B. Wilson	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Rev. J. Clarke	1	1	0
Rev. John Erskine	1	1	0
Rev. G. Body	1	1	0
Rev. R. Woods	0	5	0
Rev. Canon Cundill (additional)	10	0	0
Rev. Hopper Williamson (additional)	50	0	0
Rev. W. H. Hoare	1	0	0
Rev. W. J. Mare	2	2	0
Rev. Chancellor Espin	1	0	0
Bishop of Carlyle	20	0	0
Rev. J. J. Twist	1	1	0
Miss Dewes	1	1	0
Rev. J. Irwin	2	2	0
Rev. W. Doyle	1	1	0
J.	0	10	0
Rev. H. Scott-Holland	10	0	0
Rev. Canon Pearson	5	0	0

All the banks of Newcastle are open, and subscriptions may be paid to me, at the Mansion House, during the Congress, or at Durham afterwards. The bishop asks me to say that copies of this subscription list, as soon as they are printed, will be available, and we hope that other names will be added to it.

The Rev. EDWARD MILLER (Rector of Bucknell, Oxon).

MY LORD BISHOP—Members of the Congress—It is, I apprehend, of the utmost possible importance that a reformation of the ecclesiastical courts should be made upon a sound and firm basis. Otherwise, dissatisfaction of a wide and deep character is sure to ensue, and we shall have back the old confusion.

I am quite aware that it is impossible in the few minutes allotted to me, to treat this large question fully—therefore, if you will allow me, I will make only two remarks. Both of them appear to me to be of the greatest importance, but I lay most stress upon the latter of the two.

First, then, I submit strongly that for any satisfactory reform we must abolish all useless legislation upon the ecclesiastical courts since the year 1832. This is no doubt a strong measure, but really nothing short of it will satisfy the needs of the case—and for this plain reason: when the great changes of this century swept down upon the Church, she was without her proper form of representation. Inasmuch as the spirituality had not a representation of the Convocations at the time when these changes were made, the Church did not assent, except through the bishops in Parliament, to the alterations then effected. They were accomplished by Parliament and the Crown. Consequently, the Public Worship Regulation Act and the Church Discipline Act, are really invalid, because upon the sole authority of the State, they override the ancient courts of the Church, which the church herself has never abrogated. And here I must demur to a statement made by the chancellor of this diocese in his learned paper, when he asserted, if I understood him rightly, that the ancient Courts of the Church do not possess the sanction of Statute Law. All the great institutions of the Church are anterior to those of the State. Parliament itself was constituted upon the pattern of the Church's Synods. The courts of the English Church are the courts of the Universal Church, introduced with the Church into this country, and rest upon Canon Law, which is recognised and established by Statute Law. The Judicial Committee Acts are also, I submit, invalid, because they interfere with the old mode of deciding cases on appeal in the Court of Delegates, which was established with the sanction of the Church. I know that the contrary opinion to this is entertained, but I maintain that the exercise of Royal jurisdiction through the delegates depended upon the submission of the clergy, which was given prior to the 25th

Henry VIII., and was embodied in that Act. Therefore I beg to urge confidently that you must abolish all these Acts, and revive the old courts of the Church, with whatever modern improvements in the procedure which are found desirable, if you would effect a satisfactory reform.

But, my lord, I despair of this matter being settled by any mere reference to law. And I cannot help thinking, and deploring, that in their zeal for reforming the courts, and in the thought of settling questions by law, Churchmen of the time are becoming far too much inclined to litigation. If I read St. Paul's epistles right, that was not the Apostle's doctrine. He thought that there was something far superior to legal measures. "The letter killeth : but the Spirit giveth life." For myself, I never love the legal profession so much as when I receive the advice from lawyers, "Have as little as possible to do with us." Now I find that we have on the one hand a law of the Church, expressed in Rubrics more than 200 years old, which cannot be altered, because the people of England, laity even more than clergy, will not allow that to be changed which was the product of more than a century of civil struggle and of much bloodshed. On the other hand, no one in the Church, whether clergyman, layman, or bishop, keeps this law entirely. To deal with this field of administration, or policy, which causes so much embarrassment to bishops and to the law courts, I would suggest that the old consensual jurisdiction of the Church should be restored,—which indeed has never been in abeyance, has lived even through the Public Worship Regulation Act, and have been vindicated amidst general acclamation by the diocesan under whom I have recently had the good fortune of coming to serve—the Bishop of Oxford. According to this ancient consensual jurisdiction a case would come before the Bishop and his council of presbyters—and here I regret to find that an adverse opinion has been expressed in a quarter which demands the respect of us all, that the clergy have nothing to do with such cases. I shall be ready at the proper occasion, which I believe will be offered here before long, to refute that opinion, unless I am mistaken, relying particularly upon a Canon of the early Church. The form in which the case would come before the tribunal would be, "Shall this case be referred to the Court or not?" I can hardly imagine a more delicate, difficult, or invidious question, in answering which surely the bishops would be glad to have the assistance of their learned presbyters. An appeal would lie to the archbishop and his comprovincial bishops.

If matters were settled not by contests in a court of law, but simply in a calm, quiet way, under the regulation of the bishops, assisted by those who are most looked up to in the Church, I think you would find an easy and an effectual way of adjusting differences, which would deliver us from what must be a source of extreme regret to all good men of all parties—the infliction of such a thing as imprisonment.

THE BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL.

WE have before us a very thorny subject. In fact, to use a common phrase, it is a burning subject. I am not going to trouble you much on matters of law. When I was appointed bishop I asked the advice of one of the oldest of the bishops on several points, and I remember the first piece of advice he gave me was that I should remember always that I was made a bishop, but I was not made a lawyer. I have always endeavoured to go upon that principle; in matters of law I turn to my excellent chancellor, and ask his opinion before I give an opinion of my own. I wanted to set myself clear upon one point. Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., on the previous day, made some general remarks about the bishops not keeping the law themselves. I should be glad to have a word in public with Mr. Beresford Hope on that subject. Mr. Hope's chief charge was that a great number of the bishops did not wear the cope upon certain public occasions. I have never worn the cope yet. I believe a considerable number of bishops do not wear copes. It was not a sacrificial garment, and I challenge anyone to say it is. That being the case, I have not the slightest objection to wear it—"wear

it," and "question,")—and if the Archbishop of York as head of the province, recommend his suffragans to wear it in future I shall do so, and wear a cope at once. What the pattern might be, I cannot tell. I do not intentionally break the law in that respect. I simply follow the custom other bishops follow. The Court of Final Appeal is the most important question after all. All ecclesiastical appeals come to that court sooner or later. What the Royal Commission may recommend I do not know, and I cannot say what the recommendation about the Court of Final Appeal may be. But I desire to raise a warning voice in the ears of those who desire to remove it, and ask them to take a practical commonsense view of the question. Where would you find a better constituted court than the present court? Let us look at two or three alternatives. Would you make a court of bishops the final court of appeal? If there is one point upon which the Church papers agree it is that there are some bishops who do not command any confidence at all. Would you make Convocation the final court of appeal? If there is any body needing reformation it is the Convocation of Canterbury. I consider York a great deal better than it. Would you make it a court consisting of certain picked divines? Who should pick them? Would it be the Premier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or of York? With whom is it to lie? If you look round all sides of the question, you will find it hard to find a court more wisely constituted than the present court is. No doubt the present Final Court of Appeal does not give satisfaction always. I do not like their decisions always; but I obey them. After all, the advocates of a purely clerical court ought to remember that if there is any one thing which we—the clergy present, bishops, priests, and deacons—do not possess, it is the faculty of a judicial mind. We may be capital fellows in the pulpit, but very bad upon the bench. We are always telling our own story, we are never contradicted, we are never picked to pieces, we are always stating our own party views, and we do not possess the judicial faculty such as the Final Court of Appeal ought to possess. There is nothing like calm, quiet men, laymen, trained in the law, accustomed to look at both sides of the question, to weigh the meaning of words and sentences, to examine old documents, and ascertain the intention and meaning of those who drew them up; there is nothing like a court composed of that kind of men to settle disputed questions which came before the Court of Final Appeal. There has been very little said to-day about a body of people in this country who are watching the proceedings of the present day with very great interest—the great body of the laity, who are as much the Church as the clergy. They are not an unreading or an unthinking people: they read, they think and consider, and if any one supposes the laity of the Church of England will ever allow the bishops and clergy alone to settle the disputed questions, I beg to say I differ from them entirely. I express a hope that no one will expect too much from the Royal Commission now sitting. I am afraid a large body of our friends believe the Commission will settle everything, that all things will go on smoothly after its report, and they will never hear of a dispute again. I believe nothing of the kind. It will not exceed its powers, and there will be a great many questions left behind which will have to be settled in the old-fashioned manner. It will never take away from the Crown its supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and will not allow the clergy alone to settle all disputed questions. I urge all churchmen to remember this, and not to lose their temper if the report of the Commission is not all they expect it to be. I have heard a muttering in some quarters that if the Royal Commission will not give the spirituality the whole management of the Church of England, the laity will then go in for disestablishment of the Church of England. I am glad such is not the case. I earnestly hope no one here, if the Royal Commission do not report what he likes, will go in for anything like a breach of the union of Church and State, and the consequent ruin of the Church of England. Depend upon it in no disestablished Church will you get more freedom than any have in the old Church. There is no pulpit more free than the pulpit of the Church of England. Let us not destroy the Church because we cannot agree upon small things, or pull it down by our internal dissensions.

The Rev. RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

I CAN hardly suppose there is anyone in this hall who, looking at the ecclesiastical procedure of the last few years, considers (whatever it may be in theory) that in working it has proved itself eminently satisfactory. Everyone, in authority and out of it, agrees that the practical working of the present system is open to improvement, and most people, I suppose, desire that the improvement, big or little, may as speedily as possible be effected. But there are degrees of dissatisfaction, and there are various modes of expressing it. The one point which I want to press upon those who are dissatisfied is this—the need of distinguishing clearly between what is practically possible, and what is, or may be, theoretically desirable. What we have to do is not to sit down now and write out a brand new constitution and system for the government and discipline of the Church of England, but to adapt to our present needs the system which has come down to us from the past. We have this morning had at least four perfectly new and perfectly distinct constitutions provided for us by those who have spoken, and more than one speaker has virtually stated that no other arrangement than that which he has laid down could possibly be accepted by conscientious English Churchmen. Now, I entreat you to look at this question as it practically stands, and to consider not merely “What we want,” but “What we can get.” The British House of Commons, whether we like it or dislike it, is a real thing, and it is not at all likely to let us forget its reality. And yet half the schemes one hears propounded are calmly put forward with as little reference to what Parliament is likely to say or think, as if no such body were in existence. The changes you want to effect (some of them, as I consider, most desirable) must, in the long run, either come before Parliament or not. If they are to come before Parliament, it is surely wise to consider whether they are such as have the remotest chance of obtaining Parliamentary sanction. If they are not to come before Parliament, it would be well that we should have some definite statement of how it is proposed, without Parliamentary sanction, to give them legal force. Nothing is simpler, with a few sheets of foolscap, than to frame a new scheme. But the practical problem—how to adapt the old system to new needs?—is another matter altogether. A Royal Commission, great in numbers and in strength, is trying to solve that problem now. The mischief is caused, as it seems to me, by men who have schemes to advocate, either of their own or some one else’s devising, coming forward with the calm assertion that unless this principle or that is conceded, no peace is possible or desirable. “We admit,” they say in effect, “that our plan has never been in operation in the Church of England, from Augustine’s days to our own; but it is the only right plan for all that, and the only one which, as Churchmen, we can loyally accept. Give us anything else, and we will resist it to the death.” Anyone who reads the “Church papers” is familiar nowadays with that kind of argument, and men are pledging themselves right and left to assent to no solution of this problem which does not embrace their own particular views. It is against this suicidal policy that I want, however humbly, to protest with all my might to-day. It is bad, because it tends to widen and stereotype needless divisions; bad, because it distorts the proportion between great things and small; bad, because it stirs up rancour where there is no cause for rancour; bad, lastly, because those in authority who are honestly trying to solve the problem are by these means being almost driven to despair.

The Rev. DR. HAYMAN.

WE have had much to endure—probably better men have had worse. The evils of which we complain, and which have culminated in the erection of a court, which I fear is a greater scandal than any case likely to come before it, sprung out of a neglect and desuetude which commenced early in the eighteenth century, and the evils of which cannot be expected to be undone in the course of a single generation. There

was never such a system of Church government intended as that which the political factions and ecclesiastical accidents of some centuries have now brought about in the Church of England. If motions are allowed, I would beg to move that no reconstruction of the courts ecclesiastical is likely to be satisfactory until efficient synodical action has been recovered by the clergy. It is not that I wish to constitute the clergy the sole or necessarily even the principal factor in the decisions, but it is that the clergy are primarily concerned in all the questions and matters which hardly perceptibly touch the consciences of any, yet touch the consciences of the clergy with a sharp edge and a heavy weight. The governing element of the civilized world is now opinion. In the Church it was so ages ago, and the simplest means existed for expressing it then. They are now virtually suppressed in the Church of England. For a bishop to stifle his synod and substitute his own voice *ex cathedra* for it, is to set up a virtually Papal system in every diocese. We have heard this morning a good deal about Tudor times; and the point of departure was made a statute of Henry VIII. A Tudor precedent fetched from the darkest days of tyranny and superstition was thought good enough for clerical matters to be governed by. But I refer now to a statute which was nearly wholly neglected—the 25th of Elizabeth; which proved that a corrective, not a directive, action was all that was claimed for the Crown, as was further shown in a pamphlet lately republished by the First Minister of the Crown. When told, as we have been this morning, that all courts emanate from the Crown, we can only say it is one of those legal fictions with which lawyers are wont to grease the wheels of the delicate machinery they administer. But the greatest mistake of all is the attempt to govern the Church by Privy Council lawyers. To take the Redesdale judgment, for instance: it was so largely compounded of mistakes as to matters of fact on plain matters of date and history, that I doubt whether for a long time there has been before the Church such a mass of error as that judgment.

ARCHDEACON EMERY.

THE meeting to-day augurs peace; the remembrance of what took place twenty-one years ago, ought to teach us peace and consideration one for another. Let us have peace with one another, and a little consideration. The archbishops and all the bishops wished to meet the difficulty and we must be patient. God grant the difficulty may soon be over, and that this Royal Commission, and what proceeds from it, may put us in peace, and enable this great Church of England to go forward in the Master's work in peace and love.

ARCHDEACON WATKINS.

I have further to announce that I have received further contributions for the Newcastle Bishopric Fund, including one from Bishop Perry for £5 5s.; Bishop Mitchinson, £5; the Dean of Chester, £2; the Rev. Dr. Townsend, £1 1s.; and £100 from a lady on the platform, who has done something to found more than one bishopric—Baroness-Burdett-Coutts and Mr. Burdett-Coutts, £50; the Rev. H. Archdall, £2 2s.; Canon Gregory, £10, etc.

The sitting then concluded with a hymn and the Episcopal Benediction.

TOWN HALL, THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

OCTOBER 6, 1881.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 o'clock.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION
AS BEARING ON QUESTIONS OF THE PRESENT
DAY.

PAPERS.

The Rev. Dr. BOULTBEE.

MOST happily the wording of our subject frees us from those personal considerations which excite opposing sentiments, prejudices, or passions. The personal characters and motives of the contending statesmen and divines of the Reformation period are seldom canvassed without heat and animosity, even now, after the lapse of three centuries. It seems to be fancied that condemning the moral character of the leaders of either side is equivalent to a condemnation of that side. Surely nothing can be more unphilosophical, or more untrue to history or to Scripture. "A revolution is not made with rose-water," nor are the authors and agents in great providential arrangements often very clean-handed. The Reformation does not stand on the personal character and motives of Henry VIII., Cranmer, and Somerset. The mediæval system does not rest on the shoulders of Gardiner, Fisher, and Cardinal Pole. These are but men, acting under the compound influences which at all times rule human conduct. We are now asked to investigate the *principles* which were really at stake, and which doubtless were often dimly discerned by some men whose names are prominent in the annals of those stormy times.

What sort of thing are we looking for when we search for a *principle* in such great historical movements? We must look, as it seems to me, for a ruling idea from which the main results of that movement may be seen to follow. It must be like the leading axioms and definitions in Euclid, or like the leading problem or proposition as distinguished from any corollary which results from it. The corollary will be just as true as the main proposition, and it may be of equal importance. It may become, in its turn, a leading principle of something else. But it is not first in time, rank, or logical order.

Now can we, historically, discern any such root principles in the English Reformation? I think we can, most distinctly. Not often have the English people clearly discerned, so as sharply to formulate, their leading idea, as they did in the abolition of slavery, or the establishment of free trade. Generally they have been content with some compromise, rough and incomplete to the philosophical eye, but such as they can best endure. We may trace much of this compromise, but we may also trace distinct principles which were not suffered to be compromised, in

that most characteristic national movement, the English Reformation—characteristic in its incompleteness, characteristic in its vigorous distinctiveness.

One principle meets us at the very commencement of the movement which dominated the whole. It is this: the assertion of national independence and national completeness in the most absolute sense; the determination that English law, English judges, were and should be sufficient for all Englishmen, clerical as well as lay—that the mediæval Papacy was a usurpation, and the rights of the Pope in this island absolutely nil. I have not space to dilate on the growth of this sentiment from the days of the Conquest onward for five hundred years; nor upon its checks and vicissitudes. But when Henry VIII., baffled by Charles V. in his efforts to win his cause from the Pope, fell back upon his Parliament, it was no unknown passion in the English mind to which he appealed, when he proclaimed national independence as his watchword. As then formulated, it took the strong monarchical form of definition to which our forefathers were accustomed. The proud language of the Statute of 1533 ran thus: "The Crown of England is imperial, and the nation a complete body within itself, with a full power to give justice in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal, to all manner of folk, without restraint or appeal to any foreign prince or potentate."

As in other human movements, so in this, the haughty insular language of the statute partly reflected and partly created the intense sentiment of national independence which has since ruled all English policy in Church and State. From this principle flowed the series of statutes on which for more than three centuries our ecclesiastical arrangements have rested. The act of submission of the clergy—the jurisdiction of the Crown in ecclesiastical causes—the mode of appointing bishops—these and all the rest resulted from the doctrine of national independence as it was then understood or could be carried into effect. Foreign subjection was gone. The alternative of independent Church authority binding Englishmen by law or judgment, without king or nation having a voice, was equally rejected.

It may be that some details of Church and State connection may require readjustment to meet modern necessities. But of this I am sure. No English Parliament of Victoria, any more than of Elizabeth, will permit this fundamental principle of the Reformation to be touched. Sects of narrower dimensions may within certain limits regulate their own conditions. A great national Church must reflect the national will, or else resign or be deprived of its proud claim. Those who would carry any reform of our procedures or arrangements must show that their changes are still built on this Reformation principle. Failing this, they will either waste their efforts, or disestablishment with all its portentous consequences must be accepted.

The second principle of the Reformation speedily received distinct enunciation, and rallied men like a clear trumpet call.

When the cables were cut which bound the Church of England to the Roman shore, Henry intended to allow no drift of doctrine, and by the methods of that age strove to prevent it. But the drift began nevertheless, and went on as men were allowed to read the Bible. Twenty years had not passed when the Sixth of the present Thirty-nine Articles decreed that whatsoever was not read in, or proved by, Holy Scripture was not

to be required of any man as a matter of faith, or as requisite to salvation. That sheet anchor brought up the Church of England, and stopped the drift of doctrine. Whatever storms have come, by that anchor she has been riding ever since. If this be not a "principle of the Reformation" in the strictest sense, I know not what is. The 8th Article accepts the Creeds because they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture. The 21st Article declares that General Councils may err and have erred, even in things pertaining to God. *Hence the absolute authority of Holy Scripture in all matters of faith and salvation* is the second great principle of the Reformation. Means of arriving at a sound interpretation of Holy Scripture, the deference paid by our best divines to ancient authorities, and the earliest settlement of great doctrines, is another thing. It is traceable in all Reformation writings, but it cannot be formulated into an unswerving principle which will work right through. When you examine the Tridentine counter-statement that Scripture shall not be interpreted except by the unanimous consent of the holy fathers, and you simply test this by their divergent comments on the critical text, "Thou art Peter," you find the unanimous consent a mere phantom of the mist. Some, startled by extreme divergences of doctrine, have been ready to fall into despair about our own condition, and to condemn this second Reformation principle as a failure.

But I ask you to look through the grand series of English theology since the Reformation. There are many divergences, enough to create "schools of thought," and to cause hot discussion. But this central principle, towards which they all gravitate, has held them together. In the end the central authority of Holy Scripture lops off excrescences, corrects exaggerations, fills up deficiencies. So long as we maintain this principle it is not possible for our Church to admit anything akin to those monstrous developments of our own age in Papal doctrine—the Immaculate Conception, and Papal Infallibility. These and the like may arise from shifting standards. They are rebuked by the fixed rule of the divine authority of the written Word. The perpetual study of Holy Scripture acts as a constant corrective to all drifts of doctrine. I know no principle which has been so fruitful for centuries past, nor any which may be so fully trusted for present or future exigencies. There is none so rooted in the hearts and consciences of Englishmen—aye, even of those in whom its authority may have been of late somewhat shaken. And so for "questions of the present day," we have not to look at the temporary popularity of some line of doctrine or practice, but to the perpetual return to that middle line of Holy Scripture which generation after generation has already witnessed.

Can we discover a third principle, underlying the process of recasting the ecclesiastical system and religious formularies in Reformation times? Certainly a strong conservatism prevailed, and a strong assertion of authority bridling individual caprices. But did the compilers of the Prayer-book proceed on the principle of the sacredness and inviolability of the old in all or any of its parts, or only on the expediency of a conservative handling of what was ancient and familiar? I must answer in the words of the Prayer-book: "These which remain, are retained for a discipline and order which (upon just cause) may be altered and changed, and therefore are not to be esteemed equal to God's law."

They further avow that every country possesses like liberty of change. They acted upon these views by fraternal intercourse with foreign Churches which retained none of these formularies. I take it, therefore, to be a clear "principle of the English Reformation" that formularies and discipline are open to review and to change, however venerable their antiquity; that ancient ecclesiastical usage possesses no quasi-divine authority, but must bend to "the edification of the people."

I must honestly add that this Reformation principle did not exempt even the Episcopal organisation of the Church. It was pronounced to be of primitive antiquity, but was not held to be indispensable. There is not space to illustrate this certain fact which meets us at every turn in the sixteenth century. Even in the next century Archbishop Laud himself denied Episcopal succession (however dearly valued) to be of the essence of the Church. These three, then, I propose as fundamental principles from which, as corollaries, have flowed subsequent doctrine and practice. The code of doctrine in the Thirty-nine Articles results from that which is read in or proved by Holy Scripture. And let me note that those Thirty-nine Articles unite English theological opinion far beyond the limits of our own communion. Their doctrinal series is accepted by the Wesleyans, and for the most part by the Congregationalists, when not affected by modern antipathy to dogma. The Scottish Presbyterian gives it a hearty fraternal welcome. This code of doctrine is, therefore, a rallying-point for Biblical Christianity. Men may exceed it or fall short of it, but it is the condition for admission to benefices in our Church, and is a marvellous witness to persistence in the truth. It is a dogmatic foundation upon which Englishmen meet, and which the vast majority of them more or less distinctly acknowledge. Once touch that foundation, and they will more than ask what claim we have to be the Church of England. Here, then, are Reformation principles, or deductions from them, vital in settling questions of the present day. There is not space for more. But we may note in passing that toleration was practised by no party, and approved by none in that age. Nevertheless it is a true corollary to the supremacy of Holy Scripture, and therefore it was that in due time it became an acknowledged principle of almost universal sway.

The cause of Church Order, and the eternal verities of divine doctrine, stand in no peril from the occasional oscillations of human opinion as long as principles remain untouched.

The idea of national sovereignty has changed since the Reformation days. The popular will then bowed, for the most part, to the sovereign's will, and desired little further. Now the sovereign recognises and represents the national will. But these three "principles of the Reformation" are deeply rooted in the English mind. The Church which shall hold the affections of the people must represent those principles. It must be distinctly national; not affecting a haughty independence, which our forefathers could not brook. It must be distinctly Biblical, claiming to rest doctrine, precept, order, on the Word of God Himself, and, by consequence, above all things, deeply learned in that Word. It must be liberal in its estimation of other Christian communities and other Christian organisations. It must not be lax in its own order and administration. Walking in these paths, it will follow the principles of the Reformation. Different men, different manners, but not different principles. It was not given me to discuss details, but to discover principles.

Mr. JAS. PARKER.

THE different opinions held by various writers upon the principles of the Reformation may practically be classed under two general heads. On the one hand, there are those who contend that the English Reformation is properly represented in the settlement effected by the English Reformers; and on the other, there are those who look upon what our own Reformers did in the early years of the reign of Edward VI. but as paving the way to a more perfect Reformation which should follow, and that this perfection of the Reformation was accomplished partially in the later years of Edward VI.'s reign, but more fully in the reign of Elizabeth, when the influence of the Continental Reformers was brought to bear upon this country.

Moreover, there are certain incidents in the history of the Reformation to which I must first refer; these are often mistaken for its leading principles, but they are only historical landmarks. Such are the translation of the Scriptures into English by Wickliffe in Edward III.'s reign, and the two Acts of Parliament in the 25th year of Henry VIII.'s reign, repudiating further payment of Annates and Peter-pence, and virtually overthrowing all jurisdiction of the Pope in this realm. Yet one had been accomplished nearly two hundred years before the other, and the darkest period perhaps of our Church history had intervened.

No doubt the exactions of Rome pressed heavily then (and certainly they were at times resisted);* and no doubt many cried out against Rome, and prayed in a vague way for a deliverance from the tyranny so frequently exercised, and the corruption which ensued; but this was not because of the Scriptures being rendered accessible to a few more than had been the case formerly. In Henry II.'s reign, long before the project of translating the Scriptures had been entertained, and when to be a scholar at all and to read, was to know Latin; and when, therefore, no one would have thought of translating the Scriptures, a Canon of Salisbury and St. Paul's could sing of the Court of Rome:

‘Cardinales, ut prædixi,
Novo jure Crucifixi
Vendunt patrimonium.
Foris Petrus : intus Nero :
Intus lupi, foris vero
Sicut agni ovium,’

amidst more than a hundred lines of the same import.† But neither this Canon nor his contemporaries saw any help to be derived from translating the Scriptures; nor, on the other hand, did Wickliffe look to the abolition of the Supremacy as a necessary consequence of, or indeed natural accompaniment to, reading the Scriptures.

And again, we must bear in mind that it is to Henry's personal interest and strong will that we must look for the origin and success of the Bill for abolishing the payment of Papal dues, not to his interest in the translation of the Scriptures, or in the work of the Reformers.

* *E.g.*, in 1365, when Pope Urban V. demands tribute, John Wickliffe, amongst others, appears as inveighing against it.

† Walter Mapes. He appears to have succeeded to the Archdeaconry of Oxford in 1197.

Only a few years previously he had himself written a vigorous book against Luther's doctrines, a copy of which, richly bound in silk, being presented to the Pope, his Holiness declared to be "a certain admirable doctrine, sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace," and on account of which Henry obtained from the pen of the infallible the glorious title of "Defender of the Faith."

What brought about the release of this country from the Papal yoke was no conversion of the King to the new doctrines of the Reformation; it was the conduct of the Pope with regard to the King's marriage, conduct enough to anger a more patient man than Henry. He had appealed to Rome to declare the law of the Church as regards his marriage with his brother's wife. The Pope and his advisers—that is, the Court of the Vatican—based their judgment on 'policy' instead of 'law,' and Henry saw through it. And then the blow fell. Wolsey was the first to suffer from it; and in the next year but one the two Acts of Parliament, virtually abolishing the jurisdiction of the Pope in all courts and causes of the realm, became law. This, then, can scarcely be called a principle of the Reformation.

Again, much stress is often laid upon the dissolution of the monasteries. We must remember that one of the difficulties with which Reformers, both before and after Henry's reign, had to contend, was the ignorance under which a large portion of the clergy lay. The rise of learning in the previous century had called forth inventive genius to multiply books more rapidly than by writing, and the printing-press had, to a great extent, re-acted upon learning, and given it a still greater impulse. And the blunder, or indeed crime of the monasteries, was their not awakening to the movement, and throwing themselves into it. The explanation probably is, that the Roman system so tied their hands that they were not free to act without orders from headquarters, and Italy was behind England; so the opportunity was lost. But we must not lose sight of one incident, namely, that Wolsey had in this matter shown foresight. He, from his position, saw the needs of the time, and had already, the year before his fall, obtained a license from Rome to dissolve several monasteries, and with the emoluments to found and endow colleges. It was but the beginning of a great scheme, nominally to turn monasteries into colleges, virtually to reform them; and this he hoped to carry out, partly by influence, partly by expenditure of money, partly, perhaps, by exercise of royal or parliamentary power, but mainly by the example of the great college which he planned at Oxford. It would have been then an incalculable benefit to the Church to have adopted a collegiate system, to the supply, first of all, of a learned clergy throughout the country, in the place of the monasteries, and next, to the spread of education generally, and as such may well be regarded as a principle of the Reformation; but then, Wolsey was the reformer, and the Papal Bull must be admitted to have set the machinery in motion.

However, the tampering by the Pope with the law of marriage placed Wolsey in the position of having to serve two masters, and his fall not only put an end to his scheme, but what he had begun was perverted, so that it had been better, perhaps, if he had not begun it at all. The dissolution by the Pope of monasteries gave the hint to Henry to do the same; but while the dissolution at the instigation of Wolsey was for

the purpose of building up other institutions, under Henry it was for putting money into the privy purse; and surely it cannot be reckoned a principle of the Reformation that wealth accumulated by the piety of our ancestors, should have gone to pay for the indulgence of a king's vanity or vice.

And yet as the abolition of the Papal rule, causing, as it did, much corruption, was necessary, in order to introduce reforms, though it was not a reform in itself, so also the dissolution of the monasteries was a necessity, as no doubt they were by their power and wealth able to thwart the work of reformation, if they did not throw themselves into it. But in both cases we owe no reform to Henry; on the contrary, the marring of it. In the case of the relief from the bondage of the Papal Court, he, out of vanity, placed the Church needlessly under the bondage of the State. And on the other hand, out of greed, he simply destroyed the great machinery for education which the country possessed. Up to the present day, Henry's bondage has never been lifted off; on the contrary, the State, by reason of it, has made still further encroachments on the liberties of the Church, till it is almost unbearable: and if no monasteries are now dissolved to supply the privy purse, it cannot be overlooked that the emoluments mainly provided for the supply of a learned clergy are by the State at the present time being indirectly perverted to other purposes.

With a vacillating monarch, when no one in high station was secure if he thwarted the Imperial will, it is no wonder that little visible progress was made in the Reformation during his reign. Still, the work was going on. Henry had but breathed his last a few months before we find that the Committee, appointed by Convocation to reform the Divine service, laid before it the results of their deliberation.

Almost contemporaneously was passed an Act "against such as speak irreverently against the Sacrament;" and this was accompanied by the issue of a book entitled "The Order of Holy Communion," which, though of but a few pages, forms an important link between the old service books and the new "Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments," which was ready the following year, namely, in 1549. In this book the preface explains the principles adopted by the Reformers in settling the common order of Divine service. And the chief points are: An appeal to antiquity; the reading of the Bible through in the year's course, instead of small portions, intermingled with legends, which were mistaken for the Bible itself; and the reading it, like the saying of the rest of the service, in the English tongue, instead of in Latin, as had been the practice "when the people had heard with their ears only, and their hearts and minds had not been edified thereby."

From the Acts of Parliament, proclamations, and injunctions up to 1549, from the Preface to, and more than all from the Prayer-book itself, we learn that the principles of the Reformation consisted in the restoring the ancient doctrines of the Church, which had been so overlaid with other teaching, that they had become hidden from view; and next, in adapting the services and ceremonies of the Church to the due setting forth of that ancient doctrine, taking, as far as possible, primitive practice, handed down in the writings of the Fathers, as the model to be followed: and with this object clearing away many complicated and

burdensome ceremonies which had grown around in the course of ages, and which obscured, instead of set forth, the truth.

Though the Church was now free from the despotism of Rome, and though the monarch who had so much abused his trust was dead, there were trials in store. As in the case of all great movements, a few active minds, not contented to follow, run far beyond the original promoters, so an extreme party was formed and supported by statesmen, from political motives, under the supposed idea that such extremes offered the best safeguards against a return to the old state of things; and for State reasons, and probably by State influence—(it can only be hoped that the Convocation had nothing to do with it, for there is no evidence one way or the other)—the Prayer-book, which was supposed to set forth the standard of doctrine, was submitted to two of the Continental Reformers, Peter Martyr and Bucer, to be tampered with; the book having first to be translated into Latin to enable them to read it.

The First Book of Edward VI. represents fairly the doctrines of the English Reformers; the Second, partially those of the Continental school, which, it must be remembered, let go the anchor of antiquity, to which the English Reformers held. The novel doctrines of Zwingle and Calvin, however, became popular, partly because they were novel, partly because they were propagated by able men; in some cases, State policy intervening to help them forward. The main point of attack was, of course, the great Sacrament of the Eucharist. The ancient doctrine of the Fathers was summed up in the words of the delivery of the elements, as they appeared in the First Book; the Continental doctrines (at least those of Zwingle and Calvin) were represented by the words of the Second Book. In Elizabeth's Book the former words were restored, the latter retained. And this comprehensive method was not contrary to reason, inasmuch as both are consistent; but the higher appeals to more devout and spiritual minds. What is unreasonable is, that they should be judged and condemned by those who are incapable of accepting and realising the higher doctrines. And on this hangs the question of ceremonies, and vestments, and other ornaments for the administration of the Sacrament—a question which, perhaps, more than any other, has been brought to the front at the present day. The word "Altar" of the First Book was changed by the two foreigners to "table," to represent the Zwinglian doctrine. The appropriate vestments, which had been retained, but in more simple form than previously, in the First Book, were abolished in the Second. In Elizabeth's Book, while the name "table" was retained, the vestments were restored, not, however, named so definitely as they were in the First Book, but generally, so that on those who could not realise the truth of the ancient doctrine, the rubric should not press too harshly. But the many attempts to alter, and, when not successful, to misinterpret, the rubric, are against the real principles of the Reformation, whether viewed from the settlement at the beginning of Edward's, or at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

But more than all, what was calculated to be a great blessing, namely, the translating of the Scriptures, was so perverted by the new school, that it became in the early years of Elizabeth's reign a hindrance. Every man with the gift of speaking thought he could interpret the Scriptures: The gathering together of small sects became at this time not only a

cause of tumult, requiring the arm of the law to suppress it, but a scandal to religion. The preachers, as they were called, created a taste for novelties ; and, vying with each other to satisfy the craving which they excited, all ancient doctrine was scattered to the winds. Meanwhile, too, the services of the Church were almost in abeyance, and the sermon took their place ; and the English Bible, which, according to the principles of the first Reformers was intended to provide the basis of a service of prayer and praise, became a text-book for pseudo-philosophers to hang theories upon, and a source of wrangling, instead of devotion and comfort. Such was the extent of the divisions in the Church which followed, that to many reasoning minds it must have seemed on this account to justify the hesitation, and, indeed, refusal, of the Roman Church to sanction the publication of the Bible in English.

And with this private interpretation of Scripture, law and order was defied. Many set at nought Ordination, and decried the Episcopate ; and as emblems of the priestly character and priest's office, refused to wear the appointed apparel in their daily life, and the ecclesiastical apparel within the Church. The powers of the Crown, and of the Church in the person of the Archbishop, were directed to the enforcement of law and order, and not to the suppression of Ritual, as the Committee of Privy Council would, for the credit of the Ridsdale Judgment, have us believe. And although in but few cases the service of the Church was duly performed, daily service probably unknown, the Holy Communion administered but rarely, and even in cathedrals, where a special effort was made to enforce some discipline, much neglect shown, still, by the efforts then made, the first principles of the Reformation were retained in the rubric of the Prayer-book, so that, though neglect and lawlessness, through a long succession of years, have had their day, and obscured them, they have remained to us to be shown forth once again as our own day has seen.

And when we survey the history of the Church through the troubles to which it has been subjected, we see how seldom have the principles of our own Reformers been permitted to have full sway. In the days of Edward the return of the Papal rule was probable, and in the days of Elizabeth possible ; and these principles were looked upon as affording a weaker defence against Roman influence than the Continental philosophy. Nay more, they were dishonestly branded as being Roman, on the ground that mediæval Rome had retained them as they had been handed down to her from antiquity an argument that would of course equally apply to the Lord's Prayer or the Apostles' Creed. But this unjust party-device told, and they were looked on with suspicion. Again, in Elizabeth's reign, the sympathies of many of the bishops were with the foreign Reformers, amongst whom, during the seven years' banishment when Mary was on the throne, they dwelt.* Even as exiles at Frankfort and elsewhere, they disputed, and quarrelled amongst themselves, as to whether a Prayer-book of any kind, or only extemporary prayer, should be used ; whether a surplice, or a black gown, or nothing, should be worn over the everyday dress, and the like ; showing how, when they departed from the old paths, unity was at an end. But when they returned to this country, they gave much encouragement to

* This is shown in the large and valuable series of the Zurich Letters.

the lawless party, thwarting Archbishop Parker's efforts to retain order in the Church.

Again, in the first half of the seventeenth century, much might have been hoped from the ability of the divines who held high position in the Church, but unfortunately politics intervened ; and while the Church lost its Prayer-book, the kingdom lost its King, and the Puritan party, now essentially a political party, were masters of the field. Still, if we may judge how the return of the godly order of the Prayer-book was welcomed at the Restoration, after the lawless ranting of the preachers, the Puritan *régime*, when it had full sway, had been unsuccessful.

The Puritan party, representing as it does the principles of the Continent, or Second Book, has gone on side by side with the party which represents the English Reformation and the First Book. But when the latter had sunk into a state of sleep and apathy, it cannot be denied that the former did great service, by the vigorous preaching on the lines of its special doctrines. But on looking back, the secession of Wesley's followers, and the general development of schism subsequent to those times, seem to show that the departure from the earlier principles of the Reformation is attended with great danger to peace and unity, without which religion cannot make any material way in a country against infidelity.

On the other hand, the great activity in the Church of the last forty years, when the old lines of the English Reformers came again to be strictly followed, is certainly very striking, not only in the richer districts, where architecture, painting, and music, in fact art in all its branches, is appreciated ; but amongst the poorer and rougher classes, in the docks and low-lying districts of London, in Miles Platting and the like out-lying districts of other large towns ; the return to these principles seems to be crowned with success, and to have called into being an earnest, hardworking conscientious body of clergy, such as have never perhaps been seen in this country, and of whom the one in Lancaster gaol for conscience' sake may be taken as a type. And it seems very wrong that this Puritan party should band together in an Association and call in the aid of the State to help them to thwart the progress of those who follow the older lines. There is surely room for both sets of principles ; and as the Prayer-book comprehended both in Elizabeth's reign, and there have been no material changes since, it comprehends both now.

And if, as seems to be the case, the older principles of the two should be found in these days to promote a more regular attendance of worshippers at the services of the Church, and to awaken a more earnest and devotional spirit—in a word, to succeed where the others fail—it is no wonder ; for they have had their origin in the ancient services of the country, and not been imported from abroad ; and their title-deeds carry them back to the earliest ages of Christianity, and not only to the middle of the sixteenth century.

The Rev. LL. DAVIES.

THE English Reformation and its chief agents have been the objects of much bitter controversial criticism during the last few years. Nothing has been too bad to say of Cranmer and his clerical coadjutors. It has

been strongly urged that it is the task of good Churchmen in the present day to wipe off the disgrace, and to repair the injuries, which were inflicted on the Church of England by the Reformers. But language of this kind has received a check from recent appeals to the law-courts. The Reformation cannot be freely repudiated by English Churchmen when legal and constitutional questions are under discussion, for it is certain that the constitution and government of the Church of England rest mainly on the Reformation settlement. We have to go back for our Church law to the reigns of the Tudors. Religious partisans may find their standard of religion in any century which they happen to prefer; but expositors of the law cannot pass by the Acts of the 24th, 25th, and 26th years of Henry VIII., and the subsequent legislation of the reforming reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. It so happens that those who are least in sympathy with the Reformation are now appealing with emotion to two cardinal Statutes of the Reformation period, as prescribing what the clergy are to wear when they celebrate the Eucharist.

In the course of a few momentous years the status of the Church of England as it is to this day was fixed by our sovereigns and Parliaments. It is one of the commonest remarks of historical writers that the Reformation in England was a political movement. It is a true remark, though an incomplete one. Henry VIII. was the chief English Reformer, and the reforms were introduced by his prerogative and by Acts of Parliament. But it is also true that the changes would not have been made unless the religious principles of the Reformation had obtained a great hold on the mind of the English people, and that they were made by the King and Parliament in an earnest religious spirit.

It would be a mistake to suppose that England did not share in the religious revival which was agitating Christendom from the latter part of the fifteenth century. If the influence of Wickliffe had strangely died out in his own country, we had an early Reformer of a noble and engaging type in Dean Colet, the friend of Erasmus and Thomas More. These three associates were full of the zeal of Reformers, and set themselves to bring in by all the methods at their command—by university lectures, by books and pamphlets, by popular sermons, by schools—a more Evangelical and Scriptural kind of religion. Tyndale, whose life was given to the great reforming work of translating the New Testament into the language of the people, was the representative of an interest which was stirring widely and powerfully in the middle class in the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign. The English people were very far from being the obsequious slaves of a tyrant when their King revolted from the Pope. The old faith in indulgences, in wonder-working images, in the miracle of the mass, in the Pope, was being thoroughly disintegrated, whilst Henry was still endeavouring to make the Pope his ally. Men were looking into the New Testament themselves, and listening eagerly to preachers who appealed to primitive Christianity against mediæval corruptions. A great religious change was in the air.

When Henry VIII. took up the part of a Reformer, there is no doubt that he was influenced by personal and political considerations. His motives were mixed, high reasons of state and strong religious convictions being associated in his mind with unworthy aversions and desires. His character is one which it is very difficult for us to estimate; but this is certain, that to think of Henry VIII. as simply a licentious and bloodthirsty despot is to do a grave injustice to the English people, and

to make the history of the time a hopeless riddle. The key to Henry's actions and policy is his devotion to the interests of his kingdom. It was this devotion that made him and his daughter Elizabeth great English sovereigns. They both had grave faults: their ingratitude, their want of delicacy, Henry's recklessness in taking life, Elizabeth's duplicity, make it almost impossible for us to do justice to their high qualities. But they knew their people, and their people knew them. They felt and acted as proud chiefs of a proud people. In all that he did, whatever passions were stirring in him, Henry VIII. never took off his eyes from the unity and greatness of his realm, nor his finger from the pulse of his nation. In those days killing was not what it is now. Throughout Henry's reign, and especially in some critical times of it, the fortunes of England were at stake; and it seemed to the King a small matter to put out of the way anyone whose existence was dangerous to that of the country. In reading of the executions of this reign, we may call to mind with advantage Old Testament scenes—acts of Samuel and David and Elijah. We must make allowance for the differences which separate our age from that of the Reformation; and this, not only for the sake of doing justice to Henry, but with the more important object of understanding a period of our national history. It was the ruling aim of Henry that the unity and strength of the realm should be maintained, and that England should move altogether if it moved at all. But he was not the less religious for being political. He was even a theologian, and a perfectly serious one, finding interest and time, with his marvellous gifts and immense industry, for studies in professional theology. But he looked at his kingly office as a Divine trust. It was his deepest feeling that the interests of his kingdom were committed to him by God Himself. This conviction had always sustained the English sovereigns in their resistance to the Pope. It was not their irreligion, but their religion, which made them refuse to surrender the independence of the realm to foreign control. Henry's belief was that expressed in these words: "By Scripture it appeareth that it appertaineth to the office of princes to see that right religion and true doctrine be maintained and taught, and that their subjects may be well ruled and governed by just and good laws." Probably Henry and Elizabeth never felt their duty towards God with more inward awe than when they were settling the religion of their country.

The action of both these sovereigns was high-handed and imperious, and not least in their dealings with the bishops and clergy. When Henry revolted from the Pope, he took it as a matter of course that in the government of the Church he should himself become the pope to the clergy. He exacted from them a somewhat humiliating submission. Laws relating to doctrine and worship were passed by Parliament, without any pretence of consulting the clerical Convocations. Heresy received new definitions by Act of Parliament. When the Convocations formally assented to legislation, the assent was rather extorted than given freely. Under this royal and parliamentary government of the Church the Reformation made very gradual progress; but the progress was steadier for being gradual. The repudiation of the Pope's authority, which was absolute, and the subordination of the bishops and clergy, which was scarcely less absolute, favoured the growth of free inquiry and the habit of appealing to Holy Scripture and the early Christian

literature. At the death of Henry, and again at the death of Mary, the stream of opinion, which had been stemmed for a time, burst forward with an accelerated impulse. But in each case the civil power gave orderly expression to the national opinion. There was no catastrophic revolution in England. The Church was deliberately reformed by organised national action in accordance with the principles of primitive Christianity.

This gradual reform of the Church in England, effected without breach of continuity, was dependent upon what has been stigmatised as the political character of our Reformation. The clergy would not have reformed the Church at all; a religious party, winning a triumph over the opposite party, would have revolutionised it. That the Church of Augustine and Anselm and Wycliffe was reformed in an orderly and deliberate fashion, we owe chiefly to the intense national feeling and strong statesmanlike hand of Henry VIII.

I say, the clergy never would have reformed the Church. Nothing is plainer than that reforms were forced upon an unwilling clergy by the people and the sovereign. Many clergymen were reformers, and the assistance they gave to the Reformation was invaluable; but the clerical class interest was bound up with the corruptions from which the Church needed to be purged. If the modern High Church doctrine, that spiritual things ought to be under the exclusive control of the spirituality, had prevailed in the sixteenth century, the clergy would either have trampled down and extinguished the spirit of reform, or that spirit would have grown anti-religious, and have swept away spiritual things and spirituality together.

We note, then, that, whilst the English Reformation was due primarily to the tide of religious change which poured over Christendom, and to the study of the Scriptures and the early Fathers which impelled and guided the revival, its special character was given to it by the national spirit, acting through the constitutional authorities of the realm—the spirit which had always contended for the independence of England as against the Pope's claims, and which felt the right settling of religion to be a principal part of the national duty. The point upon which I desire to insist is, that the Reformation was not the less religious because it was political. It is the familiar modern theory, alike of Secularist politicians and of High Church religionists, that religion ought to be separated from politics, the civil province from the ecclesiastical. The history of our Reformation appeals to the old English conviction, not easily expelled from English breasts, that the nation and its life are more sacred than the ecclesiastical hierarchy, more spiritual—if I may say so—than the spirituality. Listen for a moment to those who would persuade us that God has committed all judgment in things relating to Himself to clerical assemblies and ecclesiastical courts; that the promise of Christ—"Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world"—means that the decrees of a duly constituted clerical body are the organs of Christ's voice to mankind; that it is profanation for the civil power to settle matters of religion: and then look back along the lines of our history. You will not find this theory allowed by our forefathers of any generation, least of all in the great periods when Englishmen were most in earnest. And who holds it with any reality now? Which of us, as he thinks of the noble works which God did in

the days of our fathers, can bring himself to look with more reverence upon the Episcopate or the clerical assemblies of the past than upon the English Commonwealth? Do we dwell with religious awe upon the proceedings of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and the judgments of the yet undesecrated Court of Arches and the Consistory Courts, and make the records of these "spiritual" institutions a supplemental Bible in which we and our children may find the will of God and the mind of Christ set forth with authority? Englishmen know what it is to be deeply moved by the history of their Princes and Parliaments and by the manifold achievements of the English race; but who is thus affected by the traditions of the "spiritual" bodies which it is now attempted to invest with a halo of authoritative sanctity? In the Reformation period, certainly, the Bishops' courts had become by-words for oppression and extortion, and the part played by the Convocations was not one which can easily be thought of as having the Divine seal set upon it. No; this sanctifying of clerical assemblies and courts has its roots in a controversial exigency. Men are apt to think that no court is satisfactory which does not decide in their favour. To accept the Reformation settlement at the hands of Henry VIII. and his Parliaments, and to be fastidious about the jurisdiction of the Court of Arches and the Court of Appeal of our own day, is to swallow the camel and strain out the gnat.

So far as theology is concerned, we are in these days face to face with new problems, in dealing with which neither the thoughts nor the policy of the Reformation epoch can give us much direct help. But in the spirit which animated the best of the Reformers, a courageous and trustful spirit, we might well desire to be their followers. They looked to the living God for guidance, and went boldly forwards as the light beckoned them on. The theology of the Gospels and of St. Paul awakened a responsive faith in their minds, and they learnt to test doctrines and practices by the relations of God to His human children which were revealed in Jesus Christ. Hoping to be taught from heaven, they did not go about asking, "Where shall we find the person or the body who shall tell us with authority what we are to believe?" If that had been their inquiry, there would have been no Reformation. It was ordered in the Providence of God that the sovereigns and parliaments of the time should be better exponents of spiritual things than the spirituality. So now, there is no hardihood in holding that we might look for safer and wholesomer decisions in spiritual matters from our lay government, aided by the bishops and clergy, than from clerical assemblies alone. But that is not because the civil authority is invested with the Divine prerogative of laying down what is true, any more than the ecclesiastical. One chief reason for such an expectation would be that the lay power would shrink from defining theological truth, whilst the clergy would be tempted to take pleasure in it. It is not definition that we want, to stop men from thinking and learning, but light; and the Eternal Light chooses His own ways for enlightening mankind. The knowledge of God has been given to men through manifold agencies; not only through preachers of the Gospel and sacred writings and the ministrations of the Church, but also through scientific discovery and social development and the urgencies of national life and administration. It is not by asking either Parliament or Synod to dictate to us what we

are to believe that we shall gain insight into the things of God, but by looking up most simply and directly to heaven. This is one lesson to be learned from an epoch like that of the Reformation.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. PROFESSOR WACE.

It is inevitable that three readers such as those who have preceded me should have touched on the main points of the general subject before us ; and the principal thing that I would endeavour to do is to bring out, if possible, the peculiar characteristics of the English Reformation. I suppose that our duty in considering this question is more particularly to distinguish the principles of the English Reformation from the principles of the Reformation on the Continent and in other countries. As Mr. Davies has said, it would be the greatest possible misunderstanding of the English Reformation to dissociate it from the contemporaneous course of thought on the Continent. The first impulse in the English Reformation was supplied by the writings of Luther. He published his first writings in the years 1517 to 1520, and it was not until some thirty years later that the influence of the other Continental Reformers, of whom Mr. Parker has spoken, had any material weight in this country. But the Continental movement which Luther started laid down the principles of the Reformation as they acted in every other country. The first principle was an appeal to the authority of the Scriptures against the authority of the Pope. At the time of the Reformation the whole world was in bondage to the Pope. It was, to a great extent, a magnificent and gilded bondage. The Pope was a great and venerable authority, and had the weight and influence of some ten centuries of Christendom at his back ; and nothing was sufficient to shake the authority he exerted but the Word of God itself. Accordingly, one of the most potent influences in the Reformation was that of the printing press, by which, to a large extent, the Word of God was brought into contact with the people, and they were enabled to feel that they had in their own hand an authority to which they could appeal against the Pope. I would venture to put this in the first place in the principles of the English Reformation, beyond even the principle to which Dr. Boulton referred, that of national independence. We had not to wait until the time of Henry VIII. for the assertion of the national independence of this country, but we had to wait till that time for the assertion of the independence of the Church from Popish authority, and this was brought about by means of the Scriptures. With respect to the particular form in which the English Church embodied that principle, I think we see in it a peculiar instance of our English practical talent. All the Reformed Churches placed the authority of the Scriptures in the front rank ; but no Church except our own has made the Scriptures the birthright of the people. By a most extraordinary piece of statesmanship the Word of God has been stamped on the minds of ten generations of Englishmen by its continual use in the public services of our Church. I came across a remarkable testimony to this fact the other day. There is no country to which we owe more for what it has done in regard to the investigation into the Holy Scriptures than to Germany, and Germany has the honour of having preceded this country in placing the people in possession of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, which was done by means of the translation of Luther. But in the preface to Riehm's well-known dictionary of the Bible and its antiquities, the learned editor says that Germany may claim the honour of being the pioneer and guide of the theologians of other nations in the scientific examination of the Bible, yet that in general knowledge and comprehension of the Bible the

Germans are far behind the English. Such a confession may account for a great deal of what distresses us in that German speculation to which in many respects we owe so much, and it is for us to see that we do not forfeit this advantage. Among the changes which of late years have been creeping over the celebration of public service, there are none more calculated to occasion regret than the apparently perfunctory way in which the lessons from Holy Scriptures are too often read. Many as are the advantages of our new Lectionary from other points of view, the curtailment of many important passages of Scripture is deeply to be regretted ; and it is to be wished that the supreme importance of the lessons from the Holy Scriptures in our public service were more fully appreciated. The second grand principle of the English Reformation which was dwelt upon by Mr. Davies, although I venture to think he put his case rather too strongly, was that of the Royal supremacy. In all great movements, the verdict of the world with respect to their primary principles is unvarying, and if there is one question of primary importance in the English Reformation, and which distinguishes it from that of other countries, it is that of the Royal supremacy. The principle was first asserted in Germany—it was the first to which Luther appealed. The earliest book of his, except the “Explanation of his Theses,” was an appeal to the Christian nobility of the German nation concerning the amelioration of the Christian estate, and was due to the undoubted fact that there was no possibility of getting the Church reformed unless the civil power interfered. It had been tried over and over again. You had Wycliffe in England, and Huss in Germany, but the Church of Rome had been strong enough to crush those movements, and the starting point of the Reformation was not gained until the civil power undertook to interfere. I shrink from adopting some of the language of Mr. Davies in speaking of the sacredness of the State. All that is necessary for the purpose of argument is that which is to be found in the words of the great Reformer himself. Luther said the Church is the spiritual and moral eye of the human race ; but that is no reason why, if the eye happened to have a foreign body in it, or to be diseased, the executive power, which is the hand, should not interpose to remove the obstruction—this is what was done by the interference of the civil power at the time of the Reformation—it was a simple and moderate application of the principle that one member of the body should help the other. Keep your own opinion as to which is the most sacred, the State or the Church, but whatever you do, don’t suppose that one member can afford to dispense with the help of another. The statesman-like grandeur of our English Reformation was mainly due to the fact that our sovereigns were not afraid to accept the responsibility of taking this duty upon themselves, and also that our bishops and ecclesiastics were not afraid to accept the co-operation of the civil power. They had too much confidence in their cause, their Church, and their God, to look with suspicion upon every interference of the State. They regarded it as the grandest of all God’s creations in human nature, second only to the Church, and they welcomed, and supported in every way in their power, its co-operation with themselves. If you want to find in the sixteenth century the parties who were jealous of the interposition of the State in ecclesiastical affairs, you must not look to the Reformers of the English Church—you must look to Calvinistic sectaries and to Romish reactionaries. There remains a third principle which is closely connected with this, and that is the aversion of the English mind from admitting any absolute and exclusive rule of conduct in human affairs. One characteristic of Englishmen is, that they will allow no single profession, no party or body of men to have sole and exclusive sway. Neither clergymen, nor scholars, nor men of science, nor doctors, nor any other body, are suffered to have entirely their own way in this country ; and towards the close of the sixteenth century this was brought out by the course of events as the final and ultimate characteristic of English Church life : you know the splendid schemes that were devised for reorganising that life, the Calvinistic code in particular. But the greatest and most representative of English theologians, Richard Hooker, undertook

to show that no single law, either spiritual or civil, was sufficient for the guidance of life, but that there were an indefinite number of them, and that our business, and the business of the Church, was to use them all, and give to each its due weight and authority. The duty of the Christian Church is to guide the moral conduct, and to discipline the actions of mankind, and it is impossible for it to do that by adherence to any particular code, of whatever kind. It must take science and law and statesmanship, as well as theology within its purview, and must allow each and all of them to have a voice in the determination of the course which should be adopted. These are the large and generous principles—principles of mutual confidence between man and man, embodied in the familiar English saying of give and take, which have guided the English Reformation, as distinguished from the absolute principles which have guided other Reformations; and as long as our Church rests upon the Scriptures as the chief authority for its teaching, and while it does justice to every other form of authority, so long will it deserve the allegiance and receive the support of the vast majority of the English nation.

CANON DIXON.

ONE of the principles of the Reformation, perhaps it might be called the distinctive principle, was Uniformity. This was a principle that was liable to great abuse, and unhappily productive of great abuse, though perhaps it was a principle that was necessary in an age of extraordinary convulsion. It is one that is now old to us; and it has long ceased to exert the violent effect that once attended it when it was enforced by penal legislation on the nation at large. Nevertheless, it has left deep traces; and we live in the midst of its results. No doubt in many respects this principle has been powerful for good, powerful as a conserving principle; and we have inherited many things through it which we should be the last to seek to change. But, on the other hand, the uneasiness felt by many congregations, and by many especially of the clergy, may make us ask whether the unity that all desire might not be made surer by some relaxation of uniformity, of uniform practice, and whether this might not be beneficially brought about.

The greatest work of this principle of Uniformity is the Book of Common Prayer; and that which we have received and stand by is the Book of Common Prayer of the last revision. Now, in one point of view this last Prayer-book may be regarded as the perfect product of previous attempts, and all the former Books may be considered the mere precursors of this. It can hardly be said, however, that the last—that is, the present Prayer-book—was produced in the age of the Reformation; for it was the final completion of what had been going on for more than a hundred years; and, as it belonged to a different age, so it was sanctioned by an authority which the earlier Books lacked. This is the point to which I would draw attention. The last revision, the Book of 1662, is, I believe, the only Prayer-book that was ever submitted to Convocation; and if the Reformation be held to have been over before that date, it cannot be said to have been a principle of the Reformation to submit forms of service, prayers, and rubrics to Convocation.

I know that many authorities hold that the earliest Book, the First Book of Edward VI., went through the two Convocations. But, after trying to examine the evidence, I have ventured to conclude that it was not so; and, if the First Book were not, certainly none was, until the final and present Book. On the other hand, such formularies as Confessions of Faith, codes of Articles, and the like, were commonly presented to one of the Convocations at least throughout the Reformation. The position, then, is this: That at the Reformation the principle of Uniformity was adopted, as it regards the

services of the Church : a Use for the whole Church of England was for the first time established in place of the old diocesan Uses ; but this general Use was not, throughout the period known as the Reformation, submitted to the Convocations, nor authorised by those bodies, though it went through several revisions within the period. This I think to have been, under Providence, a happy thing, certainly a remarkable thing ; and it leads to the question whether, if the wish be entertained of lightening pressure, and simplifying or determining rubrics, the Convocations be the right bodies for the purpose. What can result from a general body but a general rule—that is, a new piece of uniformity ? At any rate, it may be suggested that, as the Prayer-book is composed out of several distinct sources in the old service-books—as the Breviary, the Missal, the Manual—some parts of it may be more properly subjects of Convocational action than others, according to precedent, others less ; and in general that those parts which are concerned more with doctrine than ceremonies may be considered the more proper for Convocation. I speak, I hope, with the deepest veneration for the assemblies of the English Church.

It will be said that the determination of such matters lies with the Church, that “the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.” Certainly : and this is the vital principle uttered in that very age in which the Prayer-book was composed without Convocation. But the Church in what way ? When the Prayer-book was first composed, it took the place of diocesan Uses. Those diocesan Uses exhibited a substantial unity of contents together with a considerable variety of details, especially in the wording of rubrics or directions. Under those diocesan Uses the communion of faith and worship was perfectly maintained ; while there were many interesting peculiarities to be found in the various churches of the realm. Would it be any misfortune if something of that freedom and idiosyncrasy were allowed again, so that it were done in a proper manner ? and that is, I think *according to dioceses*. The old diocesan conception still prevailed when in the First Prayer-book, the First Book of Edward VI., it was ordered that all questions should be decided by the bishop of the diocese : in the well-known direction that in case of doubt “to appease all such diversity, if any arise, and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this Book, the parties that so doubt or diversely take anything shall always resort unto the bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same : so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in this Book.” To which, in the Second Book, was added the further resort to the archbishop. This direction insured uniformity enough, but allowed elasticity, and left the deciding authority with the Church in the bishop.

Such was the mind of the composers of the First Prayer-book, of the famous Windsor Commission—a Commission which, let me say in passing, seems not to have had a written commission, but to have acted simply on the request of the King. If their ordination had been simply adopted and confirmed by Parliament (which, as it was allowed to stand, it should have been) all controversies would have been settled by the bishops of the places, and probably much trouble prevented. Unhappily, as I think, the First Prayer-book was enforced by the First Act for Uniformity, which put things before a different jurisdiction, so that it might have been a question from the first how far the Act traversed the simple direction given in the very Book which it was intended to authorise. The same thing remains to this day : it is a question how far the most recent legislation invalidates, how far maintains, the simple direction of the present Prayer-book, that all questions be settled by the bishop, with the resort to the archbishop. If an Act were passed simply to that effect, it seems to me that present miseries would be relieved : the bishops would not have their hands both armed and fettered, as they are now, in dealing with their clergy. More fully would it be so if the bishops were aided by their diocesan synods, their *totus clerus* ; for in that case their decisions would be those of the bishop with the diocese.

The Rev. DR. BLAKENEY.

ONE of the leading principles of the English Reformation, as bearing on existing controversies, is the finality of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. It is taught in the Articles of 1552-3. Protestants describe the mass as blasphemous. The Council of Trent denounced anathema against anyone who said that it is blasphemous. But in the face of this decree the word "blasphemous" was substituted in 1571 in the English Articles for the word "forged." And so, while the Articles of 1553 described the masses as "forged fables," the Articles of 1571 denounced them as "blasphemous fables." Further, in 1571 the word "finished" was substituted for "made," so that the title of the thirty-first Article now is, "Of the one Oblation of Christ finished on the Cross." If finished, it cannot be continued. That which our Reformers rejected is the notion that the priest offers Christ. The Bennett Judgment, in defining the doctrinal limit of the Church, adopts the words of Bishop Bull, who says that "Christ is offered, not hypostatically, but commemoratively only." The hypostatic offering means the offering of Christ personal, the living Christ, or, as it is in the Article, "Christ." This is rejected by the Church. On this point there was a remarkable unanimity amongst the English Reformers. Bishop Guest gave much trouble by his opposition to the twenty-ninth Article; but even he wrote a treatise against the mass, and said, "For bothe it and the Communion cannot be jointly regarded. Whoso loveth the one must needs hate the other, for why, they be mere contraries."

The adoption of this principle of the finality of Christ's sacrifice led to the following important results:

1. The Communion Service was so thoroughly reconstructed that, apart from Scripture quotations, there is very little of the Sarum Office remaining.

2. The word "altar," retained in the First Book as applicable to the Communion-table, was struck out of the Second Prayer-book, and has remained out.

3. The peculiar vestments of the mass were gradually rejected on principle. There is no connection in themselves between chasuble and alb and the mass, for such vestments were originally worn as ordinary garments, but in the middle ages they came to be identified with the mass. The chasuble as the upper, and the alb as under vestment, were worn by the celebrant as his proper apparel. According to the Sarum Office, neither cope nor surplice was worn as the distinguishing vestment of the mass. The first inroad upon mediæval usage was made in the Book of 1549 which directed the celebrant to wear either "the vestment," that is the chasuble, or "cope." But in the Book of 1552, the chasuble was entirely neglected, and the surplice adopted in its stead. Ridley, in his "Piteous Lamentation," written on the restoration of Popery, refers to the "disguised apparel which the Popish sacrificing priest, like unto Aaron, must play his part in." On the accession of Elizabeth, the Second Book was restored, but the Queen refused to give her sanction to the Act of Uniformity unless the ornaments of church and minister were left to her disposal. The Reformers, as it appears from the answer of Guest to Cecil, did not wish for a distinctive Eucharistic vestment (see Cardwell's "Conferences"). To satisfy the Queen, the Act of Uniformity made a temporary arrangement, according to which the ornaments were to be worn which were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI. until the Queen, with the advice of the Metropolitan or Commissioners, took "other order." The Act did not state what the ornaments were, nor what was meant by the second year of Edward VI. whether it pointed to mediæval usage or the usage of the Book of 1549. It is clear, however, that it recognised the authority of Parliament as the warrant for the ornaments, whatever they were, although Parliament was not then so intelligently attached to the Reformed Church as in the present day. That which appeared as a rubric in the Prayer-book of 1559, was simply a note of reference to the Act set in the beginning of the Book. The question of vestments was left in this unsettled state until 1566, when the other order was taken in the Queen's

Advertisement, published by the bishops, and in which specific directions were given to the clergy. Did, then, the Advertisements appoint chasuble and alb? No, they appointed a surplice with sleeves for the use of the celebrant in parish churches, and assigned the cope to cathedral and collegiate churches. The Canons of 1604 followed the Advertisements, and so, upon the principles of the English Reformation, the surplice became the distinguishing vestment of the Anglican Church. While, on the one hand, the Reformers appointed the surplice, on the other they forbade the use of chasubles and albs in all churches, and the cope in parish churches. The Canons of 1571 forbade the clergy to wear "the grey amice, or any other garment defiled by the like superstition, but every one of them in his own church shall wear that linen garment which is yet retained by the Queen's commandment." The Queen's commandment was given in the Advertisements.

Cartwright, the Puritan, therefore complained, "All the service and administration is tied to a surplice; in cathedral churches they must have a cope."

Whitgift, the champion of the Church, said, "Neither do we retain the Massing Levitical apparel" (Works, p. 350, P.S.).

There are some who refuse to wear the surplice, and insist that the chasuble is the legal Eucharistic vestment. But their contention would prove too much. It would prove that Parker and Andrewes, and Laud and Sparrow, and Gunning and Cosin, and all the bishops of the Church from generation to generation, have acted illegally, and were liable to suspension and deprivation for requiring the use of the surplice. It would prove that the Canons of 1604 are contrary to law; it would prove that the whole practice of the Church for 300 years is unlawful. On the contrary, I contend that the surplice, instead of chasuble, has been received by the bishops without exception—received by the whole body of clergy and laity. But Romish as well as Protestant theologians teach that reception is the very highest authority. The Church in reception has rejected the chasuble and adopted the surplice.

The Royal Supremacy is another of the leading principles of the English Reformation. By the 1st of Elizabeth the Crown received authority "for the correction of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms," etc. The Sovereign, as Hooker shows (book viii.), does not act in person, but by delegation. The Royal prerogative was exercised by the Court of Delegates and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Puritans objected to this, and contended for the government of the Church by Synods. See the controversy between the Puritans Cartwright and Travers on the one hand, and Whitgift and Hooker on the other. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed by the Queen, without the formal sanction of Convocation, many of whom were laymen, tried and convicted and deprived several nonconforming clergy. Against this the Puritans strongly protested in a memorial which may be found in Whitgift's works. The Anglican Bishops, Elizabethan and Caroline, stoutly maintained the Royal Supremacy by the example of godly kings in the Jewish and Christian dispensations. The Convocation of 1571 described the monarch as "Vicarius Dei." The Prayer-book of 1636, compiled by Laud and introduced into Scotland, did not contain that which is called the Ornaments Rubric, as it stood in the English Prayer-book, but a rubric which directed the clergy to wear "such ornaments as are prescribed, or shall be, by his Majesty or successors, according to the Act of Parliament provided on that behalf." If we had lived in that day our disputes would have been laid before the Court of Delegates, or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and summarily disposed of.

Our judicature is now essentially the same as ever—the same as when it was defended by Hooker against Puritans and Romanists—with this difference, that it is now exercised with much more consideration for the clergy than in the days of the Tudors and Stuarts. The Royal Supremacy has been received by the bishops and by all Churchmen for three centuries—an authority far greater than the vote of a passing Convocation.

Let us then give heed to the teaching of the thirty-fourth Article, which censures the man who takes it upon himself, by his private judgment, to break "the common order of the Church." What is the common order of the Church (*publicum ordinem*, as in the Latin articles), but the discipline of Christ, "as this Church and realm hath received the same." Obedience to authority is one of the distinctive principles of the English Reformation. "Will you reverently obey your ordinary?" is the solemn question put at ordination. Let us now, in this time of distress, act upon this principle, and by God's blessing many of the evils of which we complain will pass away.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. CANON KNOX-LITTLE.

COMING as I do from the commercial town of Manchester, I must say, to use a business expression, that in asking me to speak on the principles of the Reformation in ten minutes, you are asking me to execute rather a large order. The principles of the Reformation was an immense wave of human thought passing over many centuries, passing over a large space of ground, and the principles which lay at the root of it, those with which we have to do, which we recognise and love, are, of course, difficult to find, except on a patient research; but they are valuable. We have to do with the Reformation in England, not in Scotland, or on the Continent, or elsewhere. As to Scotland, I owe it only one act of reparation, and that is that I am remotely connected with the person whose name I bear; but as for England, the principles of the Reformation are most dear to me. I must distinguish between principles and practice. There were certain practices of the Reformers which were not principles of the Reformation, and I submit that if Mr. Davies had considered that distinction it would have prevented him from becoming, as I think, a little mixed in what he said. Their practices had been bad, though their principles were frequently good. Some have called them villains, some martyrs, but I neither believe in pessimism nor in optimism. In this matter, as in many others, I think *in medio tutissimus*, is the best course. They were neither villains nor martyrs—they were like most of us, a little of both. It was a practice with King Henry VIII. to kill all the wives he got tired of, yet he would hardly have stated that to be a principle of his life; and it was the practice of Queen Elizabeth to use very violent language, quite unfit for the modern drawing-room, but some of the principles on which she worked were really good ones notwithstanding. First of all, I believe the great principle of the Reformation was to free the laity from the priests, the priests from the bishops, and the bishops from the Pope, and I have been taken severely to task, and that by an authority which I greatly respect, for having stated that principle once before; but I think it is only a picturesque way of putting off what might be more philosophically stated thus: that the principle of the Reformation was to restore very carefully the true balance, which had been greatly impaired, between conscience and authority. If you look at the question of Confession and Absolution, which has created great excitement in our time, you will find that whilst the Church of England would in some way certainly teach Confession and Absolution, if this principle is applied it would teach that people are in no way compelled to make confession or receive absolution as the only way of pardon—but if I like to make it I am within the limits of the Church of England, without being deserving of being called bad names. And the same principle may be applied to fasting—that, while fasting Communion was greatly approved by the early Church, people may, if they choose, take the side of Kingdon—or, as I prefer to put it, of St. Augustine. But anyhow, we are not to be absolutely rigorous, and no one is to find fault with us if in obedience to the teaching of the early Church we keep our fast before we celebrate the Passion of our Lord. The second great principle of the Reformation was to look

facts in the face—to take England as it stood, and deal with it accordingly. Need I commend the application of that principle to the laity and the bishops on the bench? The third principle is to recur in doctrine, and, in a great measure, in discipline, to the usage of the early Church. But you talk about being kept within the lines of the Prayer-book. Think how the principle would act! Amongst the amusing paradoxes of the various judgments of the Privy Council, we were taught that if anything was not absolutely stated in the *ipsissima verba* of the Book of Common Prayer, that omission was prohibition. To apply this principle to the Reformation would be to upset that absolute dogma, whereby, it has been truly said, people cannot get lawfully into church—and, if they are there, cannot get lawfully out; and in later days our children will look back on these strange statements, and take them as certain sentences in ‘Alice in Wonderland,’ and say, ‘How many funny things clever people can say, if they only try!’ Apply the principle to the Reformation, and *we* get back to a larger liberty and a deeper love. Think how failing in that application has led us into tremendous trouble. I would say that there lives in any country no more loving, no more generous, and, I believe, no braver man than the present Bishop of Manchester—but, at the same time, neglecting the principles of the Reformation, what has he done? Neglecting that, Papalism has been established to hand us over to despotism—that is to say, bound hand and foot to your bishop—who is again bound hand and foot to the modern Star Chamber, you may be handed over from one to the other, and the most generous, noble-hearted prelate on the bench is suddenly turned, by departing from this principle of the Reformation, into being a tool of the modern Star Chamber for working out the grossest outrage on righteousness and justice ever seen in modern days. If we return to the principles of the Reformation we shall have this principle, and his lordship will be able—as I trust he will be able, and I know he would be willing—to unlock the door of that prison in Lancaster, not from inside but from outside, and thereby to carry out one of the most glorious acts of his great episcopate, thereby carrying out a great principle of the Reformation, and exercising in the most noble way that could be exercised the most perfect evidence that there could be of the power of the keys.

The Rev. PREBENDARY CADMAN.

As a clergyman of the Church of England, I have always thought myself to be in the possession of a liberty such as is possessed by no minister connected with any other communion. The great feeling of thankfulness I had on my ordination was that I had now the liberty to minister and preach the gospel of Christ, and the ordinances which He has instituted, without anyone being able to hinder me or oppose me, were he my bishop or anyone else. I am surprised that any clergyman of the Church of England, in following out the laws of the Church, could ever have occasion to complain of his liberty being interfered with. At the same time there are those who complain, and I shall only refer to that to say that no one can regret more than I, and those who agree with me in the sentiments I profess, that a clergyman should be imprisoned. I only fear that there are two locks to that door in Lancaster Castle, and that however glad the bishop might be to unlock the door from the outside, there is a lock inside at which he cannot get. I am very sorry for it, and although conscience has a great deal of influence in preventing the door being thrown open, yet one reads of the expression of ‘making shipwreck of faith and good wishes’—which, however, I do not apply to anybody. But I apply it thus far, that shipwreck concerns both the ship and the cargo, and a very good ship may have a very bad cargo, and a very good man may have some opinions which had better, perhaps, be thrown overboard. With reference to this great question of the English Reformation, I think it is the burning question of the day. If we treat it properly, I believe it would burn up all our prejudices, and many of our hatreds and suspicions of each other. I will premise that if we can only agree to maintain the truths which are embodied in connection with our Reformation

we shall come to a point of agreement which perhaps will surprise us. I can see no reason for the position we hold as members and ministers of the Church of England, or our separation from the Church of Rome, except our appreciation of those truths which we believe are connected with the Reformation. I wish to remove misconception, as I consider, from the minds of those who take different views from myself. They seem to think that we glory in belonging to a Church of the sixteenth century. It is no such thing—let me remove that idea altogether. It is not a new Church to which we belong. Are our opponents in this matter members of the ancient Church? So are we. And we maintain that at the Reformation we did not start a new Church on any new principle or on any new ground. The Church of Christ in this country existed prior to Romish corruptions and inventions. Proof of this could be given if there were time—proof of the existence of this English Communion prior to the inventions of Rome and the supremacy claimed by the Pope. We belong to the Church which existed before Rome claimed or gained its supremacy. But we are a Reformed Church, and trust we shall remain so; because the Holy Scriptures contained the great truths which the ancient Church held, and which Rome, we believe, corrupted. And there is that paper wall between us and the Church of Rome which must remain until one alters. And if Rome be what we take her to be, she will never alter, but seems to be getting worse, because if there had been no throwing aside of errors and superstitions at the time of the Reformation, we should have now been sunk into still deeper error than our forefathers. We should have been obliged to acknowledge the immaculate conception and the infallibility of the Pope. It is on this account that one values those good men, who were at any rate martyrs to the idea and truth of the finality of Christ's sacrifice, and of His intransmissible priesthood and yet His willingness to save even unto the utmost all that come unto God by Him. If they were not martyrs to the atoning sacrifice of Christ thus perfected on the Cross, what did they die for? The practices which all our brethren practised in their ministry were practices which some of us clergymen were wont to practise, and we were called Dissenters for practising them. We are thankful that that age has passed away, and we have come to that form of agreement in which we say it is necessary for a clergyman to attend to things that are in order to be obedient to the godly admonitions of those set over them. But we are quite at liberty to use all those means, in conformity of order and obedience to our superiors, by which we may win the ungodly to the knowledge of their blessed Saviour and obedience to His laws and sacred will, whether by preaching in the church or in the open air, or having cottage meetings, which has been our practice for years, and for which we have sometimes been reproached. But we are members of the ancient Church of Christ in this country which has thrown off these errors and broken the chains of that bondage in which our forefathers were held, and which, we trust to God, will never be renewed. The ancient Church—not the earlier Church. Let us stand fast, men and brethren, in the liberty which in God's mercy we have in this our Church. We have full opportunity to preach the fulness of the truth of God in all its simplicity—every truth that was ever held by the true Catholic Church, and which can be proved by Holy Scripture. Let us not try to gather the faded leaves, the corruptions which were thrown away at the Reformation, but stand fast in the simplicity of the truth, and have no leaning, and give no kind of countenance, to those errors that were then discarded; and then, I am sure, standing fast to the truth as held by our Church—not a modern Church, but a Church that threw off the errors that were accretions upon it, and stood forth in the brightness of holiness and ancient simplicity and fulness of truth—let us go on and tell those who do not agree with us our reasons for saying this, and we are sure to carry conviction with us.

The Rev. DR. HAYMAN.

WE have heard a good deal this afternoon about the Royal supremacy as a principle of the Reformation, and I fully admit it within the limits within which our Reformers have laid it down. You will find that in one of the Articles to which we clergy subscribed we attribute not to our princes the power of the Word and Sacraments, but only that just prerogative which we find given to pious princes in Holy Scripture; and therefore I contend that a great deal of the practice of the individual Reformers, and of King Henry VIII. amongst them, falls not inside that definition, but outside it; and I decline to be bound by a practice they then initiated, rather than by the solemn words of definition which the Church has adopted and has imposed. With regard to the Royal supremacy, let us consider how vastly times have changed, and how utterly unfair is the attempt to force into our conception of the Crown in this century those powers with which the Crown was unquestionably armed in the sixteenth century. The personal power of the Sovereign at that time was a large and overwhelming factor in politics and the Government. It was then the focus into which were gathered all the forces needful for the exercise of the corrective power, and for the exercise of the protective power, in which I believe are summed up all the ordinary exercises of the Royal supremacy. The Crown, so far as regards the personal share of the Sovereign in Government, has become in both these respects utterly powerless. The share of the Sovereign in politics and Government is about as large as the influence exercised by the figurehead of a ship upon her steerage. The Crown having ceased to be capable of exercising that power which was once deposited in it, an attempt is made to transfer that power virtually to a Prime Minister, who is the head of a Cabinet in which centre all the forces of Parliamentary Government, which Parliamentary Government is elected and maintained by persons of all sorts of creeds and denominations, and therefore, instead of being a rallying centre for the protection of that spirituality, it has now become a simple fulcrum upon which is planted the lever which is to crush all proper independence in the spirituality itself. Can you look upon the Parliament of this nineteenth century—a Parliament where the last grain of faith is trembling in the balance—as legitimately inheriting the powers of Parliamentary legislation with respect to the Church which of course we acknowledge were usefully exercised in the sixteenth century, when every man of that assembly was, or might at any rate be ostensibly counted as, a faithful son of the Church herself? The matter is too absurd for anyone but a politician, who has a political end to serve, to uphold for a moment. But the absurdity is heightened by this same body, no longer fit for Church legislation, wresting to itself the further powers of the Royal supremacy too. One other point I will mention to induce you to fix your attention upon a dropped branch of the Reformation—the *Reformatio legum* in particular. It has a very important bearing upon our position at the present day. It was dropped for no other reason than because Philip and Mary cut short a work which Edward VI. and his Churchmen and statesmen had initiated. In the time of Elizabeth the Church was fain to hold fast by what anchors she then had down, until she could ride out the storm of Puritanism. I say that a leading project of Cranmer and his associates was the reformation of those laws which would have cleared the episcopacy from the monarchical position into which even then it had drifted, and in which it still remains—a monarchical position in which it is the humble mimic of the Papacy. I believe it is as false to Scripture and the early Church and history as the Papacy itself. The intention of our Reformers was to revive the diocesan synod, and for want of that revival, amongst other reasons, the great principle of the Reformation has remained without its development down to this very day. For want of this, we very often find that our bishops are, nine-tenths of them, mere Parliamentarians. It is often found that the bishop is to his clergy nothing else than the iron hand of the House of Commons in the velvet glove of the House of Lords. I say the bishop was intended to be the keystone of an arch in which all the powers for the support of the Church in the diocese should find their centre and radiate again their support; instead of which, on the prostration of the other elements the bishop has erected himself, as it were, a

monolith, as though all the authority centred in him. We are speaking of the principles of the Reformation ; but they were Apostolic principles before they were reformational. In the course of that great controversy, the great Bishop Jewell gave a famous challenge, in which he said that if anyone would show that any General Council or any considerable divine during the first five ages had upheld any of the errors which he denounced, he would throw up the question to go over to their side. I give a similar challenge on behalf of diocesan synods. If any man will show a considerable divine who shows that bishops in the first three centuries exercised monarchical rule, I will be content to give up the question. [Stopped by the Chairman calling time.]

The Rev. GEORGE BODY.

THE reason of my rising is the question asked by the Archdeacon of Warrington yesterday. I have not risen to follow the example of Mr. Medd yesterday, in protesting against a mysterious R which had been attached to his name. I do not call myself by that opprobrious term of Ritualist, but I do belong to those who are so designated by the people. We were asked whether we were prepared to assent to the principles of the Reformation. They are very many indeed, and I should rather hesitate to say that I assented to all of them. I don't know that I assent to the principles of the Reformation if it rests on a belief in the sanctity of Henry VIII., or if it means that a sacred synod of the realm is the Parliament of England as it is at present elected and constituted ; but if by the principles of the Reformation you mean devotion to the nationality of the Church of England, we believe it—the supremacy of the courts, we believe it—the paramount position of the sacrifice consummated upon the Cross, we believe it ; and if, in addition, you mean by the spirit of the Reformation a large-minded liberality in matters not inconsistent with definite principles, I claim to be one who—not by profession, but by practice—has always held out his hand to every man who loves the Lord Jesus in sincerity ; and, therefore, I believe the words of good Mr. Cadman have a prophetic vision when he tells us that probably, after all, upon the deep great fundamental principles we are much more back to back and shoulder to shoulder than we sometimes imagine ; and I have risen, not with the purpose of adding one single jot or tittle to the storm of controversy, or to the bitterness of party feeling, when I say that, whilst recognising the position of my evangelical brethren as fairly within the limits of the Church of England, I stand within the principles of the Church of England a committed High Churchman, loyal, if I know my soul, to the great principles of the English Reformation. For the principle of the English Reformation was all that is good in the Reformation is governed by it, and all that is bad is outside it. The principle of the English Reformation is the continuity of the English Church, and of an appeal on the part of the English Church back from the corruptness of many evil days in practice and in faith, not to the isolated opinions of individual men, but to the supreme authority of the God-guided Church.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

THOUGH we cannot agree with every speaker, for they cannot agree with themselves, I think we shall all agree with these final words as to that great principle of the Reformation, the continuity of the Church of England, and the appeal to Holy Scripture and to primitive antiquity, which would then—God grant it always may—be not merely the fundamental principle of the Reformation three hundred years ago, but the fundamental principle of the Church of England as God be thanked we have it now.

TOWN HALL, THURSDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 6.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF EDINBURGH took the Chair
at 7 o'clock.

THE MODES IN WHICH RELIGIOUS LIFE AND
THOUGHT MAY BE INFLUENCED BY ART.

- (a) ARCHITECTURE.
- (b) MUSIC.
- (c) PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

PAPERS.

Mr. G. F. BODLEY, A.R.A.

THE subjects given for the papers this evening are "The Modes in which Religious Life and Thought may be influenced by the Arts of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture." It has fallen to my lot to bring before you a few thoughts on the subject as connected with the first of these sister Arts—that which is, indeed, the queen and mistress of all.

First, let me say that while Religion can be independent of Art, Art, in its highest phase, can hardly exist, certainly cannot thrive, without Religion. So that I could wish our subject had rather been : "The Modes in which Art may be, and has been, influenced by Religion." For there has been no great School of Art that has not drawn its origin and impulse from Religion, and been inspired by it. I am not speaking now only of Christian Art ; it is true of all great Art, Pagan as well as Christian.

Man's greatest and most lasting works show his highest ideas. He will express these in the noblest way he can, and make them durable ; a monument of his highest thought and faith "for those that come after." It was so with the Pagans ; and while their houses, with few exceptions, have perished, so that we know them not, their temples, though in ruin, still often stand as monuments of the religion out of which they rose. That religion has long passed away, but its symbols can still be seen.

But while Religion can live without Art, it is only natural and reasonable that Art should be employed in its service. We are complex beings, with sense, intellect, spirit. We have reason ; but imagination is just as much a part of ourselves. Both should have due play in our religious worship. And surely for our Christian Faith—the Gospel of the Son of Man—it is especially reasonable that Art should lay its services at her feet.

If, then, it is true that the highest Art has had its spring in Religion, so, in an especial way, is it true of Architecture. Architecture is in some respect like Music, the expression of abstract ideas. It is eminently

expressive and symbolic, and fitted for the use of Religion. Christian Architecture shows one long effort to reach after the *ideal*; to aspire.

You know the history of Gothic Architecture in Christendom. It had its rise from Roman buildings of the later time; and in our own country the rude Saxon church is presently supplanted by the more stately Norman edifice—that giving place to the Gothic creations of the Middle Ages, when a great church was, as Lord Lindsay said, “the very embodied idea of the spiritual Church,” instinct with symbolism, not merely in details, but in the whole structure soaring upward to heaven. And here let me say that few of us have any adequate idea of the beauty or the full teaching of a great church in the best times of ecclesiastical Architecture. We see our old churches denuded by the ruthless hand of revolution, starved by the coldness of a worldly age, and, often now empty, swept, and *not* garnished by so-called restoration. Those only who have the eyes of knowledge and imagination can conceive the glory of a large church of the Middle Ages. It was a great school for Art, as well as for religious aspiration. And consider how full of teaching these churches were; first in their ideal character as a whole, as shrines in which Faith offered God her best; and then in all their detail of carved and painted subject and imagery—not cold and bare as we see them now, but glowing with the glory of colour, and full of saintly figures and painted Christian story. Westminster Abbey, beautiful and solemn as its tone is still, was very different once. Like all our old churches, it was painted richly. Even *externally* the west doorways of Tintern Abbey were coloured and gilded, and that with only a pent-house roof over them for protection.

Few, indeed, are those whose hearts have not been moved and uplifted by the great churches of Christendom. And, apart from this impressive character, there is the silent witness for Religion which every religious building bears; a witness in which the rude wayside chapel, the simple village church, and the stately cathedral alike share.

It is a true instinct of this witness for Religion that has made Churchmen protest against the destruction of ecclesiastical edifices in the City of London; and a true artistic feeling joins in the protest. Wren's churches took the place of those existing before the Great Fire. Their memory was perpetuated: is it now to vanish? If the City is deserted by night, it is crowded by day. Even if it is deserted on Sunday, it is crowded on week-days, and so the witness is continually given. Besides, in a more religious age, when men have learned the value of churches open and unlocked all day to invite busy men to a few moments' devout thought, in the midst of work, it may be found that these old City churches have their real use.

It is to be hoped this example may not be followed in our other great towns. If the rich merchants live elsewhere, let them found Churches elsewhere, and not destroy these symbols of the piety and faith of earlier times.*

But I must offer a few practical remarks on Architecture, as it can best serve and assist our Christian worship. I need not discuss the *style* in which our churches should be built. It is wisely settled that

* An ancient church has recently been pulled down in the city of Bristol, and another at York is threatened—that of St. Crux—an interesting and valuable specimen of a fourteenth century town church.

Gothic should be employed. Coleridge expresses the moral influence he found in a great church, and the difference of feeling wrought by the Gothic and Classic styles. "When I enter," he says, "St. Peter's at Rome, or St. Paul's in London, I feel how great is man; but when I enter Westminster Abbey, or a great Gothic church, I feel how small man is." I would say on *style*, that I think we should more frequently employ the later manner of the 14th century. That, and the work of the early part of the 15th century, have been too much neglected. The artistic history of the Middle Ages was one of advance and increasing refinement. The drawing of the figure, in wall-painting or on glass, if not in sculpture, was continually improving. We have been too ready to call the later Gothic work "debased." I would say, on this point of style, that we are getting too far away from ancient examples and models. In the earlier stage of the Gothic revival these were more taken as guides; guides, at any rate, in their spirit. This is an age of Science, not of Art, and it is not ripe for any *new* style. Certainly the attempts to form a "Victorian Style" have not been successful. Style is, after all, only a language. New things may be said in an old tongue; and we need not invent a new language to write a new book. Our beautiful old English Gothic will serve for all our requirements, and is capable of infinite variety and freshness of design. Let us keep to our own manner of English Architecture. There may, of course, be exceptional reasons for the use of other styles. For example, a private chapel attached to a house of Renaissance architecture may be probably best carried out in that style.

Next I would urge that we should build *larger* churches. To be impressive in *scale* is of more value than detail; though detail is of great importance to give the impression of size and mystery to a building. It is surprising how the skilful use of detail can produce an effect of vastness; and how largeness and coarseness of detail dwarfs a building of considerable dimensions.

It is an important question how far fewer but *larger* churches would not be better in our great towns than the churches we build of the regulation size, holding, it may be, some eight hundred people.

Would it not be better to build in such places for two or three thousand souls, and have outlying chapels associated with the great mother-church of the district? Surely such churches could be more effectually and economically worked. We lose the force of the "*sympathy* of numbers" felt in the "great congregation." Mr. Beresford Hope, more than twenty years ago, advised larger churches being built; buildings more cathedral-like in dimensions and design. This good advice has hardly been followed.

In great towns, like this in which we are met, and which soon, I hope, may be a city with its stately cathedral, churches should be erected more monumental in character and more spacious. Our domestic buildings are growing, and our ecclesiastical edifices should grow also.

How striking is the view of a great city seen from afar, with its church in its midst, towering above the houses, and stamping a character on the whole place and country, a silent witness for the faith! I would plead, then, for churches with ample floor space and height. In architecture nothing is so impressive as *height*. That can be attained even if the site of a town church be cramped. It should be almost a rule that every

town church should be as large as the site allows of. A practical piece of advice is, not to try and get everything done at once, and so cram the whole. Let us design on a dignified scale, and have the work carried out as time and funds allow. We may well leave some unfinished great conceptions for the future to mature. We are not without examples of old buildings, of most dignified proportions, in some of our parish churches. But it is true, generally, as Mr. Ruskin has said, that here in England we "have built like pigmies." It is time we built on a larger scale. Our churches should not be crowded with fixed seats; more space should be left for ample gangways, and around the entrances. There are those who, entering to gaze, may "remain to pray." For such these spaces would be of much use. Our Church Building Societies should make their grants on the area of the floor, not on the numbers that can be crowded into fixed seats. It would be a good plan for a town church to screen off one bay at the west end with a high and defensive, but open, iron grille. The doors of the church might stand open all day, and passers-by could enter and use that part for their meditations and devotions. Such a part of a church, thus screened off, might be all but open to the street. To thus see, from the glare of the noisy street, the long perspective of a dim interior, solemn in its repose, with altar and high reredos gleaming in the distance, would, I think, be at once edifying and certainly artistic.

I pass to other practical points. Our town churches should be more frequently *vaulted*. This feature, so seldom adopted in England, gives dignity, impressiveness, and solidity of effect. As compared with a handsome open roof, it does not very materially add to the cost of a church.

Again, I would urge that the *interiors* of our Churches should be more considered; be better and more fully furnished, and have more care and thought spent on them. An exterior is of far less importance, so long as the proportions are good and dignified. For the most part, in our great towns, there are few places where it much matters what the exterior may be; the situation is destroyed by the ugliness of modern surroundings. It is of no avail to be harmonious with discords around. But it is not so in the *interior* of a church. There the architect is in full possession of his audience, and what he has to say of noble thought, or religious expression, cannot but be heard. Our churches should be treated much on the principle on which we treat our houses; it is on their *interiors* we spend most thought and adornment.

We want more sculpture and painting; our old churches were full of them, though some brackets or corbels, and some marks of colour under whitewash, may be the only signs remaining. Would not sculptured figures of those who have been great in the story of the City of God teach and edify? Would not the representation of Christian events be especially useful for the poor, and bring objective truth more home to their minds?

Dr. Arnold wrote of what he saw abroad: "The open churches, the varied services, the beautiful solemnities, the processions, the Calvaries, the appeals to the eye and ear through which the heart is reached, have no natural connection with superstition." "It is idolatry, bowing down to fallible men; not to bend knee and heart to every thought and image of Him Who was manifested amongst us."

Only the other day, a country labourer, seeing a churchyard cross that had been restored with the figure of our Lord, said, "You don't tell me they treated Him in that way?" He had never before realised the fact of the Crucifixion; never, I suppose, having seen it represented. That is, I think, a striking fact, and a strong plea for such representation in a Christian land. Our ancient churches invariably had the figure of our Lord on the Cross at the entrance to the chancel. A central fact of our faith was thus evidently set forth. "*Sic Deus dilexit mundum*," "Thus God loved the world," is an inscription I have seen under such a representation of our Lord, with outstretched arms, embracing the whole world, as it has been said. Would not such representations fix the wandering thought, help aspiration, and deepen reverence?

Another point is the need of more private and quiet places in our churches. The side chapels of old churches afford places of retirement for private devotion. Might it not be well to revive these chapels, using them for early celebrations, and other services, when the worshippers are few? Have we not suffered from the violent reaction in these matters that swept over the 16th century? We need every help in religion; let us avail ourselves wisely of all.

In former days in our land, and now in many places abroad, the churches were and are the very homes of the devout poor. In the early morning, before the labours of day, and in the evening, before the rest of night, the poor frequent the great and solemn churches, and seek silence and repose, there to pray for the "rest that remaineth," and "the house that is eternal." What a change and repose to them, after their cramped and squalid homes, and the noise and hardness of the day's work, to find privacy and dignity in the great silent darkening church, and there pour out their hearts to God!

Let us build and adorn our churches for God and His poor. It was to the poor "the Gospel was preached."

Another point is *concentration* of ornament in the interior of our churches. Concentration of richness is a great artistic principle, now too much neglected. In all our work let us reject what is frivolous or tawdry. As in ritual, so in architecture and its ornaments, our aim should be *solemnity* and *dignity*. A noble reserve and restraint in ornament is a high quality in all art. Nature teaches us this; its jewels and finest metals are rare. The fabric of a church may be simple, even to severity; but if there is concentration of beauty and richness, the result at once satisfies.

This concentration of ornament in a church should, I need scarcely say, be in the choir and sanctuary. The simplest edifice, with a well-raised and dignified altar and reredos, will at once have a religious and impressive effect.

We live in a time when Puritan prejudices, as far as externals go, are passing away; and we should avail ourselves of all aids to devotion, so long as they are manly and noble. I think we may do so fearlessly. Hooker says: "Certainly Almighty God has nowhere revealed that He desires to be served beggarly." He was writing with Puritan prejudice around him; and one detects the latent satire.

There are few things more singular than this prejudice against dignity and beauty in the worship of God. The Puritans took their phraseology from the Old Testament, and would smite their enemies with a text from

the Book of Joshua. They turned the first day of the week—the glad echo of Easter—into a Jewish Sabbath, tinged with gloom, instead of brightened by praise. But there was one leading idea of the Old Testament they did not imitate: the honouring God with their substance. Strange to the Puritan mind must have seemed the directions for the work of the Tabernacle and the Temple! Strange must have seemed “the gold and blue and purple and scarlet” of the Tabernacle, words coming in continual refrain; or the carved Cherubim wrought by him “who was filled with the Spirit of God in wisdom and all manner of workmanship”! Strange that House of God, of hewn stone, which rose in silence, lined with cedar or beaten gold; its doors carved with flowers; their hinges of gold! Strange to hear how, when the Temple was rebuilt, the old men wept for the lesser glory! Certainly God did not then desire to be served meanly. And yet it is with such prejudices, however sincere, that the religion of our land has been saturated. Happily the blight is passing, though but slowly. It is a prejudice, I believe, alien to the English mind, and one from which it will break free.

Let me conclude with the words of two writers of opposite schools. James Martineau says: “What is falsely called a purely *spiritual* worship is an attempt to evolve and sustain devotion from isolated powers of the spirit, that are never meant to act *alone*. That God is a Spirit has not hindered Him from shaping the vault of night and hanging it with stars, or from clothing the earth with its beauty.” “They are the works of His creativeness; the appeal of His beauty to our hearts.”

Lord Lindsay wrote: “The Church of England does not exalt imagination, and repudiate reason; but includes them both, harmoniously opposed within her constitution, so as to preserve the balance of truth—thus approximating, in degree, to the ideal of human nature, Christ incarnate, of Whom the Church is the Body, and ought to be the likeness and image.

Professor W. H. MONK.

THERE are two methods in which Church music acts on the religious life and thought: in the production of the *material*, or in Church composition; and in the treatment of that material in its performance.

To the former of these I shall presently ask attention as infinitely the more important; but it is desirable to say something on the latter, for to many, its interest is stronger and more constant. Be the material (the composition) ever so fine, its application to the religious life of the day is dependent on its exhibition in performance from time to time on living agency. The day is past, we may hope, when a suspicion attached to this word “performance.” It is impossible for Church music to exist without due care and preparation, and what has been thus prepared culminates in performance. The word has a lower and a higher meaning, and we use it in the latter.

Treating, then, the performance of Church music as an element of religious culture, can anything be said likely to afford improvement of the systems of the present, or to point to an advance in the future?

If the papers read before the Church Congress of past years testify to any one thing more than another, it is to the great progress already made in Church music : and we see here, as in so many other movements for good, that the impetus has come from *below*. At Wolverhampton in 1867, Sir F. A. G. Ouseley spoke *specially* of the great improvement in rural choirs : " I think it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the zeal and energy of the clergy in promoting the development of choral resources in their churches is, after all, the *main-spring* of all the great musical Church revival to which I refer." We owe a great debt of gratitude to those who have had the work of training the choirs of the Country Associations. There are, however, some points in their past history which suggest something for the future. In the first place, *all* the choirs of the district do not join, and at every fresh year an opportunity *not* to join is given in the very words of invitation. In every little village, it has to be freshly decided, " Yes " or " No." Of course, if the answer is " No," there is no *choirmaster* for that year, so that the training is intermittent, and may be interrupted for a year or more, and, in the year it is accepted, is not more than sufficient for getting up the music incidental to the coming " meeting." Then, again, which are the choirs that say " No "? I greatly suspect the *best* on the one side, or the *worst* on the other. We want some machinery, then, which will unite *all*, and that constantly, and so keep the choirmaster at work, not for the festival of the year specially, but permanently for the improvement of the choirs under his care.

But there is another point. I think the choirs now forming the District Association are, for the most part, the strictly rural choirs. They, perhaps, have their meeting in a grand town church ; but I think the choirs of *these* churches do not join ! The work of the Association does not commend itself to them ; they think they are beyond it, and are perhaps right. We will come back to them presently ; but I have just another word to say about music in the villages. First :

The reply to the question put, which most commends itself to me as equally true of the village church, of the city church, and of the Cathedral, is this : The maintenance of a musical service, the material of which and its execution are as unlike what is heard outside the church as possible ; so that you can say of it at once, " This is *Church* music, as you can happily say of many churches, " This *looks* like the House of God."

Then, as to performance of this music in villages. It would seem, I dare say, very difficult to many a good priest directing his own little choir, weak and shaky, because mainly composed of boys and a few adults, more women than men, to realise that this may be in any sense grand and noble. But there is one way which will do much more towards it than anyone who has not given it a *fair* trial would think. You have a man or two, tenor or bass, not possessed of much voice or *well* able to hold their own against the three other parts of the harmony. Persuade them, in the whole services, to sing the melody in octaves.

Some time ago I was present at St. Paul's Cathedral on one of those occasions on which the choir is very fine and powerful, and the church full to overflowing. For lack of a better place I stood against the west door. As long as the chant was in *harmony*, the total of its effect

might have been summed up in the remark "that *music* was going on ;" but the Gloria Patri was in unison ; in a moment everything was changed ; it was like a sudden broad bright ray of sunlight in the midst of darkness. The whole atmosphere seemed full of tone, broad and massive, of glorious fulness, while every word, for the first time, was heard distinctly. The same lesson is taught once or twice a year, at the Festival of the Gregorian Association. To the lover of well-balanced vocal harmony there is no doubt a certain rudeness in this octave singing, perhaps associated in the mind with the well-known fault in harmony called "consecutive octaves ;" but there are many ways of showing how noble and satisfying the octave really is. Professor Hullah said years ago, "We shall never have congregational music till the *men* of a congregation sing ;" true, if you can only get them to sing the melody in unison, you are half-way to as noble an expression of Church music as one need hope or wish for.

A few weeks since I was the guest of an old friend in his country parish for a Sunday. It was wet, and a small congregation and still smaller choir was the result. A boy or two and one man would, in many similar circumstances, form the choir. But this gentleman had five sons—one of them a tenor, the others more or less bass or baritone, but with good healthy lungs, and no *mauvaise honte*. The service, sung throughout in unison, with no conscious effort or pretension, and supported by the tones of a small and bad harmonium only, was, like the other instance mentioned and in a far different *locale*, as a reply to our question of to-night, well-nigh perfect. I cannot drive this lesson too strongly, nor too heartily recommend a broad unison service in village churches. In the hymn (the "anthem" of the Office), one or two verses may be sung in harmony for pleasure's sake.

But what shall be said of the town churches and of the excellent choirs often to be found in them? The change which some of us can remember must be quite as great here as in the quiet country. How many of these churches had choirs thirty years ago? In London, at that time, you might certainly have counted them on the fingers of your two hands (of course, excluding St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, the Royal Chapel, the Temple, and Lincoln's Inn). *Now*, a London church might almost as well shut its doors as expect to go on without one. But such choirs do not join the District Association, as a rule. Is there not room for a "fresh departure" here? Let me suggest it, not in the direction of the country choirs, but in that of the Cathedral. Now in many of our Cathedral towns a special choir has been got together for Sunday evenings and other special occasions. To this one would wish the greatest possible success, which indeed it generally achieves. But this is not what I wish to advocate. I want frequent association of the town choirs of a diocese generally, with the Cathedral choir—in fact, two Choral Associations, the higher of which should include the Cathedral choir as its nucleus and the cultivated town choirs as its great body, kept distinct from the Association of Village Choirs. It must go on all the year, meeting constantly at convenient intervals, and frequently for service in the Cathedral. I do not enter into the question *when*, because this is a detail to be managed *locally*. Sometimes the service might be held on a Church festival like *Ascension*, in which a grand service at the Mother Church might both teach the lesson and

assert the day. At other seasons, a day near the great Feast may be chosen (after it, not before), say December 26th (St. Stephen) or 27th; perhaps the evening of Shrove Tuesday; Easter Monday or Tuesday; Whit Monday or Tuesday; Trinity Monday; St. Michael and All Angels—All Saints' Day; and some day in the middle of the Trinity Season, as might be convenient. By this succession of services *throughout the year* the joint action of Mother and Daughter Churches may be maintained in perpetuity, and at frequent intervals. The idea, of course, includes *practice*, united and constant, which should be directed by the Cathedral organist and choirmaster personally, or by some other musician able to command entire and willing obedience. If I suggest a large amount of work for this officer, outside his present sphere of duty, you will not think the scheme complete unless I add that it should be properly paid for.

One cannot arrive at this point, and escape the general question of Cathedral work and Cathedral pay. I cannot be wrong in asserting that the former suffers from the frequent meagreness of the latter. Some of our Cathedral lay clerks are shamefully underpaid; so that the addition of some other calling is absolutely necessary to existence, while any provision for old age is impossible. Out of a dozen choirmen, eight or ten may outlive the vigour of their voices many years. No wonder, then, if the Cathedral services suffer. Some of the choirs are half full of voices which should have been renewed years ago, but it would be cruelly unjust to compel retirement. Here, as elsewhere, the action of the Cathedral Commission has fatally crippled the Chapters. To quote Mr. Beresford Hope, addressing the Congress at Norwich in 1865: "The Cathedrals had fallen asleep, and were rocked to a rude waking by a panic-struck Commission, whose leading idea seems to have been to increase their usefulness by cutting off the supplies which allowed them to be useful."

We see clearly enough what a fatal error this was. In every Cathedral of the land the *public voice* now cries out for increased power and efficiency, but the means have been taken away. The laity demand more choirmen and younger men, but the Chapter can do nothing. Till their old members are laid to rest, they must be sustained and allowed to sing, for there is no chance of their superannuation, nor can their numbers be increased. The money that should be forthcoming for this purpose has been directed to another channel. The same misfortune has befallen some of the minsters now, as Mr. Beresford Hope said, "pluming themselves for their flight into Cathedral dignity" (as Sherbourne, Southwell, St. Albans), where there was formerly something like a provision for Cathedral service, now cut down to an extent that it is absolutely impossible to perform the music set down to be sung. A reference to the various papers to be found in your own reports will exhibit dignity after dignity lamenting the inability of the authorities to move. Thus, the Dean of Chester, speaking in 1869 of the 'Choristers' School there, says, "I wish we had funds to do more;" and an application to the Commissioners the year before had brought the reply, "We are powerless." They seem to have tied up the hands of everybody else, and finished by tying themselves up.

I need not expatiate on the importance of this part of the subject. We *all*, I think, now agree upon it. But it has so much bearing on the

subject of to-night that I cannot forbear quoting two *great authorities*, whose opinions you will appreciate *ex animo*.

The first is the revered Bishop Hamilton, at the time Precentor of Salisbury, and afterwards, as Bishop, Precentor of the Province of Canterbury, who, in his answer to the Cathedral Commissioners, says: "The giving of greater musical power to the choir of the Cathedral seems to me so essential to the realising the primary object of our foundation, that I could even strongly recommend that one of the four existing canonries should be suppressed, and its share of the corporate property appropriated to the improvement of the stipends of the present lay vicars, and the increase of their numbers, if funds cannot be obtained for this object without such a sacrifice." (Quoted by Mr. Street, at Liverpool, 1869.)

The second comes even nearer home, for he is no other than the living Bishop of Carlisle, present on this very occasion. Speaking in 1865 at Norwich, as Dean of Ely, he says: "The Cathedral ought to be the music-school of the churches in the diocese. It seems to me unspeakably important that the service in the Cathedral should be of the highest order of chastened beauty; of course, also, all the accessories of worship, and especially the behaviour and character of all who take part in it should be, as nearly as possible, faultless. But the point upon which I wish just now to lay chief stress is the music. I would have the service elaborate and erudite, not necessarily florid, to an extent which would be inadmissible in parish churches, because this is necessary in order to stimulate both composers, teachers and singers of Church music, and still more because the music of the Cathedral, if really cared for and worked at conscientiously by the Cathedral body, will have a reflected influence of considerable magnitude and importance upon the music of the parishes. Music in churches, and the preaching of the Gospel in churches, are not matters to be set upon the same level; but having reference to the constitution of human nature, and the necessity of making dwellings of the Lord of Hosts 'amiable,' I think it difficult to overrate the importance of the Cathedral service being regarded throughout the whole diocese as the very best that the diocese has in its power to offer to God. It would be invidious to attempt to point to Cathedrals in which this great opportunity of usefulness is improved, and to other Cathedrals in which it is neglected; but my subject requires the remark, that in this department there is a great opportunity, which, without any change in the existing constitution of our Cathedrals, may be turned to great account for the benefit of the diocese and the Church at large."

But we must approach the consideration of the more important of the two methods by which music acts on religious life and thought: the production of the material—or Church composition. When the suggestion already made for the higher association of cultivated church choirs has been carried out, and they are at work together, another want, of which I have yet given no hint, will be created. It will be found that they want music of a character fitted for the use of large bodies of choristers, of a style large, lofty, sublime, and fitted to the recurring festivals of the Church's year.

There is in existence, it is true, a large and varied collection of English Church music, in the collections of Boyce, Arnold, Page, and others, some of which has every claim on attention, and which the formation of

these permanent bodies will resuscitate. Much of the finest English Cathedral music is now disused, from the weakness in numbers of the choirs. Much fine Church music, worthy of perpetual preservation, has also been produced within our time; and we shall not "willingly let die" the writings of such living men as Ouseley, Stainer, Sullivan, Armes, Steggall, Hopkins, etc., or of such departed heroes as Goss, Attwood, Wesley, Croft, or Purcell. Intermingled in publication with these, however, is a large collection of compositions, designed for use by a choir more remarkable for the possession of one or two sweet voices than of a numerous and powerful chorus. I allude to music in which a sweet melody and an effeminate harmony are the staple; and which will certainly be found of little or no use to the proposed "higher Choral Associations." The Church anthem of the length and pretension of Bach's "Blessing and Glory," Mendelssohn's "Lauda Sion," Bennett's "Woman of Samaria," the "Chandos Anthems" of Handel, Stainer's "Daughter of Jairus," Armes' "St. John the Divine," Caldicott's "Widow of Nain," is the Church composition of the future, in combination with settings of the Church's own canticles such as we have recently welcomed from like sources.

Such of these as we have already will, however, soon be exhausted, and there is a lack of compositions strictly adapted to the whole course of the Ecclesiastical year. J. S. Bach wrote a great variety, of great beauty, but of a complexity and difficulty which will often be found embarrassing; moreover, the English of those that have been translated is hardly satisfactory, and has an exotic feeling which is uncomfortable and strained—the common lot of all translations. We should aim at possessing a great variety by our own countrymen to words direct from English Holy Scripture, or the Prayer-book Psalter.

Composition of this high aim requires encouragement on the part of the Church. In particular, distinct encouragement to high design in composition should be afforded to *young men*. I was this year chairman of a committee invited by the Royal Academy of Music to adjudicate the annual prize for composition called the Lucas Medal. Five compositions of considerable length for chorus and orchestra (without solo voices) were sent in, any one of which I should have been proud to conduct. They exhibited a command of counterpoint, and a knowledge of choral and orchestra effect, of which the Academy may well be proud. In model, these are precisely what the Church wants; and there are scores of young men who can thus write, and in time would produce great works, and reflect honour on the Church of their fathers. But composition, like other arts, requires practice, and repeated opportunities of production. This can only be the lot of a young man if he has money to spend. To print such works is somewhat costly, and the musical publishers can hardly be expected to take the risk of it; nor can the youthful composer. Moreover, it is while he is still young and in the disability of poverty that the vein of composition should be kept flowing. Ideas are then fresh and spontaneous. A few years later, and the cares of life interfere; his facility becomes less: the golden time has passed, and with it the disposition to write.

Now the Church rejoices in the prosperity of many Societies with objects more or less religious, taking up work which seemed to have been forgotten in her corporate capacity. I venture to put before you

a new proposal for the formation of a Society on a broad and national basis, having for its object the "encouragement of Church music, and especially of Church composition." I do not know what the incomes of the great Church Societies are: "The National Society," The "S. P. C. K." the "Bible Society," etc. Would it be deemed absolute madness to prefigure the establishment of a Society for the Promotion of Church Music, with a spending income one-twentieth in amount of that lately spent by Government on the encouragement of singing in elementary schools, on a principle involving absolutely no return for the money? I venture to say that such a Society, with a small practical directorate, would in twenty years do an enormous work for the Church. She has not yet lifted a finger, nor said one word towards this object. She has no musical agency whatever. Wonders have been done without it by individual energy, of which we to-day enjoy much fruit. Is it not worth while to try what a little generosity and loving fellowship will do in this new direction?

An important advance has been made, of late years, as to which there are two things to be said: a word of praise, and one of caution: I mean as to the employment of the orchestra in Church. Churches of large area and great height are so peculiarly favourable to the effects of the orchestra, that as an encouragement of religious thought and feeling, *in church*, there is probably no musical agency within our control at all comparable to it. And some music of the great masters is so imbued with true Church feeling, that one would never wish to listen to it anywhere else. If you wish to test this, hear Bach's sublime "Passion Music" at the Albert Hall, and then at St. Paul's. It is quite true that the home of the Oratorio proper is in the Church, where it originated. It is to be noted, however, that many compositions with which we are familiar under the title "Oratorio" are thus misnamed. Some of Handel's, unless under great excision and censorship, are utterly unfit for such a purpose. But my word of caution is not as to these, but to the growing habit of getting together a so-called orchestra of anybody who will come, apparently with little regard to ability, to proportion, or to rehearsal, and setting them to accompany a small choir, in a church far too small for the purpose, in music with which neither choir nor orchestra have more than a very small acquaintance. I have known some dismal examples. Depend upon it, the orchestra is only to be introduced when it is of really good quality, in a church of ample dimensions, and under the control of a master. The House of God must not be made a "place of experiment."

Nor do I feel quite comfortable on the question of "Organ Recitals," to which there is, just now, a growing inclination. It may seem hard to raise the voice of objection. There is no one instrument so sublime in tone, and capable of such infinite variety, as the Church organ; but it is because of its connection with the daily office of praise that one would desire to guard its use; just as one would guard the Church itself, as a building, from use for *any* other object than the worship of God. At any rate, the feeling of this connection should be maintained on every public occasion, without exception. The organ should only be touched as an adjunct to this worship; and if, for the nonce, it be used as a solo instrument, it must be made to conduce to true religious thought by the unvaried solemnity of its utterances. The young player would be too apt

to think of the brilliant and dramatic, in place of the appropriate. As we go on, it may be possible to inculcate this lesson in the training of young organists. I have known sad indications of the want of such feeling: as, for example, in a solemn musical celebration of the Holy Eucharist concluded by Mendelssohn's "Baal, we cry to thee," or a discourse on the duty of penitence grotesquely capped by a merry operatic overture. I am sorry to hear that our American cousins are rather given to this kind of impertinence. In large towns, the temptation to exceed will be less as the number of available concert organs increases.

As for anything like a concert in Church, under guise of a Church meeting, especially with payment for admission, it should not for a moment be admitted as *possible*, though I am sorry to think it is sometimes a fact.

I am tempted here to make a remark as to general every-day appropriateness of the music selected, to the *season of the Church's year*. I remember to have seen, in the service paper of one of our Midland Cathedrals, one of the most penitential of the Anthems of Tallis put down for use on Easter Monday. I should draw the line much more strictly than the mere exclusion of such a mistake as this. It is not sufficient that the general character of the music for a festival be in *harmony* with the day, it must be actually *pertinent* to it; and more than this, the music fitted for a certain time should be kept out of performance at any other. In this way, and this only, the whole progress of the Church's year should be traceable in the music, and a favourite hymn or anthem should never be used *only* because it is a favourite. The want of this principle, I am sure, does harm to Church feeling; for example, when a favourite tune, like that by Dr. Dykes, for the "Hymn for those at Sea," is used for anything and everything of a metre to fit it, its character goes for nothing. I know that the composer felt this as a downright injustice to his own musical knowledge and taste; but, alas! some of our foremost churches have led the way in this very misappropriation.

For a similar reason a Psalter should be used, and used fairly, in which chants of an appropriate character are fixed to each Psalm, and these should not be departed from. If one may modestly mention one's own efforts in wedding music to words, I may say that in the Psalter with Chants Ancient and Modern, the treatment of one Psalm (say, *e.g.*, the 107th) was the result of many days thought and labour. Yet, a musical amateur will sometimes put aside such a result without a moment's hesitation.

And this reminds me that I must say one word more as to the selection of music for the District Choral Associations. This is important, because it usually lasts long in all the churches using the book. I must think that its selection by a musical committee—nine-tenths of whom disclaim musical knowledge—as at present, is not always or entirely satisfactory. There are instances of the attendance of certain choirs being dependent on the selection of some favourite tune suggested at committee. As a whole, I consider the music now put before the choirs much weaker than it need be for this or some such reason. Let us hope that the wider-spread technical knowledge of the art, which is now reaching all classes, may in time tell in this direction. It requires something more than an ear for music to decide on matters of musical composition, or

the admission of a new tune into the service. It is not the pretty tune that is the most fit, nor the most popular that is the most worthy of popularity. Some of the melodies of Moody and Sankey, or of the "Crown of Jesus" collection, are popular enough—but it is quite another question whether they are worthy of association with God's worship. Are they and the hymns they accompany not rather the exponent of a somewhat unwholesome and sentimental feeling, too personal and effeminate for public worship? I ask you to compare the Old Hundredth sung lustily by men, as at the opening service of this Congress, or "Now thank we all our God," "O sinner, lift the eye of faith;" or some of the old Psalter tunes of the age of the Reformation, the Old Hundred-and-Thirteenth, "From His blest heaven the Eternal Son," or Handel's "Rejoice, the Lord is King," with such a hymn as "Safe in the arms of Jesus," sung in like manner, and to tell me what you think of the effect of the two on the religious mind? I believe that the two styles I mention produced very different effects as to reverence or irreverence (*i.e.*, familiarity), and a higher or lower conception of the Great Object of Worship. Can familiarity with trifling adjuncts—the secular song adapted to sacred words—the opera chorus made into a hymn-tune—produce, think you, anything like the idea of worship?

But we want more musical education yet, before people will be ready to accept the best.

When contributions towards the musical edition of "Hymns, Ancient and Modern" were invited, eighteen years ago, my house was full of the MSS. tendered for acceptance from all quarters, and the tune of which I had the greatest number of copies was an adaptation of a chorus in Weber's "Oberon."

Judging from the pressure put upon us from without for more pretty and modern tunes when the last edition was in preparation, I should hardly say that the public taste had meanwhile improved.

Yet the question of taste, I am sure, is a most important one, and in dealing in whole or in detail with the service of the sanctuary, we must never forget that it is not a question of what shall be pretty, "nice," and agreeable—but what is noble, lasting, and sublime. Why? The pretty, the agreeable, the popular is the attribute of the man—earthly; the noble, the lasting, the sublime, is that of the worship of God.

MR. J. GAMBIER PARRY.

LIKE many other things, Fine Art is a power for good and evil, and its attractiveness makes that power great. For evil, we find it in works of vanity and vice; for good, we see it in the fire which shines from beneath the surface of good men's works. Will and genius are the sources of its power, and thus a work of marble or of colour becomes a thing of purpose and of life; yes, and a more true and clear exponent than language of men's nature and men's thoughts, for language may hide and pervert truth, but art would convict itself in the lie it would try to tell. The impulse of art comes the artist knows not whence. An irresistible and untraceable ideal haunts him: its imagery falls on him like a reflection from another state of being; the mystery of it engages him; the beauty

of it fascinates him ; its power increases in his search to realise it ; heart and mind are oppressed at the sense of it ; and the poetry of art alone affords the means of its expression. A work of art comes forth because it must. Its purpose is its own relief.

All fine arts have a common origin, and are necessary to each other. The arts of the painter and the sculptor belong to the architect, and enhance the beauty of his work ; but music does so even more perfectly ; for, with all that sculpture may adorn it or painting enrich it, architecture is never so grandly beautiful as when the divine strains of music are echoing from its forms. Music translates those forms into a perfect eloquence, and clothes them with the colours of her own beauty. How easy, then, to understand the endearment of art to mankind ! Thoughts pure and beautiful flash across him, and are the next instant gone, like a sunray in the sky or a fragrance from the earth. The thoughts had left but a vague shadow of their image, but art rescued it and made it a reality. That first rude sculptor may well have started back who first saw the embodiment of his soul's conception. Whence that conception ? An invisible, inscrutable breath had impinged upon his thought, as the light air wafts across his forehead ; whence it came and whither it went he knew not ; but there it stands before him a reality—terrible in its reality ; an embodied shadow ; an emanation from his own life ; a film of thought that had flashed out from the unknown, and was the next moment lost ; gone like the gloss upon the dew, but caught up, recovered, reproduced by his rude skill. How inevitable was idolatry ! Whence was the birth of that rude image ? Was it an agony of grief, or the dread of death, or of conscience that had struck upon his imagination ? He looked blindly into infinity, conscious of a light he could not see. The terror of the unseen had forced upon him the idea of deity. He felt the divine element in things, and called them Gods.

As with that rude sculptor, so in all time, art is both the creature and the producer of emotion ; and most natural therefore is the result that the subject which produces the deepest emotions produces also the greatest art. Its moral and religious influence is indubitable ; but unlike the effects of eloquence in literature and speech, the action of fine art is most powerful, when (so far as the directness of representation will allow it) its appeal is indirect ; and hence its selectiveness and subtlety, its symbolism and poetry, its consummate art in hiding itself, content to arouse emotion and suggest idea. I doubt the moral value of its direct representations of pain or shame or evil. Its influence for good and noble action is by the fascination of its works, which make that action beautiful. Its illustrations of agony and vice are themselves as repulsive as the evil they wish to cure. I doubt therefore Hogarth's pictures of the Rake's Progress having ever stopped the course of a rake, or Morland's illustrations of the fall and ruin of Letitia having ever stayed the folly of a frivolous girl. But there can be no doubt of the power of art to clench a conviction already received, or to add force equally to superstition and to truth. The arts of all time have illustrated this, from the idol of the savage (the embodiment of the demon of his dread) to all that the arts of Assyria and Egypt, Greece and Rome, have done, or the lavished ornament of the temple of the Jews, the paintings of the Catacombs, the frescoes of the middle ages—all testify to this use and power.

The embodiment of the religious ideal—and deeper far than that, the

impersonation of that ideal—has been a longing desire of mankind, approaching to a necessity. The irresistible conviction of spiritual existence, the idea of the power and beauty of invisible beings, has so possessed the minds and imaginations of men that the whole material universe has been peopled with them, from the Gods who reigned in the starry heavens to those bright and graceful beings with which Mythology has filled the woods and fountains, the rocks, the ocean, and the very air itself. Impersonation was the ideal on which the pagan arts had been perfected. They swayed the emotions of men. But yet with all their beauty, and with all their power, an impenetrable shadow hung over them. Satisfaction was incomplete. The impersonation was inanimate. The life of it, indeed, was in the artist's mind, and its beauty was in the eyes of those who looked on it. Human sense had grasped at what the human spirit had yearned to see; but only the material of an inanimate symbol was given to it. Intellect and sense alone were satisfied. The heart, the mainspring of humanity, was not touched. A great ideal in philosophy, in literature, and in art had for ages occupied the mind and imagination of mankind. But whence its power, if it were but a thing of fancy or a dream? The whole fabric of it had long since perished, but for the conviction of its own inward truth. That conviction was the forecast of a great reality. All art had strained its eyes towards it; the loftiest music of all poetry had raised its voice to it; and, far beyond the reach of all of these, suffering humanity had lifted its blind eyes, and stretched out its hands to it; and it was this—the hearts of all nations had yearned for the impersonation of life. At length, and in the fulness of time, that Life was manifested, and that Life was the light of men, and the human heart was satisfied.

The Christian artist is like "the sower that went forth to sow." Art is truly a divine seed, whose fruit is for the sweetness of man's life. But human infirmity mars it, and human failing blights it; till, well watered by human tears, men reap it in joy. Art is sent with a divine message to the world, and that message is the evidence of the universe to the perfection of its Creator as exhibited in the mystery of beauty. This is the commission that the artist bears—to translate to the world the symbols of God's universal love. The divine attributes of power and infinity might overwhelm the world with fear, but the attribute of love reassures it. Beauty is the symbol of that love. Reason cannot define nor imagination fathom it; and he that bears the commission of that message can do no more than, by the simple eloquence of truth, to win the sympathies of men, and to train them as he has trained himself to see in the lineaments of beauty not the mere fancy of a fascinated sense, but a power overlying, underlying, pervading all things—the mystery of beauty; not a mere quality of material, but an element of life; not a mere accident in physical nature, but a designed purpose of its existence. But here we are met by the Word of Wisdom which must be true, that "No man by searching can find out God." To answer or to explain this impediment we need but little of our own unaided wisdom to reply that "No man can find out the philosopher by searching among the atoms of his body, nor the life and instinct of an animal by the keenest anatomy." An unwise man does not well consider this, and a fool will not understand it. But the Word of Wisdom is perfect, and has dispelled all difficulty and discouragement by answering thus—"The spirit

searches the deep things of God;" and it further adds, "We have received the spirit which is of God that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God, because they are spiritually discerned." Great powers of insight have been given to us, but they fail to reach that spiritual ideal, except on those fixed conditions. The senses, reason, imagination, conscience, are the main elements of human perception; but each one is subject to those conditions. No one function of that great machinery can arrogate its own sufficiency when its gaze is turned to things divine. The conscience uninformed, undisciplined, grows morbid and oblique. Imagination uncontrolled may soar superior to other faculties, but its flight is vain without their truth and balance. So, too, sense and reason cannot stand alone; unaided they can never rise to the vision of Divine light. They may suffice for the study of phenomena in mind and matter, but they make a sorry and crippled machine to trust the course and conduct of human life to. The cold and narrow creed that some schools of science and philosophy would thrust upon the world, exact a far more difficult belief than the wide and simple Gospel of God.

The artist and the naturalist are fellow-travellers; and their conversation, as they journey through the great and wondrous things of life, is mutually attractive and profitable; for with all the diversity of motive and purpose which gives zest to their companionship, an equal enthusiasm impels them, and their sympathies are deep. The peculiar habits of a contemplative and penetrative study which distinguish the artist from his friend are specially those which bring into action the powers of imagination; and, just as the tone of the artist's mind may be base or exalted, those powers will be nourished on frivolity or directed toward the highest purposes and aspirations of human life.

Thus disciplined, with heart and mind in place, imagination is no vague dream. The power and beauty of the external would give form and fashion to it; but its promptings come from the deep things of nature, and those are the deep things of God. Confounded as it is by the ignorant and insensible with vague taste and fitful fancy, the work of a disciplined imagination is essentially practical and real. It alone can bring out in full relief that which before was but a vague image in the earnest yearning of the heart. It is a power of spiritual intelligence, the gift of Him whose voice is in the stillness of the universe. It is a Divine light within, illuminating mortal sight from the fountain of immortality. It is a creative power within, giving form to spirit, substance to faith and reality to prayer. Without it, how desolate the wilderness, how black the darkness, through which the spiritual sight strains itself toward the light which gleams above the horizon of its hope! Imagination is indeed that great faculty by which the soul ascends to the contemplation of Divine Nature. Without it that precious spark would die, which, among the paradox and mystery of existence, makes clear the pathway from the life we know, to that life which asserts itself in us, though we know it not; confounding pride by the exhibition of human littleness, and supporting the humble soul with the sense of its divine relationship, which raises it for ever.

The immortal soul is self-conscious. It is conscious too of universal life, and of its own place in it. It has been offered the Gospel of Death and has refused it. It is satisfied with the knowledge of

the fact of mystery, as that without which Eternity would be an idle void. It listens to the echoes of a distant past. It has never let go the hand of God. It sees and hears His guiding spirit in the trial-sphere of human life. It knows His footsteps ; it traces His light. All nature is His parable.

But Nature is the universe, a wide subject, and a large word to use. Nature has many meanings to men's minds. Nature is God's home and ours. How lovely is she ! And yet men wrangle over her. Pride and faith would fight over her ; but, thank God, how near does the love of her bring together the Philosopher, the Christian, and the Poet, heal all the wounds of prejudice and mistrust, turn all their enmity and contempt to brotherhood, and blend their rivalry in her adoring admiration !

All subjects take their colour from men's minds. Things present themselves, and men's minds *re-present* them. But then those things have passed through a great machine, through the sieve of an instant, analysing sense, through stream and counter-stream of reason and imagination, and they come out, like the hope of the human soul, unchanged indeed in individuality, but transformed, transfigured. So the influence of fine art upon thought and life depends greatly upon the tenor of individual disposition : for some minds turn all poetry to prose, and some invest the simplest things with the halo of their own brightness. *Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*. The spirit of universal life in nature points to immortality. Fine art embodies it, and translates its lovely parables to the world. She is the bearer of the lamp of that life to all who have eyes to see the divine beauty in her imagery and ears to hear the Divine wisdom in her voice. But some are cold, some deaf and blind ; and she casts her pearls before them in vain ; for no art can draw music from the chord that Nature has not already tuned.

If science and morality have their sermons in stones, religion has hers in forms of beauty. But, alas ! it is not unreasonable to fear that the influence of fine art with the multitude goes no deeper than the eyes, and their value of it is rather for its furniture than for its poetry. Regard plainly for one moment the effect of a great picture and sculpture gallery upon the multitude. What do they find ? A vast array of pictures and statues ; portraits and landscapes of all nationalities ; here and there a scenic representation of a religious subject from one school, or an academic composition from another ; then, more rarely indeed, a gem of devotional expression : the rest are boats, or battles, or domestic scenes most picturesque, or vice and revelry most offensive ; and the sight-seers disperse, delighted with their entertainment, exhilarated by its brightness, and confounded by its multiplicity. But pause one moment more. There were some who went lingeringly away ; for there were those among that multitude, and possibly among the poorest and the meanest in the world's esteem, men, women, and perhaps children too, on whom some lovely ray of thought had struck : and the aspirations of devotional expression, still breathing from the surface of some old canvas, as the poor artist had left them, with his last sigh, a legacy for the world, had found their kindred spirit and had struck home at last. These were they who possessed the chord that Nature had already tuned. The music was in the lyre, and mute only till the musician's touch awakened it.

"But you have asked a serious question : "How can religious life and thought be affected by art?" Restricted time allows me only to reply thus :—Fine art is profoundly more a thing of spirit than of sense. To a soul penetrated with the love of God all things minister. To such an one, whether practically an artist or not, but at least contemplatively one, whose powers of natural insight have been cultivated and refined by all that it is art's sacred mission to teach—to such an one Nature has opened wide her great treasury of Divine life. She has spread before the eyes of his responsive spirit, in a vista of infinity, the mystery of Divine beauty. Unsolved, unsolvable! He gazes with adoration. The highest faculties of his nature—of body, soul, and spirit—in silence bow before it. Sense perceives, imagination portrays, reason accepts, conscience assures, with all the power of their blended testimony, that that inscrutable mystery of Beauty is the mode in which it has pleased the blessed God to communicate to His creatures the perfection of His wisdom and His love. The sublime vision is beyond the range of mortal sight. The moral sense, the voice of the soul within, has answered "Yes," and the heart turns to its course in human life, the sphere of a short pilgrimage, fortified and content. The convictions which thought, study, and the experience of life had heaped together, stored, sorted, and purified in the great laboratory of memory, have been illuminated by a ray from the throne of immortality. Fear vanishes. Difficulties which tempt, infirmities which impede, are but the discipline of an existence conscious of its own infancy. The way of life lies out before. The light of Divine beauty has been shed upon it ; and thus along the pathway of this mortal life, whether it be earthward or heavenward, the footsteps of the travellers are made light, and their hearts rejoiced with the blessings of assurance and of peace.

ADDRESSES.

The Right Hon. A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

THE question that is proposed to us is the mode in which religious thought and life are influenced by architecture. It would be an equally valuable and equally interesting inquiry to investigate the mode in which architecture may be influenced by religious life and thought. Let us combine the two investigations together in one great inquiry into the theory of architecture as an offshoot and exponent of religious life and thought. The propensity and passion for, aye, the necessity for, building, is one of the most salient marks of civilization. Civilized man is above all things a building creature. Civilization means emphatically building for decency, for comfort, for convenience, and for beauty. Egypt and Nineveh are my witness ; Greece and Rome, mediæval and modern Europe, all testify to the fact that wherever progressive civilization has freshened the nations there we have beautiful buildings. Every noble nation and every patriotic commonwealth by the very rule of its existence must build. Then I declare emphatically that the most elect of nations, the most august and most universal of commonwealths, the Christian Church, must above all other build, nobly, reverently, lavishly, piously. It must build, or it will not be the Christian Church—*Civitas Dei*, the civilizer and consoler of souls. The little fragments broken off, infinitesimal chips of religiosity—may despise beauty and scoff at order ; but the King's Daughter, the true

Spouse, has been from the first, and shall be to the end, all glorious within, in her clothing of wrought gold. Every spire, climbing up to heaven, like those of Grantham and Newark, and your own beautiful needle here at Newcastle, every church tower massive and four-square, watching over the miseries, the crimes and weaknesses of human existence, like the triple group at Durham—every one is a perpetual litany rising with the incense of perpetual prayer to the throne of grace. I pass over the teachings of the elder Church. I say nothing of that most lovely temporary cathedral reared by Moses in the wilderness. I say nothing of that metropolitical Temple planted by Solomon on Mount Moriah, like Durham domineering from its rock. I go to the Christian Church, and I call upon you to admire and to wonder at the exceeding wisdom with which, in the emergency of its first emancipation, having to provide for a settled and a prosperous existence, it took hold of the heathen tribunal, and out of that heathen tribunal, by a few changes, a few master-strokes of genius, converted it into the congruous temple of the Most High. The semi-circular apse at the end, once the prætor's seat, now held the bishop's chair, his attendant presbyters ranged right and left. Over their heads in the curved vault, wrought in imperishable mosaic, the colossal figure of Christ, prefigured the Apocalyptic vision—"The throne, which was set in heaven," and Him Who sat upon that throne, and "round the throne" the "four and twenty seats," while upon the polished pavement beneath, recalling "the sea of glass like unto crystal," was the earthly presentment of "the golden altar which was before the throne." Lower down in their enclosure were congregated the white-robed singers, from whom, like "the voice of many angels round about the throne," uprose the ever-recurring psalmody. Still further from the throne were thronged the great body of worshippers, representatives of "every creature which is in the heaven and on the earth and under the earth, and such as are in the sea," all ascribing, as in the great Eucharistic rite, "blessing and honour and glory and power unto Him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb for ever and ever." Last of all, hovering round the door, stood the mournful group of penitents.

Such was the material church of earlier days. As time went on more beautiful creations of architectural art developed themselves. The oblong pile, recalling in its form the ship—the ship that carried Christ—expanded right and left, and still continuing to be the ship became also the cross. Then, too, the bishop left his central seat for a more modest one at the side of the choir. In capital and in string course, and on wall space, everywhere, the living stone blossomed into forms of exquisite symbolical beauty. The wood-carver vied with the worker in metal, and every window glowed with rainbow brilliancy. I am, you see, calling upon you to make your ideal church peculiarly magnificent and spacious, for in all things it is well to hold up the highest model. The material church is the type of the spiritual Church. The congregation, too, of the church is not a "fortuitous collection of atoms." It is a Christian people duly assembled. In God's service everyone, from the clergyman to the smallest school-child scrambling up to the seat with its poor little legs hanging down—from the clergyman to the youngest child of the congregation—all are partners together in one common work, swelling the great chord of praise, carrying out our Lord's teaching that when two or three are gathered—and if two or three, then still more when two or three thousand are gathered together—their prayers, if uttered with a devout heart and in a believing spirit, will surely be heard at the throne which is set in heaven. I will not pass from my subject without a word of practical application. I am at this time standing in the ancient and famous borough of Newcastle, and I trust I shall be one of the last strangers to stand in that borough, and that those who come after me will be the guests of and the visitors to the city of Newcastle. You have heard this day how very near at hand is the accomplishment of the prayers and hopes of the good people of this place and of the Church of England and of your noble-hearted bishop. But when you have endowed the bishopric will you have completed your work? No; your next duty will be to give to the Bishop of Newcastle competent helpers, faith-

ful counsellors, and wise executants in his cathedral chapter, and even when you have done this you cannot sit down and stroke your chins in a fit of complacent idleness. It is true that in the parish church of St. Nicholas you have a stately and noble building, of dimensions which entitle it, as the Statute has enacted, to be accepted as your cathedral. You have with much munificence and taste restored it, so as to make it in its arrangements a worthy parish church. But it wants several things to fit it for its higher destination and to entitle it to take rank as a worthy cathedral. A reredos, delicate and aspiring as that of Durham, will be required; the throne of the bishop must not be forgotten; the choir screen and parcloles must be provided; a stately pulpit must be forthcoming. Above all, you must observe how wide are the spaces of plain wall inside, now happily relieved from the pollution of whitewash. These plain wall spaces are given to you to become the field for examples of the highest religious art. I do not recommend you to cover them with frescoes, for frescoes will soon perish under the air of Newcastle, so charged with chemical elements. But they offer themselves for that most enduring, most effective process of religious art, the glass mosaic, with its brilliant, well-contrasted colours standing out from the golden background; mosaics such as you find in the churches of Ravenna, of Rome, and of the Eternal Wisdom at Constantinople. If all which I suggest be done, the church of St. Nicholas, in spite of its size so moderate for its new destination, may become a beautiful, glorious, and remarkable cathedral, and one of which the citizens of Newcastle may well be proud.

Rev. E. H. BICKERSTETH, M.A. (Vicar of Christ Church,
Hampstead, and Rural Dean of Highgate).

"AFTER theology," said Martin Luther, "there is no art which can be compared to music. For she alone, after theology, causes . . . a glad and quiet heart. Therefore the devil, author of sad cares and of crowds of disquiets, flees at the voice of music as he flees at the word of theology."

Such was the outspoken judgment of the great German Reformer, who was himself no mean craftsman in the art he thus commends. And doubtless Holy Scripture, from the earliest records of Creation to the furthest visions of the Apocalypse, sets forth music as the natural and almost necessary expression of joy and peace and adoration. When the foundations of the earth were laid, we read, the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy. There is a gleam of brightness cast over the families which were so deeply shadowed by the murder of Abel, when we read of Jubal as the father of such as handle the harp and organ. The notes of his stringed and wind instruments have vibrated through the ages.

When the chosen people were brought out of Egypt, how instinctive was the impulse of Miriam to seize the timbrel and to lead the choral dances of her companions, and to chant her nation's deliverance to the glad refrain, "Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath He cast into the sea."

So Jephthah's heroic child came out to meet her father, the saviour of her country from the hateful yoke of Ammon, with timbrels and dances.

But, as years passed over the Church of God, music was dedicated to yet holier uses. David, the shepherd boy of Bethlehem, was a cunning player on the harp; and not only did his melodies chase the evil spirit from Saul, but who could doubt that the marvellous *ψαλμός* of his psalms was an echo in a higher sphere of the art he had cultivated on his lyre? When he brought up the ark of God we are told that "he, with all the house of Israel, played before the Lord on all manner of instruments of fir wood,

even on harps and on psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals, and with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet."

And afterwards, when preparations were being made for the building of the Temple, we read that 4,000 Levites praised the Lord with the instruments that David made to praise withal (1 Chron. xxiii. 5). And chief among them were Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun, their sons and their brethren, who were for song in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God. We think it much if in our cathedral festivals we can collect as many hundreds as David collected thousands of voices. These formed the surpliced choirs of whom we read at the dedication of the Temple, "The Levites, the singers, arrayed in white linen, having cymbals, and psalteries, and harps, stood at the east end of the altar; and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets. And . . . as the trumpeters and the singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord, saying, 'For He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever, that then the house was filled with a cloud even the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God.'"

Nor is the New Testament wanting in hallowed associations of music. The Saviour's birth was heralded with the angelic song, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, goodwill towards men." The pearl of parables tells us how the returning prodigal was received with music and dancing. It was a sacred feast of gladness in that home; the fatted calf was *sacrificed* (as the Greek word signifies), and festive melodies were accompanied with dances and songs of praise. When the Son of David rode in lowly triumph into Jerusalem, and the children sang Hosanna to his name, He said of them, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise." And when we come to the supreme crisis in the world's history, it is recorded, "they sang a hymn," that is, the great Hallel, ere they went out to the Mount of Olives—a record which may teach us that music need not be banished from our Good Friday services, for it can express sorrow as well as joy.

Of the Acts of the Apostles few stories make a deeper impression than the narrative of the dungeon at Philippi, when "about midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns to God" (Revised Version). How many dark hours of persecution have those hymns lightened and cheered! No wonder that the same apostle in after years, when writing from another prison in Rome, bids the Ephesians speak to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their heart to the Lord. St. James speaks of song as the irrepressible utterances of a glad heart, "Is any merry? let him sing psalms," which almost reminds us of Shelley's "Ode to the Skylark":

"Hail to thee, blithe spirit;
Bird thou never wert;
That from heaven, or near it,
Pourest thy full heart
In profuse strains of unmeditated art."

But it was reserved for the Book of Revelation to draw aside the curtain from things unseen. The songs of the Apocalypse are a study in themselves. The crowned elders have every one of them a harp in their hands; and as they cast their crowns before the Throne they pour forth their songs of Hallelujah.

On the heavenly Mount Zion is heard the voice of harpers harping on their harps. And after describing the advent in glory of the Eternal Word, St. John says, "A voice came forth from the throne, saying, Give praise to our God, all ye His servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great." And then, as when a skilled master lays his hands on the keys of a magnificent organ, forthwith, we read, the diapason of the universe arises, "I heard as it

were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia ! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

It is not to be denied that there are intimations in Scripture of music being prostituted to selfish and voluptuous—yes, to apostate and idolatrous uses. The patriarch Job speaks of the wicked who "take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ : they spend their days in wealth," and "say unto God, Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of Thy ways." When Israel sinned that great sin, from which their Rabbis say they are not cleansed to the present hour, of worshipping the golden calf, we read, "The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play." It was the voice of singing which startled Moses and Joshua as they came down from the Mount. Solomon got him men singers and women singers, and the delights of the sons of men, and musical instruments of all sorts ; but, apart from God, it was vanity and vexation of spirit. Isaiah tells of the revellers of his time : "The harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe, and wine are in their feasts, but they regard not the word of the Lord." And Nebuchadnezzar inaugurated the worship of the golden image on the plains of Dura by a concert of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of music. There is enough, at least, to warn us that music, like the other good gifts of God to man, may be perverted to evil.

But, with the sanctions named before, the fact that religious thought and life are powerfully influenced by music cannot be gainsaid, nor that such influence is according to the mind and will of God.

The history of the Christian Church during the last eighteen centuries abundantly confirms this, but time forbids me to adduce more than a very few typical examples.

The letter of Pliny to Trajan lives in the memory of us all, in which he says that the Christians were wont to meet very early before daybreak and sing together (or in response, *invicem*) a hymn to Christ as God.

St. Augustine of Hippo, when antiphonal singing was introduced into the Church at Milan, says, "How abundantly used I to weep before God to hear those psalms of Thine, being touched to the quick by the voices of Thy sweet Church song. The tones flowed into my ears, and Thy truth pleasingly distilled into my heart, which caused the affections of my devotion to overflow."

And again he writes, "When Justina, being seduced by the Arians, persecuted the Catholic faith, and the people occupied themselves in devout watches more than beforetime, ready to die with their Bishop (St. Ambrose) in that quarrel, it was ordained that hymns and psalms should be sung in the Church of Milan after the manner of the East parts, that the good folk thereby might have some comfort and spiritual relief in that lamentable state and in their continual sorrows. Thereof the Churches of the West took example, and in every country they followed the same." (Jewel, vol. i. p. 265.) Are not these the sequences, of increasing volume and strength, from the hymns sung by Paul and Silas in the prison at Philippi?

Again we are told that St. Augustine of Canterbury, two hundred years after this, with his forty missionary companions, Ethelbert having assigned them a residence called Doroburnia, entered it in procession, singing psalms. So that it was not without music that England was conquered, or rather reconquered, for the Cross.

And if we pass on to the seventeenth century we find that with the fresh life of the Reformation fresh power was poured into Church music and song. "Music," said Martin Luther, "is a precious beautiful gift of God. The devil, that lost spirit, cannot endure sacred songs of joy. Our passions and impatiences, our complainings and our cryings, our 'alas' and our 'woe is me,' please him well, but our songs and psalms vex and grieve him sorely."

And again we are told that on December 17, 1538, Luther invited the singers and musicians to a supper, where they sang sweet and fair Motets, when he said with admiration, "Seeing our Lord God in this life shaketh out and presenteth

unto us such precious gifts, what then will be done in the life everlasting, when everything shall be made in the most complete and delightfullest manner." (Hawkins' "History of Music," p. 388.)

Henry Bullinger, of Zurich, advocates the utmost freedom in singing, and says that "those churches which use singing after the ancient manner sing the Word of God and the praises of God only," and he pleads that "those churches which sing not at all should not despise those who use soberly and godlyly to sing"—a caution not unneeded in our day.

But to pass over to our own shores. Roger Hutchinson says, with regard to singing at the Holy Communion, "Follow the ensample of Christ, thy High Shepherd, and of His apostles, who finished not this mystery without thanks to the Divine Majesty. . . . But though God do not esteem the voice, but the heart, yet both song and instruments be laudable and approved ceremonies in God's Church, as I would prove but only because I will not be over long."

To quote one other passage from our Reformers, Bishop Jewel writes to Peter Martyr :

"Dated at London, March 1, 1560.

"Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in church music has very much conduced to this. For as soon as they had once commenced singing in public in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's Cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God. This sadly annoys the Mass priests and the devil. For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note." ("Zurich Letters," vol. i, p. 21.)

At the same time there was a great reformation in the schools of music attached to the churches of Rome, under Palestrina. At the beginning of the sixteenth century (I quote and condense from a striking tractate called "Musical Notes") "Nothing could exceed the sacrilegious indecorum of the services in the Pope's Chapel and in other churches, where the music was finest. Yet among the choristers was a young man of exalted genius, combined with patient humility and purity of life. His name was Giovanni Pier Luigi, born in the year 1529, in the village of Palestro, whence the name by which he has been immortalised, Palestrina. The state of things at Rome went on from bad to worse, till the Pope called to his counsel the Archbishop of Milan, a loving student of music, who saw with pain and horror the degradation of it in the Roman churches. By his advice a season of solemn prayer was set apart to implore help from above for the reform of this branch of the Divine service, and at the end of it the conclave of cardinals met again. The name of Palestrina, who had been banished from Rome, was then remembered—his blameless life, his earnest seeking of Goudimel's instruction, his devotion in the choir. So his retirement was sought out, and quiet leisure was afforded him to compose a solemn musical service for the Holy Communion. While Palestrina wrote, the priests and the people prayed that he might have Divine guidance, and when his first work was finished nothing could exceed its grandeur and solemnity. The object was obtained. Levity and frivolity were banished, and music under his auspices fulfilled its mission of lending wings to the devotions of the people. He died in 1594." To remind you of but one of his strains, if it were only the exquisite music to which we sing our Easter hymn :

"The strife is o'er, the battle done ;

The victory of life is won ;

The song of triumph has begun :

Alleluia,"

we shall not easily repay the debt we owe him.

In my late visit to India I was struck with the utter absence of music in the Mohammedan mosques, and with the meagre, monotonous strains, not worthy of the name of melodies, in the Hindu temples. It seems as if it needed the aspirations, which Christianity alone awakens, to elevate music to its diviner functions and to suggest those lofty associations of sound which are alike our glory and delight. As a very humble but ardent lover of Church music and collector of hymn tunes, I have adopted only one Telugu tune, and that for a child's hymn, from among the melodies of India, whereas it is most refreshing to find how every Christian nation contributes its offerings for the house of prayer. In looking hastily through the musical edition of the "Hymnal Companion to the Prayer-book," it rejoiced me to see how many lands had helped to swell the services of Church song :

Germany stands in the forefront with her Luther, and Handel, and Bach, and Mozart, and Beethoven, and Mendelssohn, and Sophr, and almost countless others. Bohemia supplies one stately chorale, "Atonement." "The Dolomite Chant," if it stood alone, is no small enrichment to our stores. The well-known tune "Austria" is by Haydn. "Saxony" is a Moravian contribution. "Noel" is a Polish melody. The favourite tune "Hursley" is from Italy. "Victory" is by Palestrina. "St. Asaph" is by Giornivichi. The "Sicilian Mariners" tells its own birthplace. Spain has given us the plaintive "Spanish Chant." "Magdeburg" and probably the "Old Hundredth" are by Claude Goudimel, who was killed in the massacre at Lyons, A.D. 1572. Even Rousseau has bequeathed to us "Communion." "Leoni" is a Hebrew melody. Some sweet strains as "Excelsior" have been borne to us over the Atlantic. And when we come to our own shores, while the origin of many of our standard tunes is lost in the mist of years, so that they are only known as "ancient melodies," the acknowledged contributions of the last 300 years have vastly increased our patrimony of Church music. Perhaps our own age has been the most fertile of all. And certainly, in this diocese, one name will spring to every lip, the beloved and lamented Dr. Dykes, of Durham, whose tunes have helped more devotions heavenward than will ever be known on earth.

How, then, may religious life and thought be most influenced for good, by music in our own time? Surely the old proverb answers in every heart, "Begin at home." Is it too much to say that music is part of that image of God in which we are created, a reflex in man of the infinite harmonies of the Divine perfection? If so, every human creature has some music in his soul. It may have been almost crushed out of him. It may have been dormant or deadened from childhood. Still, it is there, a possibility in the core of his being. What then? Most persons have more music in them than they suspect. More persons could sing tunably than do sing at all, if they would only exercise their voices. This art, like every other good gift of God, needs patient and constant cultivation.

Then what a power is music in our homes ! Is the voice of joy and health in the dwellings of the righteous? it ought to find utterance in songs of praise. And this not only in the families of the rich—although even there the somewhat frigid morning and evening prayers would be marvellously enlivened by a hymn sung to the piano or harmonium, and not seldom the voices from the servants' hall will be among the most helpful in the stately dining-room—but also in the cottages and homes of the poor. Why should any be ashamed of their songs being overheard? It is the employ of angels.

And so in brotherly intercourse. Where we in England say to one another, "Let us kneel down and pray together," in Germany they say, "Let us sing a hymn together." Might not the prayer and the hymn be joined in happy wedlock?

In our schools a great impetus has been given to singing by the Government recognition of it. These singing boys, and suffer me to say these singing girls, ought to be the nursery-garden plants for our church choirs. Why should we exclude the young women's voices? It will be in the recollection of some of you, that in the Nottingham Congress ten years ago, the

late Dr. Gauntlett, that great choirmaster, said, "Do not sing boys' chants, and fail to make use of the women's voices. The young women's chorus is the charm of the service : boys' voices have no body of tone. . . . Employ the women's voices, so pure, so graceful, so exquisite, possessing a charm far beyond that of the boys'. The one is the full-blown flower, the other only the bud."

But the united song of the whole congregation must be our aim if we would widely influence religious life and thought—our ideal that of the angels' song in "Paradise Lost,"—

"No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part ; such concord is in heaven."

I grant you, there may be too much of music and song in our parish churches. I think there is too much when it "cribs, cabins, and confines" the sermon, the preaching of the everlasting Gospel, God's chosen instrument for the salvation of souls, and for the building up of His people in their most holy faith. What one said of secular literature, in the matter of self-education, is true of music in worship, "Such literature is all very well in its place, but it requires a giant's hand to keep it there."

Up to a certain limit, music is the greatest help to devotion ; beyond that limit music depresses and dissipates religious fervour. Far be it from me to say that the limit is the same for all persons and for all congregations. But it is the part of an enlightened conscience to trace this limiting line and to keep within it. Music, like fire, is a very good servant, but a very bad master. And a servant, when he reigneth, is one of those four things on account of which it is written, "the earth is disquieted, and which it cannot bear." Surely it were well for some choirs to keep this in mind who seem to sing (let them forgive us if we misjudge them) to glorify their art. No, my friends, music is the handmaid of worship, and whenever, like Hagar, she breaks loose from the yoke, her ministering angel says to her, "Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hand." But there can be no doubt that whatever music we have in our churches should be of the very choicest we can command. Our people ought to be trained to dedicate their best and noblest to God.

With the object of first awakening our people's love of music and sacred song we may do something more than tolerate Sankey's hymns and tunes. I say this the more frankly because personally I have a great dislike and distaste to these negro melodies in religious services. The words are often of the weakest and the music of the worldliest. Still they are a power. In Church Missions they have drawn many within the sound of the story of the Cross. They may prove stepping-stones to something higher. Only let us not be content that children should be always children. "When I became a man I put away childish things."

One thing more only I would name. Anthems and oratorios are the loftiest achievements of sacred music. Handel's *Messiah* has been a gospel in song to countless rapt and devout listeners. Is there not room for more? In reading "Mendelssohn's Letters" some years ago, I noted that the words for his *Elijah* were compiled for him by a German pastor, and I was emboldened to select passages from Holy Scripture for a sacred oratorio on the fall of man and the salvation of God. It was submitted by a friend to Mr. Benedict, who was pleased to say that he was so interested by the sequence of thought and the selection of the words, that if he could redeem the time he would make the attempt. But I have heard nothing more of it. Possibly, the naming of it in this Congress may awaken the desire of essaying it in other minds. If successful, it would be a mighty lever of religious life in our day and generation. The tide of music and song ought to roll on more fully and impressively from age to age. And if with St. Augustine we see a great mystery in the order of the Psalms, surely it is most significant that the

Psalter closes with that "Hallelujah Chorus" in which every stringed and wind instrument has part. "Hallelujah, praise God in His sanctuary! Praise Him in the firmament of His power! Praise Him for His mighty acts! Praise Him according to His excellent greatness! Praise Him with the sound of the trumpet! Praise Him with the psaltery and harp! Praise him with the timbrel and dance! Praise Him with stringed instruments and organs! Praise Him upon the loud cymbals! Praise Him upon the high-sounding cymbals! Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord! Hallelujah!"

The Rev. PRECENTOR ROGERS.

MR. PRESIDENT,—The subject which we have to discuss is a wide one, and the time allotted is very short. I shall limit it, as far as my own observations are concerned, by saying at once that I dismiss from consideration instrumental music without vocal accompaniment, and the sacred music of the home and the family. They are both important subjects, and much may be said upon each of them, but I have no time to touch them now. I shall restrict myself to two special modes in which music may be brought to bear on religious thought, and through that on religious life. The first, simplest and most familiar, is that in which the united and unanimous worship of the assembled congregation finds expression in the inspiring strains of psalm or hymn. The second, more elaborate and more restricted in its application, is that form of service in which the voice of the congregation is hushed, while they contemplate in silence the expression of religious thought in that diviner speech of sacred music, in the form of service or anthem, rendered by a trained and practised choir. The essential feature of the first is, that it is congregational, and speaking generally, it finds a home in the ordinary service of the parish church. The essential feature of the second is, that for the most part it is not congregational, and (also speaking generally) it finds expression in the daily services of a cathedral. There is, however, a *third* way in which an appeal to religious thought may be made, namely, by *Church oratorio*; but it should never be forgotten that while the leading idea of the two first is one and the same, viz., the personal relations of man to his Maker—the third is the contemplation at some distance, as it were, of the more striking pictures of sacred history and biography. I wish to say a few words within the limits assigned, on each of these points, and to try and consider, in our endeavour to ascertain how the influence of music on devotion may best be promoted, (1) the materials at our disposal, (2) some defects in choir organisation; (3) the direction in which we may further develop our musical resources outside the ordinary services of the church. And first in respect of the parish choir. The name includes all choirs other than those of cathedrals, from that of the large town churches, which very closely rival the cathedrals themselves, down to the small village choir consisting of a few boys and girls from the school, with but few, if any, men's voices, accompanied by a harmonium. I shall therefore wish to exclude from present consideration such large and accomplished choirs as those possessed by many of our important town churches, inasmuch as in many of them (whether wisely or not) the service is conducted almost entirely on the cathedral model, and try to make a few observations which may bear on the performance of a service of a less pretentious kind. Let me here say that the service of the parish church must, above all things, aim at being congregational. You want to get people to sing; therefore you must set before them such music as they are able to sing. Elaborate settings of the responses, services technically so called, and anthems, are for the most part utterly inadmissible. A monotoned service, good single chants, and well-selected hymns, will rarely fail to elicit hearty response and co-operation from the congregation—I am speaking, remember, of the ordinary services—special occasions when the limit laid

down may with advantage be overstepped I shall try and say something of by-and-by. But as I have already said, the main principle of the parish church service is that it is congregational, and in whatever degree you lose sight of that principle, to that exact extent you impair the efficiency of the service. In nine cases out of ten, the anthems I hear performed in parish churches are complete failures, and are positively disturbing to the devotional sentiment; but I know of no more soul-stirring effect than the singing of a familiar hymn by the uplifted heart and voice of a great congregation. But to come to the point of the materials of which our choirs are composed, and the difficulties which are met with in finding them, we have to consider, (1) the choirmaster and organist, (2) the singers. Of these difficulties I cannot speak from any experience of my own, but my correspondence furnishes me with only too full a catalogue of them. Even in towns of considerable size, the difficulty of finding a competent organist is often very great. The stipend offered is often very small, and the sphere in which a small income may be increased by teaching music very restricted. But in country villages the problem becomes all the more difficult, and in nine cases out of ten is solved by the zeal and devotion of the clergyman's wife or daughter. It is impossible to overrate the debt which the Church owes to these ladies in many hundreds of parishes; but the condition of things is not satisfactory. I believe that our schoolmasters are the men to whom we must look to help us in this matter, and I believe that with sufficient musical education to fit them for the duty, and sufficient pecuniary inducement to undertake it, a vast number of them would be found more than willing to help on Church work in this way. Dr. Hullah's report to the Committee of Council on Education is noteworthy on this subject. He says that of the 16,000 students whom he has examined within the last nine years, an *enormous majority* now employed in elementary schools can teach children to sing from note efficiently. This being the case, I think I am right in suggesting it as probable, that of this "enormous majority" a very considerable proportion might, with some extra time bestowed on learning to play the organ, and some prospect of making it remunerative, become organists as well as schoolmasters where the service is conducted on the simple lines I have laid down. It is obvious that the influence of such men as choirmasters would be very great, because they would as a rule be dealing with their pupils of every day, on whom they already have a strong hold. But I must pass on to the difficulty of securing good and efficient singing. One point I should specially wish to enforce. Under any circumstances, however unfavourable, the attempt should be made to teach the choir—boys, girls or men—to sing by note and not by ear only. I mention *girls* advisedly, because in the first place, in many places it is impossible to do without them; and in the second place, even where a fair choir of boys is procurable, the help of the girls' voices judiciously placed is in all cases much to be desired. And here again I refer to Dr. Hullah's recent most valuable report. He recommends that singing by ear after 1882 shall no longer be considered as singing at all—and that grants shall be given for singing by note only. For the details of his scheme, including arrangements for efficient inspection, I refer you to his report. Looking to the immense difficulties which beset the path of the parish priest in the working of his choir, it would open up to him a future "beyond the bliss of dreams," if this admirable recommendation was carried out: not only would the actual drudgery of choir-training be lightened to an enormous extent, but in ten years you would find a hymn-book without *tunes* in your church as rare an object as a hymn-book now is which contains them. But I cannot leave this part of my subject without venturing to say one word to the clergy themselves. The incumbent is theoretically the director of these musical services. But his influence in this capacity must depend on the extent of his technical knowledge. If he be utterly unskilled in music he is at the mercy of ever so incompetent an organist who opposes him at a choir practice, while in cases where the organist is an accomplished musician, the incumbent will be unable to understand the force of his objections or proposals. I would, then,

earnestly press upon all who are intending to seek holy orders the bestowal of some portion of their time at college in acquiring some practical knowledge of Church music. It will add weight to their influence, and save them many misunderstandings. I have no time to do more than mention two kinds of supplementary agencies which are much needed. They are (1) the establishment of musical societies for the practice of good secular music, (2) the more thorough organisation of diocesan choir associations, with a view to making diocesan choir meetings more practically useful to those who take part in them. The necessity of thus speaking at length on this subject of parish choirs, leaves me but a very short time to discuss those of cathedrals, and perhaps it is just as well that it should be so. There is no better discussed institution in the world than an English cathedral, exposed as it is to searching criticism, from the august assembly who meet under letters patent from the Queen to remedy these abuses, and legislate for their efficiency, down to the little coterie of young ladies who deplore the admission of such names as Orlando Gibbons *et hoc genus omne* to the anthem list, and sigh for the sensuous adaptations of Mozart and Haydn, or the feeble sentimentalism of Gounod. Let us hope that from the fire of such criticism the cathedrals will one day emerge, well, may I say, with enough strength and individuality left to exercise a strong influence on the Church music of our day.

For, indeed, the loss of that influence would, I am assured, cause serious detriment both to the form and spirit of religious worship. They have done much for us in time past, by preserving some measure of decent and orderly ritual at a period when some men thought that in banishing every line of beauty from the sanctuary they were doing God service. And they have handed down to us their own magnificent school of Church music in no way inferior to the noble Italian models on which it was framed.

As we are grateful to them for the past, so we look to them to do much for us in the future. By jealously guarding the traditions of their own special style, so matchless in its dignity, its purity, its devoutness, and by training up a succession of sound Church musicians, clergy, organists and singers, they may do much to check the flood of inferior compositions which sometimes threaten to overwhelm our services, and call up within God's house suggestions of the stage rather than the sanctuary.

But while, on the one hand, we ask them to be conservative, there is a direction in which they are specially fitted to put forth their power in a distinctly progressive spirit. And that is the restoration of oratorio to its proper home, the church. That there should be differences of opinion on this question is a matter for regret. But I am certain that time and fair consideration will remove many of the objections now felt to this use of the cathedral or large church. Few who have experienced the edification of such services of song, as, for instance, the "Hymn of Praise," enhanced by the architectural beauty of a cathedral, and the solemnity of the associations which cluster within it, will have any doubt of the propriety of making our large churches available for such a purpose. By associating with themselves a strong reinforcement from the members of the musical societies which exist in most country towns of any size, the cathedral choir could produce many of the works of our own oratorio writers, with striking effect, and greatly to the edification of the congregation.

Nor need this path of usefulness be barred even to the village choir. The work to be performed must of course be selected with careful respect to the capacities of the singers. But I was pleased to observe lately an account of a service in a village church, where the clergyman arranged what was in fact an oratorio in form, by himself reading, in the words of Scripture, a narrative of our Lord's life, illustrated and interspersed by familiar hymns sung by the choir and congregation. This is of course the simplest possible case I could quote. But it is one in principle with the highest type of oratorio, calling for the best efforts of chorus and orchestra.

It is with great pleasure that I point to the admirable results which attend such services as that held in York Minster in July last, when Dr.

Arme's Church oratorio, "St. John the Divine," was sung, and repeated since at many churches in the north of England—as also at St. Andrew's Church in this town on Tuesday evening last. The production of that admirable work has given to the rendering of sound Church music an impetus of the strongest kind. I trust that many of our living Church composers will not be slow in following Dr. Arme's example.

I have thus tried to consider some of the ways in which music may be made a real and potent influence on the mind of the worshippers. And I have tried to suggest some ideas for the making such materials as we possess conduce to this object.

A mighty instrument for touching the heart and influencing religious thought through the emotions is in our hands. We shall surely have much to answer for if we decline or neglect to use it. It is no party question, this—the gift of music has been imparted with lavish hand to His creatures by our Creator. It is our privilege as Christians to use that gift in His service.

Since the evening when that sorrowful company sang their Paschal Hymn together before going out on to the Mount of Olives, it is in sacred music that the deepest devotions and the highest aspirations of saints and martyrs have found expression. And the leaders of great religious movements in the Church have ever been foremost in recognising its power and influence.

St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, Martin Luther, the two Wesleys—these names all make epochs at which fresh departures have been made in Church music. Nor need we forget that Church revival in our own day has given us more than one admirable "noted" hymn-book, and opened the doors of our large churches to that long-excluded child, Church oratorio.

Let us be thankful for these things. Surely if it be possible to formulate the appeal which music makes to us, it must be in the words "*Sursum Corda*,"—"Lift up your hearts." Our own consciences tell us how much we need this elevation, of motive, of thought, of aim, in this our restless busy generation. May we heartily respond "*Habemas ad Dominum*"—"We lift them up unto the Lord." Surely it is on the wings of sacred song the burdened spirit will best rise into that serener air where we may perchance anticipate the joys of that service and worship in which there shall be no imperfection and to which there shall be no end.

**Summary of speech by the Rev. F. F. GOE (Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury).*

REVERTING to the question of art, admitted the great value of religious pictures, such as Holman Hunt's "Light of the World," and Millais' "Scapegoat." He also expressed his gratitude to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for its pictorial illustrations of religious truths. Still, he did not think that, with all our education and enlightenment, the natural proneness of mankind to idolatry had passed away. The Roman Catholic still hugged his crucifix and the Protestant bowed down to his favourite preacher. We reached a case of clear idolatry when the image was supposed to be invested with supernatural power; and St. Thomas Aquinas said in his "Summa" that the same reverence—namely, *latreia*—should be paid to the image of Christ as to Christ Himself.

DISCUSSION.

CANON VENABLES (Precentor of Lincoln).

IF we are asked for the most striking illustration of the question before us this evening I think we should all instinctively look to our cathedrals. There, if anywhere, we may expect to find architecture and music in their highest and most glorious development, assisted by the sister arts of painting and sculpture, all devoted to the highest

* Reporter's notes lost.

use of those gifts which God has bestowed upon men, namely His glory, and the worship of Himself by His intelligent creatures. I am sure we all regard our cathedrals with love, and we expect from them a great deal as showing the way to the highest forms both in architecture, music, ritual, and worship. We have been reminded this evening that there is a reflected light thrown from our cathedrals. It is true, but this must not extend too far. It would be most undesirable if anthems and cathedral services were generally admitted in our parish churches. Where they are admitted they result in failure as a rule; but if our cathedrals do not lift up the very highest standard, both in architecture and music and ritual, the parish churches must sink, and their standard will be miserably low. Do we make as much use of the cathedrals as we ought? I speak as one connected with a cathedral, and too painfully conscious of the shortcomings of the cathedral. There is one point in which the service should be a model to all other services, and in which the parishes might well follow, and that is the chanting of the Psalms. There is no part of our worship which is so important as an intelligent rendering of the Psalms. It is the chief point of our Christian daily worship. We are reminded at the commencement of worship that one of the main purposes of our gathering together is to set forth the "most worthy praise" of God, and the psalms are the applied vehicle for that praise. Let us see to it, then, that that praise be rendered intelligently and intelligibly. The late Professor Maurice has said that the Psalms of David are the poor labouring man's noblest birthright. Let us then be careful that in chanting the Psalms they are chanted so as not to obscure their meaning. The intelligent rendering of the Psalms is not compatible with a monotonous bawling of the words, without light or shadow or variation, from the beginning to the end, or by tricking out the words with finical prettinesses. It seems to be regarded as the easiest matter to arrange what chant shall be used, and I know that organists very often put the accompanying of the Psalms into the hands of some apprentice or beginner, instead of regarding it as the most glorious part of their work, as being the expression of the Word of God through the mouth of man. When we consider the varied character of the Psalms, and that in the compass of the same psalm the inspired writer passes through several phases of emotion, how can justice be done to these sacred words by singing the whole at the same speed and the same power of voice, without light and shade, to the same tune, regardless of these various alternations of feeling? The only justification of music in worship is as a help to our devotion. Some years since I visited a northern cathedral where, on the fourth evening of the month, the psalms being, as you know, the 22nd and 23rd—the first, "My God, my God, why hast thou forgotten me?" speaking of the anguish of a broken heart; the other a lovely pastoral idyll, "The Lord is my shepherd"—these two psalms were sung to the same chant—not peculiarly fitted to either—with the same degree of loudness, and without the slightest change of tone or feeling. Frequently, in the middle of the Psalm, it would be well to train your choir to change the chant. The 22nd Psalm, for instance, where at the 22nd verse, "Save me from the lions, deliver me from the horns of the unicorn;" the penitential prayer ends, and the praise begins. The organist, however, too often carelessly goes on mechanically playing, making no change whatever in the music or mode of performance. The point I am most anxious to bring forward is the very great importance of that which is considered such an exceedingly simple thing—the chanting of the Psalms. I trust that you who have influence in parish choirs will regard this as the most important part of the service, for the sake of your congregation, especially the ignorant and uninstructed part of it. Take care also that your hymns and anthems, I speak of cathedrals, are appropriate to the services. They are too often chosen because the choir like them, or because they can sing them well, or because they show off their voices. A year or two ago I was in a cathedral on Palm Sunday, and in the afternoon they sang Dr. Stainer's exquisite setting of Cardinal Newman's words, "Lead, kindly Light," but what had that to do with Palm Sunday? Not long since I was in a grand church which is shortly to become a cathedral, and two counties were met together to celebrate their betrothal. The anthem selected was "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept," and the chorus was, "Down with it, even to the ground"!

The Rev. T. BARKER.

A GOOD architect is quite capable of making a bad parish church. The acoustical properties of a church are its life, the spectacular properties are its raiment, and the architect that sacrifices the former to the latter is like a man who should give his wife a fatal dose of morphia in order that he may have the pleasure of decking out her corpse with satins and laces. Our Lord, St. John the Baptist, and the Apostles were all great and assiduous preachers, and unless the parish church places the minister at every moment of the service in such a station that his voice can be well heard in every corner of the building, the architect either does not know or does not fulfil his duty, and he ought to be made to rectify these blunders at his own personal cost. The essential character of vocal music is that it shall be subordinate to the words, and also enhance the meaning of the words. There is one part of our service in regard to which almost all the composers and renderers of four-fifths of the compositions one meets with do not seem to be aware. I mean the responses at the Commandments. The first phrase is a prayer to God for the forgiveness of our sins, and that means penitence; and if you take up a large collection of Kyries you will find that four-fifths have not an atom of penitence about them. It matters very little whether they are cathedral composers of high reputation, or tenor members of church choirs, or any other kind of amateur. The cathedral composers are as likely as not to set the Kyrie to a strain in keeping with one of the morning canticles, "Oh be joyful in the Lord," and the amateur members of the choir look out for any musical strain they think is of the right length, and they deck it and trim it until they think it will do for a beautiful Kyrie, without any consciousness that the words of the Kyrie are of any meaning. The nearest illustration, and I would not bring it before you but that I wish to show you the ridiculous nature of the subject, is the story in Joe Miller of the innkeeper's dog, of which the ostler said, "He was a greyhound, and we called him Fly, but master cut off the ears and the tail of him, and turned him into a bull-dog, and we called him Lion." You will find a Kyrie called an arrangement from Mendelssohn or some one else, and there is nothing to indicate the penitence contained in the words. I am glad that a good deal has been said in favour of women singing in church. "Young men and maidens, old men and matrons, praise the Lord." Then there is the command, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy might, and with all thy soul and all thy spirit." If the heart represents our uprightness and the strength our vigour, let us suppose our sex to represent the mind, but the soul is represented by the other sex, the devotional part of the congregation.

WM. REA, Esq.

As a practical organist, perhaps I may be permitted to say a few words, especially as my experience extends over a very long period—from my youngest days. I think the present tendency of Church music is rather towards the frivolous and pretty than the grand and noble, and I think music is not serving its true purpose as an aid to devotion and religion. It is rather the fashion, I fear, for our younger musicians to treat with a certain amount of indifference the music of the old masters, especially those of the sixteenth century—Palestrina and Orlando Gibbons. They are now considered dry, and it is said there is an absence of all expression, and that the words were not considered, and they are merely a mechanical exercise. From that I entirely dissent. I look upon this school of music as one of the noblest and most brilliant eras in the history of music—not only of the Church, but also secular. The noble madrigals of the period, to say nothing of the scholarly music of Flanders and Italy, assures us that they knew something of the beauty of words, and if they could set these secular strains to music, surely they were not incapable of appreciating the sublime language of the Book of Common Prayer and of the Bible. But it is decried because it is considered that it is scarcely dramatic enough. Now the taste is for dramatic, or, as I shall call it, theatrical, and is, I think, leading to a great deal of mischief. I have heard persons who were very famous because they recalled to the minds of the congre-

gation such eminent tragedians as Macready. I have heard the Litany declaimed in the most theatrical style, and I must say it was not very edifying, and if that was not edifying the music we hear of the same kind is not, and does not serve the purpose of religion. It has led to what I may venture to call an abomination—the harmonised Confession; and I am only surprised that they have not given us a setting of the Absolution as a solo for the priest. It is the fashion now to describe everything—the waves raging horribly, and the mountains skipping like little lambs. One knows the old story of two clergymen meeting one another, and one said, “We have a most splendid organist. You should hear him give us ‘They came about like bees.’” “Ah,” said the other, “you should hear our man ‘Grin like a dog, and go about the city.’” Our anthems are full of extravagant and unnecessary modulation. I happen to have one here that musical hearers will follow me when I say it has modulations from A to E, from E, in a few bars, to F—which I think is tolerably extravagant—back to A, then to F, then to A, by a dominant seventh in B flat, by what is called an enharmonic modulation, and so it goes on. This is the style of music in the present day, in place of the old masters, Orlando Gibbons and others of that school. It reminds one certainly of the opera house, of Meyerbeer, of Gounod, and others. A smart writer in the *Times* a short time since wrote of the harvest festival at a certain church as combining all the attractions of Covent Garden Market with those of Covent Garden Theatre. We have a large quantity of Church music which renders it unnecessary to go to these foreign sources. I venture to think that our present hymn tunes are drifting into a wrong channel. We are getting tunes which are imitations of part songs, and sometimes Christy minstrels’ melodies; and if I do not want to be reminded of the “Huguenots” or of “Faust,” still less do I want to be reminded of a row of twelve gentlemen, with sable faces, and curly hair. Again, the use of the marks of expression, crescendo to diminuendo, fortissimo, and so forth, I consider excessive. Not only are they excessive, but they are founded on a false principle. For sometimes it is not the sentiment of the verse but simply a word that is intended to be described. In one instance we have “Bid thou the blasts of discord cease, the waves of strife be still.” The directions are that “the blasts of discord” shall be sung loud, and “the waves of strife” soft. In the hymn sung this evening I find “Gone for ever, parting, weeping, hunger, sorrow, death, and pain.” The directions are to sing that soft, but unfortunately it is gone for ever, and I think it is a wrong reception of the words. It is very much like the old story of a setting of the poem “Not a drum was heard.” Immediately after that the great bang of the drum came in on the word “not.” I dislike very much the introduction of foreign Masses into our English services. We know what Mendelssohn said of Haydn’s Masses—that the one he heard was scandalously gay, and that if he were a Catholic he would write some Church music which should at least be devotional. First of all the choir is to be cut down to a few bars, if a space has been found for the *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*. In addition there is no orchestra, and there is no place for our male altos.

Rev. E. A. HILLYARD.

WE have had the loftiest views of Art of all kinds from the lips of Mr. Gambier Parry, and yet at last we ended in saying that Art was to be expelled from the churches for fear of idolatry. At the same time there are two things I ought to say, if only to liberate my own conscience. If there be a service of the Church which ought to stand highest in the estimation of her children, it surely is that only one service which Jesus Christ himself ordained. If you lavish the influence of Art on the morning and evening prayer, *à fortiori* you ought to lavish them on that which is most worthy of your labour. But what is the case in your country parishes at the hour when the service of the Holy Communion is going on? How often are the congregation streaming out of our churches much as they do at the last quarter of an hour of a Church Congress, and that which ought to be the highest expression of worship of the whole church and parish, is delegated, I cannot say why, to the clergyman, his wife and his family, and a few devout ones, who are left in a cold church to a miserable service. You

lose the idea of worship altogether unless you render it for the whole body of the people with every power that Music and Art can give. I do not follow the logic of Mr. Goe when he says that so much good has been done by pictures of Millais and other artists, but he would not have the pictures in church. Is it possible for the Christian minister really to instruct his people as to what is idolatry and what is not? Is it not true that the spirit of the second commandment is, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image?" that is to say, that we are not to take to ourselves as representations of God that which does not represent Him? However, God has given one representation to Himself, and that in the form of the Son of Man. Hence even Arnold could argue that the crucifix was a lawful thing in a church; and it would be the duty of the clergy of the Church of England—a duty they are competent to discharge—to teach their people that these things are to lead a man up to God, but are not to be representations of that which cannot be represented by any Art, however sublime.

The Very Rev. W. R. RANDALL.

WE have hardly touched quite deeply enough the fulness of the subject which has been brought before us as regards the feeling of pastors of souls towards their people. It happens to be the case that through the grand and noble gift of certain rich-hearted laymen, it is my lot to minister in a church which is noble in its architecture, as you will, I think, be ready to understand when I state that the architect is Mr. Street, and that I have seen for many years the deep impression that a grand and noble building makes upon the thoughts—so far as you can judge of these thoughts by the actions of the men and women who meet in it. In the same way I have seen, again and again, the deep impression that solemn and well-chosen music, grand, and at the same time simple, has upon the hearts of men. The vast rolling masses of sound of some of our great hymns, as sung in this church by hundreds of men on the one side, equalling in number the hundreds of women on the other, all joining in one great song of praise. And sometimes there are strange instances of the power of the Church's music, not in the rolling of the many basses, but in the being struck almost dumb and becoming almost voiceless as the sacred music of the Church seems to find its way into the very deepest souls of the people. But in this church we have reached very many of those ends which have been recommended by one more fit to speak upon the subject—Mr. Gambier Parry. I mean the windows round our church are a picture Bible, recalling the whole of the acts of love and power of our blessed Lord, and interweaving the Biblical teaching of the Old Testament with the marvellous story of the New. We are not afraid of such sculpture as is meant to teach and instruct our people. Marvellous are the powers of sculpture. Not long ago I entered that noble cathedral in the town of Edinburgh, which witnesses for the power of architecture and painting, and at the east end you see painted, by the hand of a Scottish woman, one of the most moving representations I know of the death and suffering of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and by the side of that marvellous representation is the figure of one, dear indeed to Scotland, whose whole life was influenced by the visible representation of her dying Lord—the great and glorious Queen of Scotland whose name the Church still regards and cherishes, St. Margaret of Scotland. As a child of six years of age she saw, as her sister was teaching her, a representation of the death of our Lord, when she said, "He did so much for us—what can we do for Him?" and her whole life of singular and unbroken patience in strange domestic trials, witnesses to the power of the thought of the sufferings of Christ brought to her through the representation that met her eyes. And her dying words were, when her husband—who once had not known true and tender love for her, but in later days, observing the power of the Crucified work in her life, he turned and clasped her in the arms of love—when she heard he was taken away, she raised her hands and her head, and said to Him, the representation of whose dying love had so enthralled her soul in her childhood, "I thank thee, O Lord, that I have one thing more to suffer for Thy sake." Such are the powers of sculpture.

SECTION ROOM, THURSDAY MORNING,

OCTOBER 6.

The Ven. ARCHDEACON PREST took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

**THE TEMPERANCE WORK OF THE CHURCH
ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO ITS PAROCHIAL
ORGANISATION, AND TO THE LOCAL ADMINIS-
TRATION OF THE LICENSING LAWS.**

PAPERS.

The Rev. J. INGHAM BROOKE (Rector of Thornhill, Dewsbury,
and Rural Dean).

THERE are three things which give to the Church a special influence in Temperance. First, there is the broad and rational ground which the Church of England Temperance Society has taken—that there may be true Temperance without Total Abstinence, and earnest workers for the Temperance cause who are not pledged abstainers. Secondly, there is the opportunity which its position has given to it to reach and interest in the movement sections of society which, a little while ago, never gave the subject a thought, or, if they did, passed it by as the monopoly of a few vulgar fanatics. And thirdly, there is the opening, made ready to hand by means of the parochial system of the Church, into every part of the land. This last-named point of advantage is one that in theory, at least, cannot be over-stated. By its means influence could be brought to bear upon every place, and upon all classes. Quickly, and at comparatively speaking little cost, information could be spread—interest excited—agitation, if needed, set on foot and maintained—and the whole country might at once be made to feel the shock of the great movement for a Temperance reformation. Nor was this all. If, on the one hand, parochial organisation afforded a ready means for the promotion of the Temperance cause, it was, on the other hand, claimed for it that if taken up heartily in a parish it would give a new influence and power to the whole of the Church work in that parish. This result, it was said, would be attained not only because in this way the parish priest would be able to cope more effectually with one of the greatest hindrances to his work ; but because the very fact, that the Church and its ministers were seen to be making special effort to remove from the people a burden they felt most deeply, would at once increase their confidence in and attachment to the Church. To what extent the promise on either side has been realised is another question.

So far as the effect of the movement upon the general work and influence of the Church is concerned there will, no doubt, be variety in the experience of individuals. But there can be no question that in many parishes, and still more as regards the general position of the

Church in the eyes and in the hearts of the people, the result in this respect has been considerable. The extent of parochial organisation for the promotion of Temperance should be capable of exact statement. But, unfortunately, through the want of uniform and complete returns, I am unable to give accurately the number of parishes in which a branch of the Church of England Temperance Society has been formed. From the returns given in the Society's last report I gather that in sixteen dioceses there were at the time it was drawn up about 1,520 parochial branches. We shall probably not be far wrong if we put the number for the whole of England at about 2,000. To some this may seem to be no sufficient result of the eight years' work during which the Church Temperance Society has been organised on its present basis. But to those who can look back to a time not far distant, when active opposition, and, worse still, the dead weight of indifference, seemed to be almost insurmountable, and to those who can appreciate the difficulties of working these local branches—these numbers are by no means disappointing. There is undoubtedly room for further development, and, as a matter of fact, new branches are being started every day.

It is wise, however, to recognise the fact that there are limits on reasonable grounds to this development. It is sometimes said that in the present distress room should be found in every parish for a special Temperance organisation. This seems to me to be too sweeping a demand. There are parishes where it is scarcely possible to add to the machinery already at work in them. But it would be unfair to say that Temperance work is neglected in such parishes. Neither the dangers arising from Intemperance nor the necessity of strenuously combatting it are forgotten. All that can be done by means of Church teaching, guilds and classes for all ages, watchful pastoral care and the like, is done—both to recover those who have fallen and to train up a people who, "denying worldly lusts," shall "live soberly, righteously and godly." And though we are not afraid to declare our conviction in the usefulness and thorough Church character of our special Temperance organisation, yet we rejoice to know in how many parishes the work we have at heart is being carried on where there is not room for the special machinery which we recommend. Even where the Church's system is not worked at so high a pressure, there is felt by many a certain resentment against the demands made on this side and on that under cover of this formidable word "organisation." This feeling, which commands the sympathy of most of us, is often, I believe, the real ground of objection against the formation of a Temperance Society in a parish. The way in which one great society after another claims a footing in every parish, and its officers press and reproach and overwhelm with menacing literature the unhappy Churchman, is a feature of Church activity in these days which is not a little worrying. We must not wonder if there are parishes where the determination to withstand any encroachment that might interfere with quiet, well-tried methods, checks the progress of our special Temperance movement.

Another great hindrance to that progress is the difficulty of working a Temperance Society. In some places this is almost insurmountable. It is comparatively easy to start a society in your own parish; it is absolutely easy to help in starting one in somebody else's parish; but the pinch comes when your society so easily formed has to be carried on

in a useful and healthy way. How can this be done when your own hands are full to overflowing, and there is no eager and competent layman to work the society for you, and your fellow curate, if you have one, is not an enthusiast? How is the interest of the periodical meetings to be maintained? How is the tone of your society to be kept up so that it may be an agency for doing the work of God, and not sink into a mere penny-reading and reciting club? How are you to prevent the introduction in speech and song of exaggerations against which your sense of truth rebels, or of vulgarities which, alas for our sense of proportion! are nearly as hard to bear? How, again, are you to keep the two sections of your society in thorough harmony one with another, so that no boasting or reproach or jealousy amongst its members may mar the common work? Certainly since first I attempted with indifferent success to work a parochial branch of the Temperance Society many helps have been provided which were not then available. The whole subject has been more thoroughly ventilated and is better understood; the platform has been enlarged; new plans and methods have been devised. There is a far wider experience to draw from. New hymns and songs have been published of a far better tone, though still there is room for improvement, and last, but not least, must be mentioned the marked improvement in the *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, and the valuable matter with which it provides us week by week. But still such difficulties as these which I have mentioned are felt, and most of all in country parishes, where it is often impossible to get from within efficient help in working a parochial branch, and all therefore must depend upon the clergyman.

As to meeting these difficulties, I can point out no certain and definite method, but I will venture to make one or two common-place suggestions. First, I would say that in the working of a parochial Temperance Society there is room and need for originality. The parent society gives us principles, but it ties us down to no fixed rules. The successful ventures of societies in the town or suburban parish cannot safely be imitated in the country; nor can the customary counsels of the deputation as to ways and means of working a society be always acted upon. We need to exercise independence in our methods, aiming at what seems best and most practicable under our own special circumstances. Then, in the next place, in working a parochial society great care should be taken to develop it from its gravest side. The religious character of the work in hand should be kept most prominently in view. The special service in church, the devotional meeting and Bible-class—these, to which the first place should be given, will serve this purpose and give its true tone to the whole work. Then I would put in the next place of importance meetings to which children should never be admitted, for the serious discussion of the work in the parish itself, or of more general questions affecting the Temperance movement—such, for instance, as Sunday Closing. The more popular meeting, of course, has its use in spreading information and gaining recruits, but I believe that for the serious work of a parochial society meetings of a different character, such as those which I have mentioned, are most important. I should say in all cases get the men and women interested before any attempt is made to form a Juvenile Society.

I press this point among other reasons in the interests of children's

branches themselves. Their great need is a sufficient number of earnest men and women to work them. Too often this most hopeful part of Temperance work is left to one or two, who struggle with its difficulties as best they may. Imperfectly done, it sometimes passes into disrepute amongst our critical onlookers. And what is required to bring out the full usefulness of these junior societies is such a number of earnest workers that each one may have a limited number of children under his or her personal charge and influence. Therefore, begin with the adults. For in this way we shall be able to find agents to carry on this and all the other work which has to be done. We shall at least learn on whose help we may depend and for what they are best fitted. And sometimes there will come to the front one who will be able and willing to take in hand the superintendence and practical working of the branch.

Some of the most efficiently worked Parochial Societies are to be found where some layman has come forward and thrown himself into the work, so as to give new life to what was beginning to languish in the overburdened hands of the parish priest. In every society, so far as possible, some work should be found for all the members. This is the surest way of maintaining interest. The vicar of a model parish, in one of our large seaport towns, told me that he made the Temperance Society the centre of all the work in his parish. One can understand how this might be. The tried members of the society would furnish Sunday School teachers and district visitors. The singing class would provide recruits for the choir. The club and coffee-room would be in direct connection with it. And so all the varied machinery of a well-ordered parish might be centred around the Temperance Society; and certainly the Temperance Society, and perhaps the parish work, would gain in point and energy by such a plan. But short of this—there are many ways in which the members of a society can be usefully employed, such as visiting the homes of the children in the Band of Hope, looking up absentees, bringing in recruits, attending anyone who may need special watchfulness and help.

And amongst other work, which may be undertaken by the parochial society, none is more useful than the formation and management of penny banks, sick and burial clubs, and other schemes for the promotion of thrift. In the diocese of Oxford a thrift branch has been made part of the diocesan organisation, and has been worked with marked success. The Sick and Burial Society connected with the Church of England Temperance Society provides the means of starting a benefit club upon a sound basis in any parish. It offers many advantages—such as choice of various scales of payment and relief, the recognition of the more insurable life of the Total Abstainer, a division of profits, and most important, the means of giving to women as well as to men the benefit of a Sick Club. The promotion of thrift in these and like ways not only finds employment for the members of the parochial society, but it gives it new cohesion and permanence.

Besides what may be considered its regular work, circumstances sometimes arise which require special treatment, and which call for special effort on the part of the local society. There are few parishes or districts in which there is not from time to time the need of such special efforts to meet some temporary, or it may be more chronic, aggravation of intemperance and its attendant evils. It is most important that the local Society should be prepared to seize these opportunities as they occur.

The annual fair, the village feast, the statute hirings, harvest-time, the seasons of Christmas and Whitsuntide so grievously desecrated by their conventional license, are instances of what I mean. It has crossed my mind when reading lately of the horrors of the Kentish hop-pickings whether it would not be possible for the Church of England Temperance Societies in London and Kent to make a bold venture to cope in some degree even with those desperate evils.

To turn to another point, the supply of qualified speakers for the monthly or quarterly meeting is often a serious difficulty. May I draw attention to an admirable plan by which this difficulty may be met? It has been established in part of, if not throughout, the diocese of Manchester. There, in the various rural deaneries a list has been prepared of men who are willing to speak at Temperance meetings. A quarterly plan is then drawn up—something after the system of the local preachers' plan used by some of the Nonconformist bodies—which indicates the place and date of the meetings of the various Parochial branches within the deanery, and gives the name of the speaker who will be present at each. This useful plan, which is in itself a striking testimony to the efficient way in which the Church's Temperance work has been organised in the Manchester diocese, belongs rather to the organisation of the diocese and rural deanery than to that of the parish. But if something of this kind were generally adopted it would remove one source of anxiety and disappointment in working the Parochial branch, that I mean which attaches to the provision of speakers for its meetings. And if the payment of the affiliation fee were made a condition of any society being placed upon the "plan" it might further promptness in the payment of that small but troublesome impost; it certainly would give a tangible illustration of the benefits of affiliation.

The Parochial Society will often gain in efficiency if it is subdivided into guilds or classes, so as to give opportunity for special dealing with different sexes and ages. This of course must depend upon circumstances; but where the influence of faithful women can be brought to bear upon their sisters by means of such guilds or classes, and where those of different age can be guided and helped according to their special needs, the best and happiest results may be hoped for. The Church of England Temperance Society has recently called into new life the Women's Union Branch, which will, it is hoped, be the means of giving a strong stimulus to this special work of women for women. Such a sub-division as that of which I have been speaking would give an opportunity to the Parochial Society to extend its work in another direction. Taking up the Church's great rule of Temperance in its widest and truest sense "to keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity," it might become the centre of some well-defined effort in each parish to promote chastity as well as soberness. Without doubt, to promote temperance, in its restricted sense, on Christian grounds is to further victory over the flesh in all respects. But still, in many places, there is need of special effort in the direction which I have indicated. And I think it would not hamper the temperance work of the Church, but rather give it new vigour and a higher, holier tone, if our parochial societies were to include amongst their aims the promotion of chastity.

The Rev. H. J. ELLISON, M.A. (Hon. Canon of Christ Church, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen).

At a recent annual meeting of the Newcastle Branch of the Church Temperance Society, Mr. Hodgkin, in seconding a resolution, said: "I am here as the humble representative of the Dissenters of Newcastle to express the heartfelt delight with which they see the Church of England, with its splendid organisation, its wealth, its long descended culture, its deep learning, and its great fund of common sense, descending into the arena to fight with this giant enemy of us all. And if only the Church does succeed in rooting out this great national vice, the most censorious of critics will scarcely be able to deny that it is the Church of England, both in name and power."

At a more recent meeting of the Baptist Total Abstinence Association, Mr. Caine, the Member for Scarborough, an eminent Nonconformist said: "The Church of England has done more to postpone the day of disestablishment by its Temperance work than by any other to which it ever put its hand. It has made the Church the Church of the people in a sense in which it never has been before, and by means of its Temperance Society is doing a magnificent work."

If these witnesses are true—as I believe them to be—it concerns the Church no less than the nation that the organisation of such a society should be rendered as complete as possible. This it can only be by bringing together, from time to time, the experiences of the several workers; confronting difficulties if any have arisen; recording successes wherever they have been gained; if elements of danger, threatening the permanence of the work, should have appeared in any quarter, taking steps for their timely removal. This I apprehend to be the purpose of the Congress Committee in taking as the subject for discussion, "*The Temperance Work of the Church, especially in relation to its Parochial Organisation.*" I shall be acquitted, therefore, I hope, of anything but a desire to contribute to this common stock of experience if I confine what I have to say mainly to the work in which I have borne a part, and the experience which I have myself been gathering, during the past twenty years.

The Temperance work in Windsor (of which I was then vicar) was begun in 1861. I had seen—as who, in a town of any size, has not seen?—that the flock of Christ was devastated by a sin, if not of greater prevalence, at least of more disastrous consequences, than any that could be named. It was blighting the early promise of thousands, ruining the peace of homes, bringing down the bodies of its victims to early graves, their souls to certain destruction. It was the parent of cruelty, of lust, of murder. It was counteracting every agency for the social advancement of the people; resisting successfully every effort, direct or indirect, which had been made to bring to bear upon them the machinery of the Gospel of Christ.

What was to be done? The outlook was dark and full of danger; was there a gleam of light in any quarter? The answer came from the victims themselves. Brought to the conviction, as they had been, that the drink itself, and the associations of the public house, were of such a kind that their only chance of escape lay in the absolute renunciation of both, they were to be seen flocking together for mutual protection in

societies whose bond of union was the pledge of entire abstinence from strong drink. No one who had been put in charge of the Gospel, who in his own person and that of his people had made proof of its power and of the worthlessness of all other remedies, could suppose that such a pledge was sufficient for their recovery. But it might be a step towards it. It was, indeed, a question which the very existence of such societies suggested—Whether the Church had not failed in her mode of presenting the Gospel? whether there was not a “preparation of the way of the Lord” to be always made—stumbling-blocks to be taken away—a right arm, if needs be, to be cut off—before any true vision could be gained of “the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world?”

The Church Total Abstinence Society was formed with a view of testing this question. The intemperate—those who were already the slaves of the drink, and those who were in danger of becoming so—were invited to come together in a weekly meeting for the purpose, first, and above all, of prayer and of Scriptural teaching, and, *then*, of mutual encouragement in the Total Abstinence agreement to which they had put their hand. If others were invited to join them in this agreement, it was not because strong drink in all its forms was regarded as unlawful; still less was it as claiming for the abstainer a higher type of the Christian life, or as putting the temperate man in any way in the wrong; it was simply that Christian workers, in the exercise of their Christian liberty, and using that liberty “not for an occasion of the flesh, but by love to serve their brother,” might set an example of abstinence to those to whom abstinence was a necessary condition of safety, and might find a fruitful field of Christian work and usefulness.

This was the society. It would be difficult to exaggerate the results. The Gospel, presented under these circumstances, was soon seen to have lost none of its old power. Men, yearning to be saved from their sin, found a personal and all-sufficient Saviour. Disciples, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, flocked to the Bible and Communicants’ classes, to the Church, to the Holy Table; drunkards were permanently reclaimed, of whom many are gone to their rest, others remain to the present day. Nor was this all. An enthusiasm was called out among them—not for Total Abstinence or the society only, but for the Saviour to whom these had been the means of introducing them; and their one desire was to bring others to the same source of safety. “The Church of England,” says Ellice Hopkins, in her admirable book, “Work among Working Men,” “gives the working man nothing to do. He feels he forms no integral part of her, that he is in no vital connection with her, that he is not built into her structure, but is left a loose stone, lying about for anyone to tumble over.” Further on she says, “The Church of England Temperance movement, with the Working Men’s Clubs and Bands of Hope, alone affords a wide field for work.” I can testify to the truth of every word of this. For myself, I can only say that from that time I found myself surrounded by a band of workers—missionaries, in the truest sense of the word, to the masses amongst whom they lived.

This, and such as this, were the societies of the first ten years. But this was not enough. It was evident that if a work of *national* reform was to be undertaken, and the Church was to take its proper place in

arousing the nation, something more would be needed. There must be *prevention* as well as cure. There were causes for this wholesale demoralisation to be carefully sought out; there were tens of thousands of faithful men and women not prepared, it might be, to go the whole length of Total Abstinence, but willing and desirous to take their part in investigating the causes, and, as these were ascertained, in labouring together for their removal. So it was that when the two Convocations of Canterbury and York had presented reports, setting forth in detail both the evil itself and its suggested remedy, the Church Temperance Society reorganised itself on its present extended basis, and having obtained the full concurrence of Convocation and of the heads of the Church took its place as the executive of the Church in carrying out the double work of individual rescue and national reform.

But it is here, as was not unnatural, that mistakes have arisen; and to these that whatever difficulties have presented themselves in the way of parochial organisation may be traced.

It has been supposed, for instance, that because we have had our two sections, there has been but one type of a parochial branch—one in which the members of both sections should meet together, the one supplementing their baptismal vow by a pledge or vow of moderation in drink, the other by a pledge of abstinence; that these, having their common periodical meetings, should reconcile their divergent practice as they best could—Judah taking care not to oppress Ephraim by denouncing Total Abstinence, nor Ephraim to vex Judah by ridiculing Moderation. Hence, in many cases, the difficulties that were to be expected. Judah, in spite of all precautions, has found his practice reflected on by those to whom “moderation” in drink is an impossible term, and has stayed away; or Ephraim has been muzzled, and has transferred his allegiance elsewhere. Bottom’s self-imposed rule, “I will aggravate my voice so that I will roar you gently as any sucking dove; I will roar you as ’twere any nightingale,” is one which the man who has turned his back on the drink is the last to understand.

Hence the dangers which beset the movement—on the one hand, of drifting towards the advocacy of Total Abstinence as an end in itself, not, as I have shown, a means to an end; on the other, of losing its elements of enthusiasm and permanence. In either case the spiritual aspect of the Society is lost sight of—rescue work is carried on languidly, if at all—and in the ever-increasing difficulty of providing variety for the meetings, they degenerate more or less into mere social gatherings for the entertainment of the people. It need be no matter for surprise, if in such parishes, still less in parishes where there is no society at all, the American Evangelists, Booth and Murphy, should come, and, unfurling as they do the banner of the Gospel, with Total Abstinence as its hand-maid, should enlist under it the thousands, or even tens of thousands, which, with better organization, should have been gathered in by the Church.

In dealing with these difficulties, then, let me say in passing that the word “moderation” finds no place—never has found a place—in the articles of the Society. That those who joined its *general* section would first, and above all, observe their baptismal promise, to keep their bodies in *temperance*, *soberness*, and chastity, was taken for granted. And if they thought that by laying down rules, whether for themselves or those

associated with them, such as—That they should drink only at meal times, or never enter a public house, or such like, this was a matter for their own discretion. But that the united action of those who were banded together, first for a work of individual rescue, then of national reform, should either mean this, or be narrowed down to this, was a perversion of the whole intention of its founders. For the word itself, we owe it to the new Revised Version that it has disappeared altogether from the page of Holy Scripture. The notable Temperance reformer who quoted the passage in the Philippians with his own gloss upon it—“Let your moderation—that is your moderate drinking of wine or whisky—be known unto all men,” will have to look elsewhere, than to the “forbearance” of the passage in question, for the sanction to his custom.

But it is in the historical growth of the movement that the counter-action to such mistakes will be found. For let me revert for a moment to the Windsor Society. The reorganisation of 1873 made no difference in our Total Abstinence—*i.e.*, our “rescue” work. Our weekly meetings, confined to the Total Abstinence Section, continued as they had heretofore done. Only we added a general section as well in which all whether abstainers or not, could unite. To this our quarterly tea parties, our anniversary sermons, and meetings, were given up. It did admirable service in appointing a monthly committee, which acted as a vigilance committee for the town. It provided a platform on which all could meet, and on which every part of the subject, legislative, social, physical, could from time to time be discussed, without fear of the friction which, if there had been no recognised safety-valve for his enthusiasm, the presence of the abstainer would have been so likely to cause. And it is here, I venture to say, that the parochial society of the past and that of the present and future must join hands.

You, my reverend brother—(bear with me if I attempt now to individualise the cases of difficulty which may occur)—*you* have a parish, in which the sin of intemperance is at once the Church’s difficulty and reproach. Souls are perishing in numbers around you ; women—alas, that it should be so !—are beginning to constitute a large, if not a chief, part of your difficulty ; as the shepherd of the sheep, you feel constrained to follow the wanderers to the mountains where they have strayed—if possible, “to bring again that which was driven away, to seek that which was lost.” Then let me urge you to have recourse to no half measure—to form at once a *Total Abstinence Section* of the Church Temperance Society. Have your weekly meeting of this section ; let one of the clergy, yourself if possible, always preside at it ; give your members full liberty of speaking, and encouraging one another, but not till you have given the unmistakable stamp to the whole by your own words of prayer and praise, and by the teaching of “repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.” Here, in such a society, you will gain an insight into the reality of *Satanic working*, such as can be gained only in the observance of this and of the kindred sin of impurity. Here you will see the laws of the two kingdoms, the kingdom of darkness and the kingdom of light, as clearly brought out, both in their character and in their working, as they were in our Lord’s time ; the spiritual possession as unmistakable ; the “kinds” which “go not out but by prayer and fasting,” as terribly real ; “the Name of Jesus,” when invoked in per-

severing faith, and in the use of the appointed means of grace, as all-powerful for their ejection. Here, as one by one the victims "recover themselves out of the snare of the devil," you will be a witness of the enthusiasm of which I have spoken; it can scarcely be but that you will catch its glow and be a partaker of its warmth. Enthusiasm, I dare to affirm, a wholly different thing from the fanaticism with which we have been credited. "Enthusiasm!" says Dean Hook, "my love to my Saviour has long been with me an enthusiasm, and from the joy I experience in my old age through His Holy Spirit, I wish to win others to Him. Enthusiasm often leads us into scrapes, but then it wafts us to regions of enjoyment unknown to those who are ever groping in this world's darkness. It is the ridicule of those who are coldly correct and classically dull, but then it brings down heaven to earth."

And if it should be that the devotion of one evening in the week to this single purpose demands the surrender of one of the few evenings hitherto given to study or social recreation, I venture to say it will be, in the long run, an economy of time, and in any case it will be but the taking up of another cross in the Master's service—a standing witness to those whom you are seeking to save, that the self-denial you are urging upon them is one which for their sake you are first imposing upon yourself, and thus an evidence beyond all other evidences of the truth of the Gospel you have to preach.

But this "rescue" work is not all. You have Christian men and women ready to help in every part of the work, short of Total Abstinence; then, for the joint action with these, have your general section as well. And if it should be that the circumstances of *your* parish are such that there seems to be no need for the special rescue work (as may often be the case in rural parishes), then, and then only, if my counsel prevails, have the general section alone. In its annual sermons you will bring the subject of the national sin before the whole of your congregation; in its quarterly or monthly meetings you will bring home its dangers or its causes to those who are desirous of taking their part in encountering it; the Temperance work will, in this way, become the nucleus of clubs, of coffee-taverns, of singing classes; of every healthy social movement, whether for bringing together the too widely separated classes of society, or for bettering the condition of the lowest; and it will be your demonstration to the world around, that at a time when the people of England—may I not say of the whole English speaking race?—are awaking to the perception of their true danger, and when, with a view to the removal of the reproach, the Churches of England and of the colonies, and now of the Episcopal Church of America, are raising the standard of their Lord in common action, you, and the parish you represent, are coming "to the help of the Lord against the mighty," taking your allotted place in the ranks.

And whatever may be the character of the society for adults, at least let there be the juvenile society for training the *children* aright.

"I do not pretend to speak to you," said Dr. Andrew Clark, "as a total abstainer, but I hope all the rising generation will be total abstainers. Well, you think you are benefited by the minute quantity of poison which I suffer you to take, because you have got into the habit of it, but I say, take care that you don't get your children into the habit with you."

Avoid the formation of the one habit, inculcate that of the other. Let them be abstainers, not in the observance of a binding vow, whose nature they may little understand, and against which their will may secretly chafe. The re-action from such a violence done to their moral nature will come sooner or later, and may be the very means of hurrying them into excess. Let the bond of their association be of the simplest kind, depending from day to day on the concurrence of their will. Then let this will be strengthened by the teaching which their society provides. Let them learn that this strong drink is a "mockery" of the worst description. That it comes promising them strength for work, while, in ordinary circumstances, not only does it not help, but it is a serious hindrance to work; that it promises them enjoyment, when, in truth, it will impair their health, impoverish their circumstances, and if it becomes their master, will ruin their souls. Let them come to see by all that is going on around them that, in the words of the same learned physician, "It is indeed the enemy of their race of whom they have to beware."

Then in the growth of such a society you will have a band of young men and women—I speak again from a fruitful personal experience—who in time will be the strength of the Church at home, will furnish recruits for its missions abroad, and in the next generation will carry the work of Temperance Reform to its destined triumph. "I will tell you what my own experience has been of the Church Temperance Society," says Lord Aberdare, in his speech at Swansea. "Young men have been continually joining. We have not only obtained a strong hold on these, but have made them repeat their experiences to others, and enlist them all in the work of Temperance." And then, too, in the *working* of such a society you will be opening another channel for the exercise of the gifts of Christian women—chiefly, may I say in conclusion, for those who in the rural parishes of England, if not in its towns as well, are carrying the light of a Christian life and the fervour of a Christian enthusiasm into hamlet, and home, and school, in the parish where their lot is cast—the wives, and daughters, and sisters of the parochial clergy of the Church of England.

ADDRESSES.

Mr. E. LAWRENCE (Liverpool).

THE subject is one of such importance, and in many ways so complicated, that it is quite impossible to deal with it in any comprehensive spirit in the short time necessarily allotted to me. I shall therefore simply endeavour to submit a few practical ideas for your consideration, in the hope that if they do not entirely find ready acceptance they may at least supply food for thought.

The Church, through its parochial organisation, has great power, and when the machinery is set in motion, not in isolated spots, but simultaneously throughout the land by direct action of the supreme authorities, it is impossible to over-estimate the work that may be accomplished. This was shown in a very remarkable manner by the results which followed the formation of the Church of England Temperance Association. Prior to that the Temperance work had been, in the main, carried on through other channels—the Church of England, as a body, rather stood aloof—the agitation came from other quarters. I do not say the work made no progress. On the contrary, I have always been ready to acknowledge the good done by the various

Total Abstinence agencies, while condemning the too frequent harshness of the language used and deploring the hindrances caused by it. But there can be no question that when the Church of England Temperance Society was formed, a great impulse was given to the work which will, we may hope, be productive of permanent good. But in order that this work may be efficiently maintained, it is very important that its advocates should be thoroughly informed on all points connected with it.

This Temperance work has two aspects, one of which may be defined as spiritual, the other as legal, and the two cannot be altogether separated. What I mean is this : that although your appeals to the individual conscience must be based upon considerations of religion and morality, yet the means whereby we seek to check excess and enforce order and decorum cannot be neglected. It is to the legal aspect that I propose to address myself, for I am satisfied that our Church organisations may exercise very powerful influence in the improvement of the machinery of our licensing system, if only they are well informed as to the requirements necessary thereto.

The first point I would urge is a codification of the existing laws. It may seem a bold statement to make, but I do so with great confidence, that at present those laws are in a state of great confusion and uncertainty ; and so long as this continues it is impossible for them to be administered with regularity. Fifty-three years ago the same necessity was felt ; there were then about twenty Acts in existence, regulating the licensing system, and the Act most familiarly known as the "9th George IV." commences thus : "Whereas it is expedient to reduce into one Act the laws relating to the licensing by justices of the peace, etc. Be it enacted." There are now some nineteen Acts of Parliament which regulate our licensing system, beginning with 9th George IV., and ending with the 43rd of Victoria. Each Act has some reference to its predecessors, one or more of which it alters and amends, until the whole presents such a tangled labyrinth that the most practised lawyers fail to thread the maze. If the late Lord Chief Justice of England could exclaim, "If the whole judicial strength of the Bench were in one Court they would still have the greatest possible difficulty in making head or tail of what this legislation means," how is it possible for less powerful minds to pretend to have a clearer light on the subject? One or two illustrations drawn from very recent experience will suffice. The Act of 1880 was intended to give magistrates the same discretion with regard to licenses to sell beer for consumption off the premises, as they possess in the case of licenses to sell on the premises. The Act itself consists of a very few lines, and an ordinary reader would conclude that there was no doubt about its meaning ; but at our last Licensing Sessions in Liverpool, it was gravely contended by one lawyer very familiar with the Licensing Acts, that it had failed to accomplish what he frankly admitted was intended by the Legislature ; while another, equally experienced, very ingeniously argued that there were two classes of licenses, one of which was affected by the Act, while the other was not. The arguments, whether sound or not, occupied some two hours and puzzled both the law-clerk and two of the Licensing Committee, who were lawyers, to say nothing of the other members. In another case, a man holding a license from the Excise to sell beer in certain specified quantities off the premises, applied to the Licensing Committee for a certificate to enable him to obtain a license under a different Act to sell beer by retail off the premises. The Committee, supposing that he wanted to acquire greater powers, having strong views against extending at present the powers of sale in our city, were unwilling to grant it. The applicant, who argued his own case, contended that the license he sought to obtain would not increase by one drop his existing powers of sale. Upon being asked why then he wanted to make the alteration, his reply was that under the license he then held the Excise refused to grant him power to sell tobacco, but that under the license he was applying for they would do so. Again the law-clerk and lawyers were puzzled, and the consideration of the case was postponed to a subsequent meeting. In the end the majority of the Committee came to the conclusion that the

applicant was right, and granted his request. It would be easy to multiply examples of this kind, but surely I have said enough to justify our making the codification of the laws a matter of prime necessity, in order to secure something like unanimity of opinion as to what those laws really mean.

The next point I would urge is the necessity for greater uniformity in the administration of those laws. The evils of the present system are obvious to all who are familiar with it, and nowhere is it so manifest as in our large towns, where the constitution of the Bench varies so frequently; and, as an inevitable consequence, different individual opinions lead to different and, at times, totally opposite decisions. This is a grave misfortune, and calculated to bring the administration of the law into contempt. The fact has been recognised in recent legislation, and the evil to some extent remedied by the appointment of a Licensing Committee to deal with all applications for new licenses. But this principle must be carried further, and to the same body ought to be transferred everything connected with the granting, removal, or transfer of licenses. You would then have some guarantee for uniform action. By the 14th section of the 9th George IV., the license of a house which has been destroyed by fire or tempest, or required for public improvement, may be removed to another fit and convenient house. There is no doubt the intention was to supply the inhabitants of the neighbourhood with the facilities of which they had been deprived, but it has come to be contended that under this clause the holder was absolutely entitled to a removal to a house in any neighbourhood where a fit and convenient house could be found, and some magistrates adopt this view. These applications are made at Transfer Sessions, which are held in large towns every six weeks, and if a removal is refused on the ground of there being a sufficient supply in the neighbourhood to which it is proposed to remove, it is applied for again and again until some day it comes before a willing Bench and is granted. This would not be likely to occur if the application was made to the Licensing Committee, because the constitution of the Court throughout the year would be the same.

Now I want to say a few words in reference to that source of so much evil, viz., the fictitious value of licenses under our present system. It leads to the adoption of every kind of device, not to say fraud, to secure the removal of licenses which have become absolutely valueless, and storm and tempest have not unfrequently been charged with dilapidations resulting from ordinary decay. Again, no one can suppose that it was ever intended by the Legislature that when a license was granted to a man he should thereby be presented with the equivalent of £200, £300, or it may be £1,000, according to the varying circumstances of the case. But such is the fact, and thus it comes to pass that if a Bench thinks that a license should be forfeited for misconduct, they are in reality inflicting upon the holder a heavy pecuniary penalty. In all probability he is not the direct holder from the magistrates, but has bought his license in the market. You will answer justly that he knew what he was doing and must abide by the consequences, but it is not with that that I am concerned, but with the way in which those consequences are evaded. A practice has grown up under which large brewers, for instance, hold a number of licenses, not in their own names but in the names of their servants, who sign blank transfers and are liable to immediate dismissal. What happens? The moment the license is imperilled by the holder's misconduct the man is dismissed, and application for a transfer is at once made, and if, when the annual Session comes round, the magistrates are indisposed to renew a license to a house thus badly conducted, the clever lawyer is always ready to point out the injustice that will be done to the owner, who is doing all he can to conduct his business respectably by dismissing an incompetent tenant. A very nice argument, and one that always has a certain weight, but the Legislature originally contemplated that the holder of the license should be the *bonâ fide* tenant, and that the forfeiture of the license should be one of the penalties subject to which it was held; but now, in the

case referred to, he is tenant only in name, and though the legal, is not the actual holder of the license—hence cumulative penalties become practically impossible, and the just operation of the law is evaded, and I do not believe it possible that the three convictions required by Section 30 of the Act of 1872 could ever be secured. Under this system the value of a license is enhanced in proportion as the risk of forfeiture is lessened. Every inducement is held out for fraud, and all means are used to keep the real facts of the case from the Bench.

Such a state of things ought not to be tolerated, but you naturally ask, what is the remedy? The prompt answer seems to be, to insist upon the license-holder being the *bond fide* tenant, but the attempt to enforce this proved such a complete failure that I should be wrong to advocate a re-imposition of the test. Far better would it be to strike at the root of the whole system, by abolishing the power of transfer except in the case of a widow wishing to continue her husband's business, or other analogous cases. By such a step the license would cease to be a marketable article, and all the temptations at present surrounding it as such would disappear. I know the answer that will at once be made by many to such a proposal. You cannot confiscate a man's property in any such a sweeping way. But really, after the experiences of recent legislation we may fairly assume that Parliament cannot refuse to allow vested interests to stand in the way of the public good, but I am not prepared to recommend any such harsh proceeding. I would at once apply such a law as I suggest to all new licenses, and allow the right of transfer to attach to all existing licenses for a period of ten or fifteen years. Ample time would thus be given for a settlement of all those monetary transactions which have become mixed up with licensed houses, and based upon the supposed value of the license. At the end of that period all licenses to become subject to the new law. I am satisfied that this plan is a practical one, and that under it the owners would get far better terms than they are likely to get if matters go on as they are much longer. The longer time the settlement is delayed the worse it will be for the holders of this property, for they must see, if they will open their eyes, that the current of national feeling is against any system which tends to foster artificial prices.

THE REV. DR. VALPY FRENCH.

WE have just been told by Mr. Ingham Brooke that the Church Temperance Society gives us principles but ties us down to no strict rules; I mean to take advantage of this liberty of action. The aim of the Church Temperance Society is mainly threefold: the reformation of the intemperate, the promotion of Temperance, and the removal of the causes which lead to intemperance.

Under this last head I propose to draw your attention to the absurd and mischievous practice of "Toasting," or the drinking of healths. The custom has been condemned by Fathers of the Church, Emperors, Kings, Queens, Councils, Divines, Christian writers of all ages, and States other than Christian.

By Fathers of the Church. Thus Augustin writes: "This filthy and unhappy custom of drinking healths is but a ceremony and relic of pagans, therefore we ought to banish it from our feasts and meetings as the poison of the devil; and know that if we practise it at our own or other men's tables we have unquestionably succeeded to the devil himself." Emperors have denounced the custom: Charles V., Maximilian, and Charles the Great enacted laws against it as the cause of great and filthy vices, and ordered all ministers to preach against it. Kings and Queens have uttered their protest. It is stated of our own Queen Elizabeth that observing upon an occasion one of the peers conducting himself with a lack of restraint, she asked him where he had been. "Faith," replied he, "drinking your Majesty's health." "I am sorry for it," said the Queen, "for I never fare worse than when my health is drunk." In the year 1660, Charles II. issued a proclamation against

profaneness in which occurs the following : " There are likewise a set of men of whom we have heard, and of whom we are sufficiently ashamed, who spend their time in taverns, tippling-houses, and other debauches, giving no other evidence of their affection for us than drinking our health and inveighing against all others who are not of their own dissolute temper." Louis XIV. was so convinced of the mischief to the nation from the practice of health-drinking that he disused the custom himself and greatly modified the health-drinking courtesies of his palace. Councils have condemned it—Councils not only provincial but also general—as is evident from an extract of the Council of Cologne : " All ministers are prohibited not only from luxurious feasts, but also from the drinking of healths, which they are commanded to banish from their feasts by a General Council." Christian writers have protested. Thus a celebrated author inveighs : " Since neither reason, nor necessity, nor health of body, nor vigour of mind, nor alacrity of the senses, but only another man's stomach, is the rule of drinking." In the " Confessions " of one Thomas Cartwright, who lived about three hundred years ago (terrible as the confessions of a drunkard in the essays of the brilliant but miserable Charles Lamb), occur the words : " It wounds me to the heart when I think of my drinking of healths, which will be the case and cry of every health-drinker when the pangs of sin and death shall prey upon him." In the blank leaf of an old Bible belonging to " R. Bolton, Bachelor of Divinity and Preacher of the Gospel," occurs this solemn resolve : " From this day forward to the end of my life I will pledge no health, nor drink a carouse from any glass, cup, bowl, or other drinking instrument whatsoever, for by this I see that I have more offended my great and glorious God and most merciful Saviour than by all my other sins." States other than Christian have protested. Athenæus states that the Spartans condemned it ; Tully tells us " that healths were abrogated by the Roman laws ; " Plutarch and Philo denounced it ; pagans and infidels saw its folly and put it down—even they are our judges.

Foreigners ridicule us. It is told of a German nobleman that he paid a six months' visit to this country. Wherever he went he was fêted ; he must pledge his host and hostess, drink with everyone who would be civil to him, and with everyone who wanted an excuse for a glass. Before returning to his native land he gave a banquet in order to requite the hospitality he had received. After dinner, the cloth being removed, the servants entered with two enormous hams, one of which was placed at each end of the table ; a slice was handed to each guest. The host rose with all gravity, and said : " Gentlemen, I give you the health of the king : you will be good enough to *eat* in his honour." The guests protested ; they had dined—they were already surcharged with his generous fare—some were Jews—some did not like ham—but the host was peremptory. " For six months I have been *drinking* at your bidding—I expect you now to *eat* at mine. I give you the health of the king ; you shall then be served with another slice in honour of the queen, another for the royal family, another for the army, and so on."

Such is toasting. It has been the handmaid of intemperance for three thousand years. Does its history commend it ? Surely not, unless intemperance itself be defended, as has been gravely done in the present century ; e.g., it has been argued that if Lot had not so ignobly fallen through drunkenness, whole families would have been wanting who played an important part in the history of Israel. To the same effect it is argued that the States of Holland owe eternal obligations to drunkenness, since to Brederode's mild carouse (though the connection is sufficiently remote) they owe their Republic.

If the perpetuation of toasting be urged because of usage, acceptance and high patronage, I protest, submitting that it is a superfluous, dangerous and pernicious ceremony—that it is an occasion of and incentive to drinking over and above all legitimate purposes of diet—that, in the words of old Prynne, " It is a kind of shoe-horn to draw on drink in greater abundance." Further than this it is aimless, contributing not one iota to the health or happiness

of the person pledged. Whilst, worse than all, it is a relic of the vile custom of drinking to the honour, applause, and commemoration of depraved men and women, of some courtesan, pot-companion, devil saint, or even the devil himself in default of a better friend to pledge.

Would that these considerations could be submitted to her Majesty the Queen, who whenever she realises an ill always tries to remedy it. One word from her Majesty would be taken up by her courtiers, would spread through the aristocracy to the masses till the whole lump was leavened.

Would that the archbishops, bishops, and leaders of our Church would cease to submit to those appendages of public breakfasts, luncheons and dinners—the proposing and responding to the usual loyal toasts! I am sure that they would do so had they the smallest idea how much good they might thus effect, and how much mischief is wrought by their sufferance, if not patronage, of the custom.

And the change of usage would not be difficult; there need be no change of phraseology. Propose the health, respond to the health, but do not *drink* the health.

There would be no violation of the laws of nature; indeed, there is not half so much affinity between toasts and wine as between toast and water.

CAPTAIN GRAVES (20th Hussars).

I CONFESS that from the experience I have gathered within the last seven years of going about through several dioceses, and through many parishes, helping the clergy in the holding of parochial missions, I feel, standing here as I do, speaking in all soberness and quietness, the greatest difficulty in the virtue of self-restraint. I feel from the experience I have gathered in this work that it is the one great sin among many sins which most effectually baffles the parochial clergy in their great work. I feel the need of organisation in this question so strongly, that I will, putting aside all the other questions which have been treated so well to-day, go straight to the point and give some practical advice to those who have not yet put their hands to this great and glorious work, but may be desirous of so doing. I have in my hand two manuals, which I am favoured with by the courtesy of our secretary, which I am sure are well calculated to forward this work. I would commend these manuals to the clergy who are interested prospectively in this work. From that same experience to which I have referred, if I may go back to myself, I have come to this solemn conclusion: I have seen hundreds and hundreds of parishes, I am intimately acquainted with the working of numbers, and I most positively state that in those parishes where the parochial clergy stand foremost in this great fight against drink, and go among working classes, coming down to their level, there is most real work done for God in the winning of souls to Christ. And in saying this I would ask you to think for a moment of the opposite side of the question—think of the organisation which this huge monopoly works in our midst. They do not work by spasmodic efforts. They do not simply call a meeting once a quarter or once a year, issue great placards, get speakers from a distance and let nothing follow. No; they have distinct organisations throughout the country. They ply every member of the trade with circular after circular, urging them to join. They organise, and they organise, and they organise; and so I believe must we if we mean to win. There are two ways in which we can deal with the question—either by the parishes in a rural deanery or district or by parishes singly. I happen within the last few weeks to have had the great privilege, with Mr. Graham, of taking part in a general Temperance mission in the Manchester diocese, in the rural deanery of Bolton. Mr. Graham and myself were invited to come and spend a week, and as the men were being dismissed from work at meal times to deliver short addresses to them. We got the working classes, women and men, to come by thousands through that week, and hear our object and the way in which we sought to

carry it out. In the evenings they had parochial meetings, and we as deputations explained the work of the society—and with very great results in many cases. Now the way that particular mission was started was this: all the clergy of the rural deanery were invited to open their pulpits to deputations from the society or friends of their own, for an explanation of the work of the society, with a view to its further extension in the rural deanery. This was done in nearly every church in the deanery, and we had good meetings in many of the parish schoolrooms. One particular result brought to my notice was, that five new societies were started in five parishes which had known nothing of organisation before. I went one night to hold a meeting under the presidency of the vicar of the parish. Before the meeting, I said to the vicar, "Have you got a branch formed among your people?" "No," he said, "but I want one." I asked if he had done anything to prepare the way, and he said he had. At the close of my remarks at the meeting, I said: "Your vicar wants to start a society and put himself at the head; who will help him? After the meeting will those who are willing to help kindly go into the side room?" The result was, twenty-two fine young fellows came with us into the room, and before long they had chosen their secretary. We started there and then, and it was arranged that they should have meetings at certain times, and with certain definite objects—to explain the general necessity of temperance, the general necessity of rescue, the general necessity to put the licensing question on a satisfactory footing. And I suggest that where you are sure of your men and women in your society, where you know them to be true-hearted, it will be a very great help to the clergy to get them, two and two, to take certain districts, find out new-comers in those districts, become acquainted with them, find out whether or not they are addicted to habits of drinking; and then, when the time for meetings comes round, endeavour by personal solicitations to get them to join the society. I believe that by this plan much labour would be taken from the shoulders of the clergyman, and that he would find much sympathy to which he is, perhaps, as yet a stranger. I remember a case where an officer went into a room in barracks and said quietly to one of the soldiers, "Come along to our Bible meeting to-night." The man replied that he would come in a few minutes. "I will wait for you, then," said the officer, and the two went to the meeting. About twelve years afterwards the officer was saluted in the street by the same man, whom he did not recognise again. The soldier explained who he was, and added, "I did not mean to come when I said 'By-and-by,' but you sat down and waited for me, and I thank God that that meeting brought me to a knowledge of the Saviour's love." I say that if in our organisations such an effort was made, no one can tell the good it would do. It is not necessary that every one should be pledged: I am an abstainer, though not a pledged one; but at the same time it is necessary in some cases. I ask you to think of this—If a pledge was the badge of the reclaimed drunkard only, who would like to take it? And it is because I feel this so strongly that I do plead that our general section will not speak of the total abstainers as fanatics. I ask those who are engaged in the work to go forward, feeling that they have before them the determined opposition of a mighty monopoly, and also feeling that they are going forth as humble instruments to roll away the mighty stone behind which are those who are in the death of sin. For so doing, God will bless you.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. G. EVERARD (Wolverhampton).

IF ever there was a work on which our Master looked down with approbation and pleasure, I am sure it is the noble work of our Church of England Temperance Society. It is a pleasure to be here to-day, not in the angry atmosphere of theological dispute, but as brethren working together in this blessed crusade against the intem-

perance of our land. Captain Graves, who has been a grand helper in this work, has spoken of the commencement of Temperance work. Let me just give you the experience we have had on our parochial branch. We commenced in April, 1875, and in that year we had 44 abstaining members. The members I mention are those who are keeping their pledges, so far as we can possibly ascertain. In April, 1876, we had 129 abstaining members and just a few in the non-abstaining section. The next year we had 169 abstainers and 23 non-abstaining members. The next year we commenced our juvenile association, which we call our Olive-Branch Union. In 1878 we had about 200 members who were adults, and also 110 children. The other figures I could not possibly vouch for, except for this year. In April, 1881, we had 454 adult members and 460 juvenile members, making a total of 914. Now I want to say here how much we are indebted for the earnest, loving, devoted help of our Christian secretary—a rough jewel, but a jewel he is. I must not forget to mention, also, his equally devoted sisters, who work heart and soul with him in attending to our young members. Oh, how much ladies may do, especially among the young men and the children, in this Temperance work! May I throw out one or two thoughts? May I say how warmly and heartily I feel the words of Canon Ellison, that all the work must be done in the spirit of our Master? Our adults meet once a month or so; and we have addresses by dear friends from a distance, who most kindly give us their help. Our juveniles have also their monthly meetings. There have been several outcomes from our meetings. One has been that I am sure it has drawn myself into closer union with the lowest class in our parish. At our Temperance meetings we have opportunities of speaking a word for Christ to many whom I should never be able to address in church; and for this I do thank God. Another point is that I feel sure the organisation has drawn out workers and helpers. The labouring men have invited their comrades, the wealthier have established a drum-and-fife band, and the ladies have been equally earnest in their exertions. Our rooms are crammed full with the very lowest class now, through the special efforts of the drum-and-fife band. One other thought. May I just venture the reason why I have been an abstainer for two years and a half? I stood some two years and a half ago by the grave of one who I believe in some measure lost her life through her earnest work among the rough lads of the Mumbles near Swansea—I mean, Miss Frances Ridley Havergal. I thought that if she with her delicate health could so work and give her life, I perhaps could do the same, and I determined to follow her example.

The Rev. W. BARKER, West Cowes (Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty).

It is only within recent times that the Church has made Temperance work a special branch of her organisations; but since she has done this, the question has become a prominent one among philanthropists, statesmen, and the public. It does not seem to me, however, that a meeting of this kind is calculated, and is fit, to go into the particular organisation of our parochial branches. If there is any clergyman here who is not familiar with the way of conducting a branch of this society, may I venture to say that the admirable secretary at head-quarters will supply him with all the information? But let me say that as this is a Church work, I think every parish should have a branch. I can speak personally of a branch in my own parish, for it has been one of the greatest blessings to my spiritual and other work there. I wish to direct your attention to the latter portion of this subject, the wording of which seems ambiguous. It says, "And to the local administration of the Licensing Laws." I am unable to interpret those words. In the first place, I do not know that there is any local administration of Licensing Laws at this present moment. They are administered by irresponsible magistrates. If you will permit me to speak of the legislative aspect of the matter, I shall be glad. Mr. Lawrence, who has done such a great philanthropic work, has made observations with which I personally cannot agree. He speaks of the codification of the Licensing Laws. If Mr. Lawrence believes in codifying those laws, then we must differ *in toto calo*; for I think the Licensing Laws are utterly

rotten, and if I think so I can see no good in codifying them. Why do I think them rotten? Because they have been in operation for centuries, and have failed to do that for which they were made. I am not very sanguine that any laws whatsoever will be very efficacious in stopping intemperance. I imagine that the latter part of this proposition is an indirect reference to what is called Local Option. I am wholly in favour of the localities having a voice in the granting and diminishing of licenses. In Cowes we have seventy-five public-houses, but mainly through the Temperance organisation many of them are not paying. I believe twenty of them might be closed with advantage; but the brewers are exceedingly anxious to transfer a number of the licenses to a suburb named Mill Hill, where there are no public-houses at all. To prevent this we had to employ two solicitors, to get up petitions, and spend a great deal of time and money and patience; but I am glad to say that the result was that the two licenses which it was sought to be transferred were not transferred. There is another place near Cowes in pretty much the same position. My point is this—that if localities had the power of directing the magistrates, it would be impossible to transfer licenses from Cowes to Mill Hill. What is true there is true everywhere else. I suppose you will agree with me that licenses are granted for the purpose of supplying a public want. It is evident that the persons residing in the locality must be the persons who ought to judge whether many or few public-houses are wanted. That is a very plain proposition. I want to say this in conclusion. I cannot bear anything that is fanciful; I want things that are practical. And I tell you honestly that if I saw no possible method of carrying this proposition, I should give up talking and working for it. But you know that the principle I have been advocating is a principle that has been endorsed not once but twice in the lower House of Parliament. That is a glorious consummation of twenty years' labour in this cause. If the organisations were united in that one principle, my opinion is that it would not be five years before it was endorsed in some Bill in Parliament. I may say that I believe there is some probability—I speak with some knowledge, obtained from those at the head of this matter in the Legislature—of a Bill being introduced by the Government next Session, which will in some way or other carry out the principle I have named. This meeting this morning, in comparison with meetings we have had at past Congresses in connection with the Temperance cause, is proof positive to me that the question is gaining ground. The interest in it is increasing, and the clergy are taking it up more and more.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF RIPON.

I DID not come into this room to-day with the intention of taking part in this interesting discussion, but at the request of your chairman I have accepted an invitation, and hope you will bear with me if I offer a few scattered remarks which have occurred to me in reference to this great subject. I appear before you as a veteran. I have been engaged in the Temperance cause for a great many years, and I think I may take to myself the satisfaction of having helped forward the commencement of this Church of England Temperance Society. Twenty years ago I was secretary of the diocesan conference in the diocese of Oxford, and I was exceedingly anxious that the subject should be brought before the Church. Our dear friend Canon Ellison was the person whom I felt knew more about the subject than anyone else in the diocese, and I asked him to prepare a paper to be read at the conference. After a great deal of difficulty I persuaded Bishop Wilberforce to allow the matter to be brought forward. He was not favourable to it, and I remember the diffidence that Canon Ellison had when he asked me to hear him read his paper before the conference took place. I don't think our audience exceeded six or eight people; and I remember the Bishop said, "Ellison, I don't think you have got a leg to stand upon." You see the result. Thanks be to God, the Church of England has taken up the matter. The secret of her success is that the Church has laid down two principles. The first is that it is a religious question, and that it has gone forth that the Church deals with the question, not only as regards the clergy, who are bound to be temperate, but has told the poor drunkard

that drunkenness is a sin before God. The other point is that of enlarging the border. Formerly Temperance meant teetotalism and nothing else; but little by little, consultations and prayers, and the suggestions of wise and pious men, the idea was brought out that there must be a temperate as well as a teetotal class. I shall never forget the description that was given to me, by a clergyman, of a scene which took place at the first Church of England Temperance meeting held in a country parish. There were two kinds of tickets, one for teetotalers and one for Temperance men. A little fellow in a smock-frock came up to the platform and asked for a ticket. He was asked what sort of a ticket he wanted. "Well," he said, "I should like to take a little-drop ticket." I want to say one word more, and that is, that the clergy must not be satisfied with the novelty and excitement of getting up these societies in their parishes. The Church of England has taken her place and she must go forward. We have found our Saturday night meetings means of great usefulness. A number of young men come to spend the evening together in a cocoa-house, and have their recitations and songs, under the presidency of some qualified person who keeps order, and nothing could be more successful than these meetings have been—so much so that they have outgrown the cocoa-house and been obliged to seek refuge elsewhere. It so happened that a Methodist chapel in the neighbourhood was offered for sale, and I was enabled to become the purchaser. I hope I shall not lose caste because, as a Dean, I am the proprietor of a Methodist chapel. In future the Temperance meetings will be held in this building. I can only say that I hope the society will soon fill it to overflowing. I am sure if we stop drinking on a Saturday night and carry a Bill for Sunday closing, we shall put a check on the drunkenness of the lower class especially, and we shall see great progress in the work.

The Ven. ARCHDEACON BARDSLEY.

I AM just told by Captain Graves that in the army the name given to the chaplain who is what is called a "moderation man" is "the one-drop parson." But I am quite sure that, whether in the army, or in the case of the labourer in a smock-frock, a "little drop" is a something more than a homœopathic globule. I believe we have been too apt in the past to speak of drink as though it were an absolute evil in itself. What we want is to get rid of drunkenness, rather than to banish any special stimulant. I think we may be congratulated because of the ground the Church of England Temperance Society has taken in the advocacy of Temperance. It has been argued this morning that we ought to be total abstinens—*not* on the ground of any critical reading of our Greek Testament, but on Christian principles. We have in the Church of England a magnificent organisation, and the good wishes of the Nonconformists throughout the country. I believe the establishment of the Church of England Temperance Society has won for us the approval of every member of the community. But then they are waiting to see what we are going to do. It is not only in the individual parishes that this question meets us, but in the country at large, and I believe that the enthusiasm which now rallies round Mr. Booth and other persons, will gather round them rather than us, unless we put forward objects, and show that we have the means of accomplishing those objects. As an instance of the progress that has been made, let me point to the Liverpool Town Council. It was moved, and after a long discussion unanimously carried by that Council, "That this Council petition Parliament to pass as speedily as possible a Bill dealing with the licensing system as a whole, and embracing, as one of its main objects, the granting of adequate powers to ratepayers, or a representative licensing authority, to restrict generally the facilities for the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors." They did not call it Local Control. They did not call it Local Option. But they nevertheless asked Parliament for a measure which would give to the ratepayers a voice in saying whether they will have a license here or there, and, in fact, committing to them that which they ought to have—the deciding voice in this particular question. I ask again whether, as regards Sunday closing, that question would have been in its present shape if it had not been that all organisations

within and without the Church made common ground in the matter. Our weakness may be our strength. It is our weakness if we all want our particular Bill, but it is our strength if, recognising what we want, we work together for principles. What I contend is that the Church of England ought to have before it, through this Temperance Society, definite objects, which we may hope to accomplish. Let us have, proceeding from head-quarters, some few positions which they are able to say, on authority, are positions which can be recommended, and which will have the full sympathy of Temperance advocates throughout the country, and then let us educate our people, for whether it be in our Town Councils or our Diocesan Conferences, we shall create such a public opinion as will move the House of Commons. You may depend upon it measures are worse than useless unless you have public opinion behind them. You may cast seed into the ground, but it will rot unless the ground is prepared. It is for us to make use of our Church organisation, and to create the public opinion necessary to bring about the legislation which we all so much desire.

MR. R. CARR ELLISON (Dunston Hill).

I HAVE been a promoter and anxious co-operator of this society from its very commencement. I well remember the days when the effort of those who were called teetotalers first arose. These societies had a very hard struggle at first. A great number of well-meaning men offered them the strongest opposition. They threw the whole influence of the Church against these societies, for the extraordinary reason that the societies founded their work upon a pledge, and not upon the religious principle. In the period between 1830 and 1840 I had many arguments with parish clergymen, and I used this argument: "Depend upon it, if these earnest men are putting their shoulders to the wheel in the way they are doing in the face of great opposition, they are doing it conscientiously, and the principle they are calling into operation is a principle of mutual support. I quite grant to you," I said, "it would be better if they could proceed simply on religious grounds, and the religious principle of apostolic temperance. That is the ground upon which you and I would proceed, but it is not the ground upon which these men can do it." And I succeeded in some cases; but it was twenty or thirty years before the great weight of clerical opposition was taken from the movement. At length the clergy of the Church of England threw themselves earnestly into the great organisation which we now see before us. I am delighted in the latter days of my life to have lived to see this society grow to its present dimensions, although at one period I have been put down when I attempted to speak. But I always said that the opposition was simply a reaction, and that we should succeed in the end. The impatience was not an unhealthy sign. Now, I sit once a week with my brother magistrates to administer justice to a population of 40,000 on the banks of the Tyne; I am happy to find that drunkenness is decreasing. Some of my brother magistrates and our clerk attribute it to the fact that people have not so much money as they had five or six years ago. I admit that that counts for something, but I can plainly see another cause. I can see that the class of men who come before us are a very different class from that which came ten or even six years ago. They are now in general men of a certain amount of education and self-respect; and they often express great sorrow for what has happened, and assure us that it shall not happen again. I assure you that it is with pleasure that I have listened to-day to the temperate and practical considerations which have been brought before us. Had there been more time I would have told you of the method in which I think the views of the Temperance reformers could be urged upon village and town populations. I would have the clergy put themselves in close communication with the boys in school, and inculcate upon them certain principles which I should have been glad to lay before you, but which I postpone to a future occasion.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON EMERY.

I HAVE been requested by the President of the Congress to announce to you his anxiety that the Bishopric of Newcastle should be founded, and the endowment fund,

which still lacks £10,000, completed. The Bishop of Manchester, at the request of the President, has suggested at the Town Hall, and I have been commissioned to carry it here, that it would be graceful on the part of the members of the Church Congress to do what they could towards the completion of this fund. The Bishop of Manchester, as a practical man, suggests that as there are 3,500 ticket-holders of the Congress in the town, it might be possible to get a pound apiece from them. Already a list of subscriptions has been made up, and will be circulated, and the total amount will be declared at the final *conversazione*. [The Archdeacon then read the list of subscriptions which had so far been received, and which will be found on p. 294.] In conclusion, I hope that at this time of the coming of age of the Congress the members may give contributions in recognition of the progress of the Church of England in part, through the operation of the Congress during the past twenty-one years. The debate which is going on at the Town Hall at this moment shows, with all our differences, what a change has come over parties in the Church of England during the last twenty-one years, and it is most likely that in another twenty-one years, by the good providence of God, these differences will be overcome, and we shall be able to throw all our energy into the promotion of the Gospel of Christ. One great means of doing this, in England at least, is by the increase of the episcopate, and let us put our hands in our pockets and extend it in Northumberland.

[A few minutes later the Chairman announced that £1 had been thrown on the table anonymously, and before the close of the meeting several other subscriptions were announced.]

The Rev. W. ROBINSON (St. Clement's, Manchester).

I WISH to speak of the Sunday Closing of public-houses. If I had more time I would attempt to show, first, that the Sunday Closing of public-houses is right in principle; secondly, that it is very good in practice; and thirdly, that it has the approval of a very large majority of the people of this country. It is right in principle. We have a very high authority for saying that the Sabbath was made for man. I am going to deal in the few minutes at my disposal with my second and third points. I have just received the last returns from the sister country of Ireland, published a few days ago. I find that, owing to the Sunday Closing Act, there has been a very large decrease in the number of arrests for drunkenness on the Sunday and through the week-days all over the country, and even in the five towns exempted from the Act. In the year ending April, 1879, the number of Sunday arrests for drunkenness in the provinces was 4,500. In the year ending April, 1881, the number had come down to 1,900. As to the five towns exempted, I remember very well that when the Irish Sunday Closing Bill was being discussed in the House of Commons, some members predicted that there would be a large influx into those towns, and lamentable scenes of drunkenness and rioting. What has been the result? In the year ending April, 1879, the number arrested in those five towns for drunkenness was 2,800. In the year ending April 1881 the number had come down to 1,700. I find that in the province of Leinster there was a very large decrease. You are aware that a Sunday Closing Act is in operation in Scotland. I will quote from a return issued by the Chief Constable of Edinburgh. In 1852 the number of arrests for drunkenness in Edinburgh was 6,047. In 1872, although the population had increased by 38,000, the arrests came down to 1,900. In 1852 the Sunday arrests for drunkenness in Edinburgh were 367. In 1872 they came down to 53. Years ago we were told that if we closed public-houses in Scotland on a Sunday, we should have a large increase in the drunkenness on Mondays. In 1852 the Monday arrests for drunkenness in Edinburgh were 753. In 1872 they came down to 253. Now I go to my third point. I believe that the Sunday Closing Bill has the approval of a very large majority of the people of this country. I venture to say, in the presence of friends who do not quite see eye to eye with me on this question, that we are thoroughly ripe in England for a Sunday Closing Bill. Let me tell you that the Central Association, has canvassed householders in no fewer than 500 towns, with this result: Refused to sign, 53,000; signed

against Sunday Closing, 83,000; signed in favour of Sunday Closing, 756,000. Why, when we canvassed Liverpool, out of 1,300 publicans more than one-half signed in favour of entire Sunday Closing. When we canvassed the whole town of Liverpool a few years ago, only 6,000 householders voted against entire Sunday Closing. There voted for it 45,000 householders. I venture, therefore, to represent that I do believe we in this country are ripe for Sunday Closing. And I hope the time is not far distant when at least one day in the week, and that the best of days, will be rid of the traffic; that as Wales, Ireland, and Scotland have got their Sunday Closing Bill, we shall have ours also. Then, as has been said, we shall become a wise nation.

The Rev. CANON LIDDELL (Jarrow).

I CAME to this meeting to learn and not to teach, and I shall allude, not to my successes, but to my failures. We all fail more or less. I think we shall learn far better by showing how we have failed in the past, and how we are likely to succeed in the future. My meetings have been supposed to be very successful. I want to tell you that I have not been successful. We have had meetings every fortnight, and the room has been filled to the very doors; but I have come to the conclusion, after careful consideration, that, although they have done no harm, they have done no good. Why? I will tell you. It is because we have not depended enough upon religion. I warn all the members present who have anything to do with parochial organisations to beware of songs, funny stories, and mere amusements; and I want to warn them, if they are starting these Temperance societies, to beware of what are called Temperance entertainments, which, it is thought, are doing Temperance work. That is not Temperance work. It may be Temperance recreation. These meetings we had every fortnight: we began always with a hymn, and asked God's blessing in a few short prayers; then we had recitations and songs—always of an unobjectionable character: we were very careful about that—and we diffused the information published by the Church of England Temperance Society. Then we had addresses by friends from Newcastle, Sunderland, South Shields, and other towns. Our people paid great attention to the songs, and I believe they sometimes listened to the addresses; and perhaps those who had taken the pledge were strengthened in their resolution by some of the Temperance addresses; but most of the people were like the lap-dog which, when you give it a piece of bread and butter, licks off the butter and leaves the bread. They took the amusement; but we did not do the good I meant to do. What I want to do this winter, if I can, is to use a nucleus of sixty or seventy working-men, to have a prayer-meeting, and send them out two by two, to do as our friend Captain Graves suggested. What is the crook in our arms meant for but to take people in our arms to bring them to our meetings? You never get men who intend to go on drinking to go to Temperance meetings. It is the people you have given the pledge to, and a few outsiders, who come. You convince their hearts but don't get hold of their wills. I have another organisation which has also failed. I thought it would be the nucleus of a great tower of strength if I got a club in which there should be a Bible-class every week. I had the class, and I went on with it for four years, but I found that a great many came just for the sake of the newspapers and the games, and that when I came in on Friday night there were only eight or nine who attended the Bible-class. A great many remained downstairs, simply because they had joined under false pretences. I was determined that I would have a complete revolution, and I enforced a rule, to have only members who promised to join a Bible-class or become communicant members of some church or chapel. The result was that a good many put their money on the table and said I was a hypocrite, and they left the society with only ten members. Since then members have come in, and we have now sixty or seventy who are thoroughly earnest Temperance workers. Perhaps these few words will help others to avoid my mistakes.

Mr. SARGANT (Secretary of the Church of England Temperance Society).

I THINK one feature of the discussion has been that there has been *no opposition*. We have had all our own way. On one point, at least, there has been peculiar agreement, namely, that in the matter of entertainments there are sometimes great mistakes made. I can only say that my own experience fully bears this out. I say to any one interested in this work—If you simply want to form a society to give entertainments, give the entertainments without forming a branch. I know branches which give amateur theatrical entertainments, have “Water-lily Minstrels,” as they call themselves, and give clog-dances, etc. I say, have *practical meetings* and make them *intensely educational*. I want to point out the immense advantage of having in your parishes what are called “experience Temperance meetings.” I have seen these meetings in several parishes, and know that they have had good results. Of course, you must be prepared for some rough things, but rough things are from hearts which are really genuine. I would also recommend country parishes to take our society’s diagrams illustrating the worship of Bacchus, upon which many profitable lectures could be based. Dissolving views might also be sometimes exhibited. Some of our branches write to me that they are closing during the summer months. I never knew why this should be, for people drink more than ever then. In one of the parishes where I am privileged to work as a layman, we have devotional and other meetings, and much good work is done. We have 94,000 members at least in the juvenile section of our great society. We have a new children’s paper entitled *The Standard-Bearer*, which has a circulation of 25,000 a month. We are now giving prizes in connection with it. Many branches hold special meetings just before Christmas, Easter and Whit-Sunday, and to check the drinking then we have special pledges for a few days. These are taken by a great many people. You see what good may be done in this way. My advice is that you take up this work earnestly and faithfully. We should then have no need of men to come from America to show us how to do it. There is one way in which our society can do much—by agitating for the repeal of the Act which enables grocers to hold licenses which have done so much harm in spreading female intemperance.

The CHAIRMAN.

I HAD very grave doubts as to whether a meeting ought to be assigned to this work, as it was believed that the subject had been so thoroughly thrashed out that there would be a small audience. Your attendance, however, has justified the hope of those who got up this meeting, and we hope that this meeting will not end in mere words, but in earnest prayer and work.

SECTION ROOM, THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

OCTOBER 6.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF BEDFORD took the Chair at 2.30 o’clock.

THE PROPER ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH
TOWARDS THE QUESTION OF SUNDAY OB-
SERVANCE.

PAPERS.

The Rev. DR. GRITTON.

SUNDAY is one-seventh of the week, and the aggregate of Sundays makes a seventh of our whole life. Sunday is, therefore, an important time element in our history; and its influence is greater than its measure

The seventh of our life, it is far more than a seventh in the influences which mould our life for good or for evil. A well-spent Sunday tells on the whole week. An ill-spent Sunday may ruin the whole life.

It is not, then, surprising that, in days of thoughtful inquiry, the Sunday question comes to the front, and finds a place in the programme of Conferences and Congresses innumerable.

We are asked to-day to consider "The Proper Attitude of the Church towards the Question of Sunday Observance."

Any adequate discussion of the question must be based on clear conception of terms. The expressions "proper attitude" and "observance" will vary greatly in their meaning, as we give one or another definition to "Sunday" and to "Church."

We will, therefore, discuss these two terms; and, first, What is Sunday? The name has been wrested from heathenism, and consecrated by Christianity. It is absent, indeed, from the Bible, but almost universal in ecclesiastical terminology. The Day of the Sun—the true Sun—even the Sun of Righteousness—for on that day there rose on the darkness of earth the true light, which, hidden awhile in the tabernacle of humanity, and still more briefly hidden in the gloom of the grave, burst forth upon man on the first Sunday of the Christian Era, pouring new light into his heart, and shedding Divine illumination on his understanding. With the up-springing of that light came the knowledge of life and immortality.

But this Sunday is also the Lord's Day; for He who then was raised again from the dead by the glory of the Father was the Lord Jehovah—Son of God and Son of Man—true God and true man. He was Lord of the Sabbath; He made the day at first, moulded its character, and declared its limits—purified it when human traditions had corroded and disfigured it—claimed it as His own day—carried it with Him into death, that, as a corn of wheat falling into the ground and dying, brings forth much fruit, so this buried rest day might spring with Himself from the womb of earth, and be revealed, a living power, more restful, more bright, and more beautiful than in older days: more beautiful indeed, since, in addition to all other beauty and blessedness, it was now the day of the Risen Lord, the day of Resurrection, the day of Righteousness perfected and Salvation assured.

But Sunday is also the Sabbath—the rest day of Jehovah. God the Creator gave a rest day to unfallen man in Eden; and, ages before the law of that rest day was written on stone at Sinai, God wrote it on man's nature, making Sabbath law and human constitution answerable each to the other—a fact asserted by physiologists and confirmed by experience. In accordance with that law of Sabbath rest—the law of periodic rest one day in seven—seventh or first as dispensational fitness might dictate—waste is remedied; overwrought energies of body and mind are relaxed; the highest faculties of judgment, conscience, and heart are saved from the decay which would follow on the unbroken conflict and toil of common life; and the whole man—body, soul and spirit—is again put into harmony with the laws of being, of development and growth which environ him.

Afterwards, this Sabbath Law was written on tables of stone, and was placed by the very finger of God in the centre and heart of the Moral Law—a law which, existing before, and existing necessarily, was then

codified—a law, moral and not arbitrary, enduring and not transient, necessary for man as man, so distinctly a law that any transgression of it is sin—a law existing antecedently to Judaism, continuing as a specially adapted sign between the Jewish race and their covenant King, during the rule of the Judaic dispensation, and still continuing now that Judaism or Mosaicism has waned and faded away in the brighter light and the greater glory of the Christian system.

This Sabbath Law was Jewish only in the sense in which that term may be applied to the law of Monotheism—to the rule of spiritual worship without idols and images—to the statute of reverence for the Divine name and character—to the laws which guard the authority of parents, the sacredness of human life, the purity of the marital bond, the rights of property, the character of our neighbour—or to that other law which restrains covetous imaginations and desires.

These ten laws are one. The Sabbath Law is as the other nine, ancient as they—economized by Judaism as were they—living while they live—operative wherever they have force, and as needful as they for the well-being of the individual, for the right ordering of the family, and for the highest and purest development of society. This Sabbatic period is God's seventh for all time. The seventh of man's time, consecrated to God, that it may be received back again from God. The Lord claims and takes it, that it may return to man, as a double gift, the fullest and best of days, since He fills it with Himself and gives it back filled with the fulness of God for the need of man.

This Sabbath law (like the other nine words of the Decalogue) was once written only on tables of stone, and in the oldness of the letter; but now it is written ~~on the~~ fleshy table of the believer's heart, and in the newness of the spirit—that is to say, as we are taught by St. Paul in his second letter to the Corinthian Church (Ch. iii. 17), it is re-established in spirit, even in the Lord Jesus who is that Spirit. In our Lord Jesus, the law assumes a new relation altogether. He, accepting our responsibilities, and taking our place, kept the law perfectly, and also endured the penalty of death, due to the transgressor of law. Every true believer, dying with Jesus, and living again to find in Him Righteousness and Peace, is thenceforth freed from the death-working power of law, and is no longer under its curse. To that man, the law is now the revelation of the wise and compassionate heart of his Heavenly Father, the rule of a happy and fruitful life. He loves the law of his God. It no longer offends him. God has given him liberty; for, where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, and he now runs in the way of the Commandments with an enlarged heart. He is so closely united to the Lord the Spirit, and made so like Him in resurrection life, that he too can say with the Lord Jesus, "I delight to do Thy will, O my God; yea, Thy law is within my heart."

But, all this while, the law retains its old aspect to the non-Christian, the unregenerate, the unbelieving man. He knows it not in the newness of the spirit. It cries to him, "This do, and thou shalt live, and the soul that sinneth, it shall die." It is God's law—a law holy and just and good—but it is weak through the flesh, that is to say, the fallen and unregenerate nature of man. He loves it not, cannot obey it, and rebels against it in irritation and dislike. When it is brought home to him by the Spirit of God, it helps to convince him that he

cannot be saved by his own deeds of law, and warns him to look off unto Jesus, the law-fulfiller and law-satisfier. And while the Sabbath law thus becomes a pedagogue leading to Christ, the Sabbath itself, in the good providence of God, becomes the season in which the believing and rejoicing Church of the Risen Jesus finds opportunity for telling out among sinners that the Lord is King—opportunities when, rejoicing in her spiritual rest, she comes to men in their weekly Sabbatic and carnal rest, and bids them taste and see that the Lord is good; and they, multitudes of them, believing, enter into rest of heart and conscience, through and in the Risen Jesus, the Lord of the Sabbath.

The Lord of the Sabbath, in the course of his earthly ministry, and his servant St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans (Ch. xiv.), have declared the principles which make Sabbatic observance honourable to God and a boon to man; and St. Paul, in his Epistles to the Romans (Ch. xiv.), Galatians (Ch. iv.), and Colossians (Ch. ii.), has set forth the great dispensational truth, that outside the one Sabbath of weekly rest—moral and permanent, and memorial of the Resurrection—all observation of days, Sabbaths, weeks, and times is always matter of doubtfulness, and often positively evil. But neither Christ nor His Apostles ever spake a word casting doubt on the permanency or authority or blessedness of the one Sabbath of Jehovah.

And what a glorious day is the Sunday of which we speak—this abiding and God-given Sabbath! It tells of God's work in creation—once made perfect, and to be again perfected after spoliation and corruption. It is the memorial of the completion of a new cosmos of spiritual creatures, saved by the death and resurrection of Jesus, and created anew unto good works. It tells of an old-world redemption of the chosen Israel from out of Egypt and the house of bondage, and of a greater redemption of all nations from sin and ruin, unto eternal glory by Christ Jesus, in the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

This blessed Sunday is rest to weary toilers, speaking to them of typical but broken rest in Eden of old, and of coming eternal rest in the Paradise of God. It is sacred time and rest unto God. It is the sinner's day for feeling after God—the Saint's day for fuller communion with God—the worldling's day for remembering God—the Christian's day for enjoying God.

Our second definition will be more brief. What is the "Church" of which we speak? As to the spiritual body of Christ, the living Church, we need say little. The members of that Holy Catholic Church will be one with their living Head in judging of the Sabbath question as of all other matters. God's house, God's book, God's day are all dear to them. Every Sunday they will say, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it." They may and will, in the fallibility of their imperfect condition, view variously the question with which we deal: they will not see eye to eye yet awhile, but they will be kept in their ways and lifted up when they slip. They will not help those who hate the Lord; they will have no fellowship with unfruitful works of darkness; they will not associate with worldlings and infidels, to weaken the hold of Sabbath Law on the weary world of toilers around them; nor have part with open and avowed enemies of the Gospel in defaming the Word of God, or making desolate the House of God, or desecrating the day of God.

We understand, by the word "Church" in our thesis, the Visible Church of Christ, the organized congregation of professing believers; and more especially, on this platform, we understand by it the grand old Scripture Church of England, Christian, Reformed, and Protestant.

This mighty Church does, and must, influence the question we are discussing. In ten thousand ways the Church influences legislation, guides in morals, defends and promotes liberty, carries light into the dark recesses of error, and acts as salt amid the ever-active tendencies to decay and corruption which energize in this sin-stricken world.

How, then, should the Church, in faithfulness to her King, in the loyal maintenance of her own precious privileges, and in the discharge of her high duty to society, stand related to the observance of Sunday? We can desire nothing better than her continuance in the old paths of her ecclesiastical life. She has embodied the Sabbath Law in her communion service, and taught it in her Catechism, and affirmed it dogmatically in her seventh Article. In the one, she teaches her worshippers, Sunday by Sunday, that transgression of that Law is sin to be confessed, and obedience to it a grace to be supplicated; in the other, she instructs her children, out of the fourth commandment, to serve God truly all the days of their life, by giving six days to the completion of all their worldly business, and by ever remembering the seventh, the Sabbath, to keep it as a holy or separated day unto the Lord; and in her Article she declares that "no Christian man whatsoever is free from the commandments which are called moral," clearly meaning by that term the ten laws of the two tables.

Standing in these old paths, the Church will guard with jealousy her Sunday opportunities, which are her chief opportunities for bringing the Gospel of Christ to bear on the masses of men who are still alien from her faith and destitute of her hopes; she will economize the day for seeking the lost, winning back the wanderers, helping the faith of the weak, and supplying nourishment to the hope of the desponding. For these ends, and for the manifestation and cultivation of her great gladness in her risen and reigning Saviour, for meditation on His words, for communion within herself and with Him in the Lord's supper, for prayer, for praise, for growth in grace and in the knowledge of her Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,—the day will be none too long, its recurrence none too frequent.

Moreover, the Church will regard with holy jealousy, with watchful care, with deep sorrow, and with strenuous opposition, every attempt, whether from within or without, to alter her teaching or corrupt her practice as to Sunday. Declaring, as she does, her faith that Sunday is the Sabbath, the Church will oppose all attempts to reduce that holy day to the level of an ecclesiastical festival, existing by the same authority as Good Friday or Christmastide or Ascension Day. On such days she may arrange services, invite to worship, and tell out to her people the great facts which those days commemorate; but she cannot authoritatively denounce work, or condemn amusements on the ground that they cause some to work for the pastime of others. On the Sunday, however, while doing all that which she may do on solemn days of ecclesiastical appointment, she must also teach men that God sanctified the day as a day of rest, and that to do or cause unnecessary labour is a sin, and that any observance of the day which drops out its Sabbatic character is imperfect and vain. The Church will strenuously oppose all efforts

to secularize the day, either in the sense of giving it up to worldly concerns, or in the worse sense in which the materialists and unbelievers of the anti-Sunday Societies and Infidel Clubs understand the word. She will remember, and she will teach, that the day is holy unto the Lord, and that, while neither on that day nor any other may men do evil, on that day some things not evil or sinful on other days become wrong, and must be avoided. The Church will hold, and teach, that this holy and separate character of the day belongs to all its sacred hours. She will not limit it to ecclesiastical hours, nor to any portion of the whole. She will not keep holy the earlier hours, and devote the afternoon or evening to amusement or toil—nor teach men so. Early communion and afternoon lawn-tennis, morning service and evening concert, heavenly gladness of heart at sunrise and earthly pursuit of amusement at sundown, will shock her sense of right, and appear to her spiritual taste inharmonious and unsymmetrical. The day is to her the day which the Lord hath made for gladness and rejoicing. She will dread lest the day should be saddened by the sigh of the overtaken seven-day toilers, by the noise and dissipation of parties of pleasure, or by the crash and rumble of the wheels of the car of commerce.

The world, in its dislike of Christianity, will seek to spoil the whole by marring a part, and will endeavour to make such a compromise with the Church as shall practically rob the Church altogether of her holy rest day. To all such overtures the Church will say, "Hands off." Earth's commerce, natural science, æsthetic culture, material art, and time's music, are good in their place: but they are too low and earthly to share the hours of the day which God demands for Himself and consecrates to spiritual joy. Cricket and football, tennis and croquet, rowing and swimming, are also good in their place; but that place is no more the sacred enclosure of the Sabbath than it is the consecrated precincts of the House of Prayer.

Trembling unbelief appeals to the Church to take all the wet Sundays for God, and, in normal seasons, the fine Sundays also; but pleads, "Give us, for our harvesting work, the dry Sundays of wet autumns, and the open Sundays of earing time." The Church, in her jealousy for a right observance of the Sunday, will say, "Not so; six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest; in ploughing time and in harvest thou shalt rest,"—and, in thus speaking, she will use no harshness and cause no loss; for well she knows that the Lord of the Sabbath is the ordainer of rain and sunlight, supreme ruler in the sphere of natural law, as within the law of spiritual life.

The imperious and selfish drink-traffic will demand that it, at all events, shall not cease from money-making—from polluting and desecrating the bodies and souls of men on the Lord's-day, and will shamelessly plead necessity for its continuance; but the Church will have scant forbearance for the plea, and will command, "Take off thy drink-soiled shoes from off thy feet; the place where thou wouldst come is holy ground."

The Church knows well that her own happiness, and the world's salvation, are bound up with spiritual interests and realities. For herself she is well satisfied and pleased in her God. She gladly rests from the sight of artistic beauty, that she may gaze unhindered on the beauty of the Supreme Artist. She thankfully closes her ears to the strains of earth's music, that she may, in the quiet of Sabbatic repose, hear the

voice of her King, and make his statutes her song in the house of her pilgrimage. She can close her books of natural science, because the spirit of God takes of the things of Jesus, and by them makes her wise unto eternity. She can, uncomplainingly, let the plough lie quiet in the furrow, the machine remain silent in the factory, the animal ruminate in the paddock, the iron horse stand motionless in the shed, the barge lie moored to the bank on canal or river, and all the sources of wealth rest unproductive on the Sabbath—that she may increase the riches of grace and holiness which she has in God. She has learned that in God only is treasure worth accumulating, pleasure without satiety, beauty to be adored, music by which the soul may be rapt above the spheres, knowledge which fills the intellect, and rest which bathes the whole being, so that body, soul, and spirit become buoyant, lithe, and mighty for action.

All this, which is included in her observance of the Lord's day, makes that day the very queen of days and the zenith of her delight. Truly, she is rich and increased with goods. Alas! that around her there are millions who possess not her portion, and know not her happiness!

What can she do for them? Is her mission to amuse the people—to help them, in the joys of earth, to forget their spiritual destitution? Herself satisfied with the higher and holier, shall she cater for their carnal lusts, and lead them still further from heaven by the allurements of sense? Without God they are hungry, poor, restless, and perishing. What the Church has the world needs, and, needing it, is poor and miserable, even while seeking enjoyment in the architecture of Rome, the music of Milan, the galleries of Munich, the treasures of the Louvre, the wondrous beauty of Swiss mountains, the riches of the British Museum, or the, till now, unimagined marvels of the Paris Electrical Exhibition.

Over this world in its poverty the Church, amid the boundless treasures of her inheritance, yearns with intense pity. She must influence it how she can. She finds that, in every age, and in all lands, Sunday is her grandest opportunity for calling men in, for uplifting the cross of Christ, for plucking men out of the mire of sin and as brands from the burning. She knows that much depends on her maintenance of this day for herself, the teacher, and for men of the world whom she invites and entreats. Towards the Sunday, then, and its observance, the Church can assume but one attitude. It is the attitude of obedience to the Will and Law of her supreme King. He has spoken, "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day." She replies, "I delight to do thy Will, O my God; thy Law is within my heart."

THE REV. H. R. HAWEIS.

I WILL define terms: Proper—Church—Sunday Observance. By a proper attitude, I mean a policy tending to edify within the lines of the ecclesiastical law. By the Church, I mean the clergy and laity of the Established Church of England as by law established. By Sunday Observance, the duties and occupation which the members of this body are ready to preach and practise.

And as the definition is threefold, so is the attitude: (1) attitude to

the general principle of Sunday Observance; (2) attitude to outsiders; (3) attitude to insiders.

• I. Attitude to the general principle of Sunday Observance. I shall perhaps carry my friends with me when I assert that the general principle of Sunday Observance is rest and worship. Rest including recreation—recreating, or remaking the exhausted life of mind and body; worship, the expression of the soul's eternal need of heavenly allegiance—itsself the sweetest of all human recreations. Now, if God has defined in the Bible or elsewhere the rules for Sunday Observance, or if the Sabbath rules are to be transferred to Sunday, there is an end of the matter—we have only to obey. But it is now maintained that whilst the eternal principles of periodical rest and worship underlie both the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday, the rules of the one have never been authoritatively transferred to the other, and therefore the fourth commandment cannot properly define the Christian attitude. I need hardly remind this learned assembly that the early Christians, still under Jewish influence, kept both the seventh and the first day holy—but never confounded (with some of our Scotch friends) the Sabbath with Sunday—that was left for later times, when the burden of holy days had sapped the popularity of the great holy day of rest, until, in an evil time, Sunday was propped up with Sabbath rules. The Christians have seldom converted the Jews; but the Jews have converted the Christians wholesale to the Sabbatical Observance of Sunday. But the attitude of the Christian Sabbatarian is peculiar without being secure, and for this reason: the rules of the Sabbath have never been authoritatively transferred to Sunday. Not by Christ, who declared that even the rigid Sabbath was made for man, and should not therefore be used to mar his development; not by St. Paul, who told people that they might do as they pleased (Rom. xiv. 5: "One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike, let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind"), condemned the Jewish observance of "days and months and times" (Gal. iv. 10-11), and declared the Sabbath a shadow or symbol of something better (Col. ii. 16: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new-moon, or of the Sabbath-days; all which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ"); not by the bishops and fathers of the Church, who, like Cyril of Jerusalem, fourth century, forbade the observance of the Sabbath day—or St. Jerome, who described the Christians without reproof as buying and selling and mending their clothes, as well as going to church on Sunday; not by Luther, who was unusually violent against Sabbath rules; nor by Calvin, who played at bowls on Sunday afternoon; nor by Baxter, nor by Bucer, nor by Simeon. In short, history and precedent leave Sabbatarianism out in the cold.

But did not God rest on the seventh day? No doubt the great law-giver sealed the Sabbath rest with a poetical allusion to the rest of God; but it is the language of accommodation and metaphor. God can no more rest than He can repent. Yet He is said to do both and neither in the Bible. "The Lord repented that he had made Saul king;" and "The Lord is not a man, that he should repent." "God rested;" and "the Watcher of Israel can neither slumber nor sleep"! Those who believe that the order of nature is sustained by the incessant expenditure of Divine energy of some sort, perceive that the

rest of God for any infinitesimal point of time would result in the instantaneous collapse of the universe and all that is in it.

I conclude, then, that Sunday is the Christian's day of free rest and worship. It is an institution analogous to, but not identical with, the Sabbath. It is of Scriptural indication, and of Apostolical precedent. There are no set of rules laid down for its observance—there is no fixed ecclesiastical tradition—there is no uniformity of Church practice—there is no general agreement among Christian people; and this being the case, the attitude of the clergy and laity towards the general principle of Sunday Observance must be one of freedom and flexibility within the limits of ecclesiastical law: freedom as to the number and length of services, flexibility as to the work and recreation permitted—freedom as to the rest enjoined, flexibility of practice limited, controlled, inspired, by the living principles of rest and worship.

II. Proper attitude of the Church to outsiders on the question of Sunday Observance. By outsiders I mean that growing class of persons, including Dissenters, who think that open museums, parks, and libraries would promote the Sunday rest and recreation of the masses, without injuring the worship of the churches or the morals of the community. No full discussion of this point is possible in a few paragraphs, but I am bound to glance at a few objections which sometimes render people averse to the opening of museums and galleries on Sundays.

It is said the people don't want the museums open. Very likely—people never do want what is good for them. They don't want model lodging-houses—they prefer pigsties; they don't want the Bible—they prefer beer: but that does not prove that an earnest and sober minority who do want these blessings should be snubbed, and that people would not be all the better for the Bible, model lodgings and open libraries.

It is said these places are all open on Saturdays—let people come then, and not on a Sunday. That is a good old argument—I have heard it elsewhere. "There are six days on which ye may come and be healed, but not on a Sabbath." But if men will come and be done good to on Sunday, even in a museum, ought we not to be glad? If so they can be kept from drink and idleness, which is not rest, on Sunday, ought we not to be glad? It is said open museums on Sunday afternoons would not compete with the public-houses, because these are shut from eleven to one and three to six, but they would draw away from the churches, which are then open—in fact, museum open, public shut, and open when church is open. Well, the publics are shut from three to six, but they are open from one to three and from six to eleven. But if a man has the prospect of legitimate refreshment and recreation from three to six, he is less likely to get drunk from one to three—and if he has spent from three to six well, he is less likely to drink from six to eleven. And what becomes of the church? Why the church positively has the field all to itself morning and evening, free from all public-house competition from eleven to one, and free from all museum competition from six to eleven. It is said that abroad, in spite of the museums being all open on Sundays, drunkenness has been on the increase. Yes, of course—it is in spite of such advantages: no one supposes it is in consequence of them! At Geneva, not long ago, there was a great meeting of clergy and laity to devise some means of checking drunkenness and profligacy on Sundays. The speakers were very strong upon rest and worship—many good suggestions were made; but not one person there proposed to shut up the

museums and libraries—that was a bright idea which could hardly occur to anyone out of England or Scotland.

It is said that Sunday opening would increase compulsory labour—think of the extra attendants, of the converging streams of cabs and trains, of the refreshment bars forced open for *bonâ fide* travellers. But if they did not go to museums, do you suppose they would go nowhere, employ no labour, need no refreshment? The reverse is the case—they would go to worse places, employ labour more wastefully, refresh more ruinously. The extra call on the public cars and the public-houses is to a great extent a fallacy—the masses mostly carry their provisions with them and go on foot. But allow the vision of these converging streams of traffic and these open bars—the eye alone is cheated. What is seen is the mass of labour concentrated, not the mass of diffused labour lifted. If a man spends his afternoon at a museum he may employ a roth of the carmen's, and 200th of the engine driver's, and 2000th of the museum attendant's time—but he can't employ labour elsewhere! All his own neighbourhood can rest! He can't get tobacco or beer there, or gamble or fight or quarrel with his neighbour, or engage the attention of the local police at home!

When you open a centre you merely concentrate and regulate labour which would otherwise be diffused. As for compulsory labour, there is no such thing in England. Men who dictate to their masters not only the wages they will have, but the number of hours a day they will work, are quite equal to deciding the number of days in the week and the exact extent to which they will consent to work for the good of others, on Sunday or any other day. It is said, You want to get in the thin end of the wedge. Well, I certainly should not begin with the other. I say, get good things like health, sobriety, instruction, refreshment, recreation—get more of these on Sundays for the people, and then let public common sense and decent religious feeling—of which, thank God! there is plenty in England—decide how much is wanted, and how much can be got without injury to the day of rest or to the morals of the community. It is said, you want the Continental Sunday over here. You will never get that, because we are insular and not Continental. But let us be fair to our neighbours. There is much more church-going amongst the poor in France than in England—they go on week days at six o'clock in the morning, when the Englishman is fast asleep at his hotel; and if Scotland goes to church more on Sunday than France, Scotland gets a great deal more drunk: and whilst the Briton who enjoys himself sadly denounces the ribaldry and recreation of the Gaul, the Gaul has been known to come over here and complain with severity of the dulness and the drunkenness of the Briton.

What, then, at length should determine the proper attitude of the Church towards Sunday opening of museums? Surely this: does it edify? Has it been tried and proved a failure? Hampton Court and Kew Gardens have been opened for years—no voice of over-worked attendants—no riots have occurred. Seventeen years ago the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland opened the public gardens, libraries and institutions of Dublin—no complaint has been made. Birmingham, Manchester, and many other towns have followed suit, and this has been going on for nine years, and Mr. Chamberlain writes from Birmingham: "No change has taken place in public opinion in this town in any degree unfavourable to the opening of the free libraries and art galleries on Sun-

day—on the contrary, some of those who were opposed now say they are very glad they were defeated—the experiment is a complete success !”

From personal experience I can say the same of the movement in London, as far as it has been tried. Legislation is slowly following in the wake of public opinion. I am glad that some of the clergy are changing their attitude on this question, and I believe that the proper attitude of the Church of England to outsiders, if she cares to retain her hold over the masses, or to promote “whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report,” is an attitude of wise toleration, and, when possible, co-operation with those who desire to open the public museums and galleries on Sunday.

III. Proper attitude of the Church to insiders on the question of Sunday Observance. By insiders I mean the people who go to Church on Sunday, or who look to Church opinion for guidance on the question of Sunday Observance. How shall we teach our people to respect Sunday—how shall we teach them to love their day of rest? First, let us be positive rather than negative—more ready to say ‘Thou shalt rest, thou shalt worship, thou shalt do good on Sundays,’ than, ‘Thou shalt not see thy friends, read thy books, hear lectures or go to museums.’ Secondly, let us be charitable and respect the Sunday scruples of other people when we can do so without injury to others, remembering that there are cases in which we should not eat meat whilst the world stands, lest we make our brother to offend. Thirdly, let us be educational and adaptive, drawing rules from principles, not principles from rules. Shutting up shops is excellent; but chemists’ shops and some refreshment places must be open. Resting our cattle is good, but somebody must drive to church on Sunday. Abstinence from common pastimes is well, but athletic exercise is not forbidden. Light reading may be postponed, but that excellent Sunday magazine, *Good Words*, sails very near the wind. Dancing and banquets are out of place, but on Sunday, the chief Christian festival, people must be allowed to see their friends. We must be large and generous in our judgment, firm in our principles, elastic in our rules, if our attitude in council is to commend itself to every man’s conscience in the sight of God.

And what can we do for our people in church? What is to be our attitude there? How can we make them love it? How can we say to them, with a good grace—in spite of counter attractions and dangerous temptations—“Forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is?” We must learn to touch them at all points on Sunday. We must feel how their hearts beat. We must adapt the services within our wide liturgical limits to their needs, and neglect nothing which may legitimately attract, edify, and win them—remembering that the Prayer-book was made for man, and not man for the Prayer-book.

What was the attitude of the great Roman Church towards the people, when she had the whole world at her feet, and before corruption hurled her from supremacy? She was the home of the people; her aisles were refuges; her vestibules were schools; her altars were asylums; her walls flamed with parable, her windows with allegory; her services were full of terror and joy; her pulpits rang with prophecy, her choirs with praise. Men could not do without her—could not keep away from her. Patient confessor! Sister of Mercy! Mother of Consolation! and our people must feel so! We must make them *at home* in our

churches—hungry and thirsty for our services. And knowing the terrors of the Lord, we must persuade men. Every day of the week we should belong to the people, but on Sunday they should belong to us. What can we do for them? How can we build up the moral and spiritual life of the masses in the great congregation on Sunday?

I say, enlarge the sphere of the pulpit, add to the routine theology the religion of the heart, teaching by pictures, maps, diagrams and symbols, show the religious side of literature and art as our Lord showed the religious side of nature and humanity!

Enlarge the sphere of the choir. Let Sunday night in great towns like Newcastle, when the masses have nothing to do, be filled with oratorio music, or a service almost entirely of hymn singing.

Enlarge the sphere of the organist, invite the people to sit and listen to an hour of organ playing at the close of the evening service, and come freely but reverently in and out as in the great cathedrals abroad.

Thus our attitude to insiders on the question of Sunday Observance will be one of zeal and ingenuity inspired by the central longing to catch men and save souls. I will now sum up in three sentences:

Attitude to the general principle of rest and worship—freedom and flexibility.

Attitude to outsiders—forbearance and co-operation.

Attitude to insiders—ceaseless adaptation and tireless zeal.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. BROOKE LAMBERT.

IN a manuscript of the New Testament at Cambridge there is an addition to our text which runs as follows:—"On the same day (the Lord) having seen one working on the Sabbath, He said to him, 'O man, if, indeed, thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed, but if thou knowest not thou art cursed, and a transgressor of the law.'" We need not discuss the authenticity of the passage, since the comparative antiquity of the manuscript is undoubted. And the existence of such a passage, whatever its value, may remind us that the Sabbatarian view can boast no unbroken chain of tradition. This passage, written at least before the seventh century, contemplates the righteousness of doing that on the Sabbath which men now say is wrong to do even on the Sunday.

But the passage is further interesting as stating the principle on which we are to regulate all our actions, and that of Sunday Observance among the number. That principle is that positive commands are to be interpreted in the light of natural instincts. That our Lord held this view is plain from his argument as to the humane transgression of the Sabbath law in the case of cattle, and in his reference to David, who not only violated that law, but also ate the sacred shew-bread and was blameless. But inasmuch as the judgment, when the command is literally to be obeyed and wherein lies the lawful transgression of the letter, is impossible for individuals, religious bodies have always invested some authority with the power of pronouncing on the limits of practice. And thus the question we are discussing to-day has been discussed at all times.

The main points on which the discussion has turned have been:—1st Whether there is any blood relationship (so to speak) between the Sabbath of the fourth commandment and the Sunday of the New Dispensation. 2nd. In what way the Sunday is to be observed. As to the question of blood relationship between Sabbath and Sunday, the theory of their identity is comparatively modern. Not till the twelfth century do we hear of the term

Christian Sabbath : and a writer of 1584 speaks of that year as the 31st year of the Sabbath's nativity in England. The questions before that time were questions of posture at worship on that day, questions as to the length of it, and as to whether it should be fast or feast. There was no question of placing the Sunday on the basis of the fourth commandment till Rome, having overloaded her worshippers with service days, was obliged to invent some authority which should specially distinguish the Sunday.

As to the second question, it would be interesting, as casting light on our discussion of to-day, to trace the history of Sunday Observance from Constantine's edict, through the dark ages, till in the seventeenth century there arose that fierce Sabbatarian controversy due to the adoption by the later Puritans of the Roman notion of a Sabbath Sunday. It should be instructive to the Sabbatarian to learn that when the Sunday was supposed to begin at three on the Saturday afternoon and last till sunrise on Monday, there were the same judgments quoted as overtaking those who worked after three—the same blessings registered as coming to those who observed the strict hours—as are found in later Sabbatarian literature. (Hessey, Note 261, p. 321.) We should find Calvin, Luther, and Baxter protesting against the confusion of the Sabbath and the Sunday—we should find the Anglican divines of our own Church supporting them: and yet we should find the day eventually overloaded with such restrictions, whether in Scotland, in America, or in many an English household, as to justify the remark of a late judge—himself a Presbyterian—"that it was not Sabbath breaking but Sabbath keeping that was the beginning of all crime." (Hessey, Note 517, p. 405.) He meant, of course, that by imposing a yoke on the young which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear, the conscience was subjected to a severe strain, and once strained it never recovered its tone.

I should have hesitated to accept the invitation of the council, however, to speak on this matter, if I had thought the question to be one of past history. It is not a question of history, but of present-day life, of every-day life, of every-day morality. I believe that few things do more to hinder the cause of true religion and to make men averse to it than the views commonly called Sabbatarian, or the lukewarm deliverances of those who are not Sabbatarian, but are afraid to vindicate the liberty of the Christian Sunday. It is to be remarked that our Church has not in any of her formularies pronounced any decision as to the way of Sunday Observance. At the Savoy Conference an effort was made to induce the bishops to introduce such words into the "Duty towards God," but it failed. We have no such definition as the Westminster Confession, which requires Christian men "to rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations." If the incorporation of the fourth commandment with a prayer be supposed to be a deliverance on the subject, we should read what the contemporary authorities said of it, and we may well take to mind Archbishop Selden's remark—"We read the commandments in the Church service as we do David's Psalms, not that all these concern us, but that a great deal does."

There will soon be a day when no one will be more troubled with the reading of this command as condemning his liberty, than anyone is now troubled with scruples as to making statues or painting pictures because of the wording of the second commandment. And yet there was a time when the second commandment seemed to be an argument against such things. The argument about the fourth commandment is well put by Dean Alford:—"To which of the two does the charge (of dissingenuousness) more properly apply?—to myself, who, regarding the commandment as not binding in the literal sense, read it as interpreted by the Gospel and the Church? or to those who, regarding it as strictly and literally obligatory on them, obey its command to observe one prescribed day for a definite assigned reason, and in a strictly specified manner, by observing another day for a totally different reason, and in a manner entirely their own:—first, praying that they may keep the law, then abrogating every word of it, substituting a new law of their own, and investing it with the authority of the other?"

The plain meaning of the command, even as applying to the Sabbath, is, work six days and rest the seventh. But as work on the six days does not mean work the whole twenty-four hours round, but work interspersed with rest, recreation, and refreshment, so rest on the seventh day does not imply absolute inaction, but that in the occupations, rest should be the object, as work on the other six days is mainly in view. The very sanction on which the command in one version is based, the rest of the Almighty, shows us that the rest contemplated is one of changed activity, not of inactive repose. Our Lord having protested strongly in favour of Sabbath liberty, it is our duty as His followers to vindicate liberty for that day, which has taken its place with a new name to show its different paternity. The new dispensation has no rule as to keeping of the day. The attitude of the Church is to be one of absolute tolerance in all religious matters, not judging another, not setting at nought another, for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ.

But two things are to be postulated. (1) That our public observance of the Sunday should be like the private use of the same day. Sabbatarian legislation was consistent in the days when to cook a meal, to light a fire, to shave, and even to kiss a child was considered wrong. But we have left all that so far behind that we find it difficult to see how men who believed this worshipped the same God as ourselves. But we have gone much further, and declare that works of necessity and charity are lawful: and then we construe necessity and charity according to the dictates of our own convenience, and the circumstances of our own position. It is right for us to go to the store-room to fetch provisions, though we employ a servant's labour in so doing: it is wrong for a poor man to go to a shop to buy the same, because he employs the shopkeeper's labour. It is right for us to use the time to go and see a sick friend: it is wrong for one who would otherwise waste the day in idleness to take the train to go into the country. It is right and lawful to cook a dinner for ourselves; it is wrong for a baker's shop to cook the dinners of the poor. And so on, and so on.

The danger to the institution of these views when pushed in their logical extreme, which might involve an abrogation of the Sunday, would be met by a repeal of the obsolete Act of Charles II., and the enactment of a law that any contract for labour should be for six days only, unless otherwise specified. But the assumption leaves out of sight the fact that there is a national conscience which has overridden the law of Charles II., and has not wished to put in its place the Continental Sunday. But I make a second postulate—that Sunday Observance should recognise the fact that man is not soul only, and when St. Paul prayed for the Thessalonians that God would sanctify them wholly, and preserve their body, soul, and spirit entire, he meant what he said, and used no surplusage of words. Worship is the cultivation of the highest part of man. But when worship has been made the sole lever for raising man, when men have neglected the body and the mind, as in the case of the monks of the Roman Church and the devotees of other communities, religion has become an emasculated pietism.

To conceive of religion as conterminous only with worship, is to degrade worship, by degrading the object of worship. It lowers the character of God, by making man's conception of Him to be that of a being craving a sacrifice of incessant adoration. It ignores the fact that it is intended to raise man up to sit with Him in heavenly places. Religion is designed to draw out the whole man. To faith we are to add knowledge: and, therefore, I plead in the cause of religion for the opening of collections of art and science on the Sunday. To the question whether the working classes would use them, I answered in my paper at Croydon by statistics. I may add, that when last year an art exhibition in Whitechapel was kept open on Sunday, 2,000 people attended, and that their conduct, and the interest they showed, justified the anticipations of the promoters. Art galleries and museums are not religious, as spelling is not reading. But they minister to religion by developing in man the sense that he does not live by bread alone. They are the school to which those may go who are not as yet learned as we should wish in higher things. But time warns me not to multiply arguments or details. Accept the principle

Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus, and your Sabbatarian view has no foundation. Accept the reasonable view of Christian liberty, and the national conscience, which is ever under the teaching of God, will soon settle how that liberty may be used without being abused.

*Summary of the Rev. R. C. BILLING'S Speech.**

THE Rev. R. C. Billing confessed that he was one of those who were under the bann of Mr. Brooke Lambert's denunciation against unlearned Sabbatarians. He might say at the commencement that the attitude of the Christian Church was not one of indifference on this matter, as was proved by the large attendance at that meeting. He was prepared to acknowledge that the time was coming when there would no longer be any need of the distinction between sacred and secular ; but that time had not come, and when they endeavoured in the way that was proposed to influence the masses, they were rather degrading the means of elevation. He was under the impression that those whom it was desired to draw away to museums and picture galleries were not those who would go to church. The poor of the metropolis did not prefer, as Mr. Haweis said, pig-styes to model lodging-houses. They, many of them, had to live in pig-styes, but when they could get proper habitations they were only too ready to avail themselves of them. He had noticed an article in one of the local papers stating that the objection to open museums and picture galleries was founded on the supposition that pictures and works of art could not have an elevating effect on the Lord's day. He ventured to say that would not be regarded by any thinking man as a real and proper argument. There was no one present who thought that the contemplation of works of art was not a good thing. What some of them were there to maintain was, that there was a proper time for culture of this kind, and an improper time ; that the Lord's day was an improper time, but that all possible facilities for attending such places should be given to the working classes at the proper times. Now, a short time ago there was a cry for the opening of Bethnal Green Museum on Sunday ; but as the demand came from the west of London, and not from the inhabitants of the district themselves, it was very promptly repudiated. The inhabitants saw that this was only an attempt to insert the thin end of the wedge, and they would not tolerate it, lest it should lead to the destruction of the day of rest, which they regarded as a great boon and benefit. This was entirely a workman's question, and he was bound to express his opinion that they were decidedly opposed to any increase of Sunday labour, and that, rightly or wrongly, they imagined that the opening of these places of public amusement would increase Sunday labour. It was all nonsense to say that no one would be compelled to work. The omnibus drivers and railway servants would be compelled to work. He would impress upon all clergymen the importance of never getting into a public conveyance on the Lord's day, for every time they did so they turned against the Church the prejudice of men who felt that they were compelled to work, because ministers of religion not only patronised public conveyances on Sundays, but encouraged such patronage on the part of others. The best way to do good to the masses was not to provide facilities for going abroad on the Lord's day, but to provide facilities for the spending of the day at home among their families, so that the day might be one consecrated to the Lord, and one on which the family life might be nurtured.

* Reporter's notes lost.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH (Minor Canon of St. Paul's).

THE strongest argument for the Sabbatarian view which I have yet met with is the fact that men like my friend Mr. Billing are found to support it. But, strong as it is, this cannot outweigh the mass of fact and reason which can be brought forward upon the other side. I object exceedingly to the tone which is sometimes taken in dealing with this subject, and which seems to suggest that the clergy are keeping a great shop, and are jealous of any rivals to their custom. I do not believe that if museums were open upon the Lord's-day the attendance at church would suffer any more than the morals of the community. I confess that I am one of those who advocate a free Sunday in the interest, as I think, of religion itself. Surely there are some minds which are reached more readily by music and painting and sculpture, than by sermons. Indeed, I know that my own mind is of this character. And why should we refuse to allow such persons the opportunity of receiving spiritual and elevating impressions upon the day when they are sought by us all? Are no commentaries upon the New Testament to be found in the Madonnas and saints of the National Gallery? No illustrations of the Old Testament in the ancient monuments and carvings of the British Museum? Why is it right for us to look at Thornhill's daubs in the cupola of St. Paul's, and the indifferent and not too Christian monuments in its aisles, but wrong to seek for a sight of painting and statues from the hands of great masters elsewhere? Then with regard to compulsory labour. I should be very sorry to see it. I do not want compulsory Sunday work, but the very opposite—permissible Sunday play. The working-men can take care of themselves in this respect, many, indeed, are only too glad of the chance of an extra job on a Sunday. But if a working-man comes to me and says, "You allow the rich man to go into the Zoological Gardens on a Sunday, with his Fellow's ticket, but you refuse me the entry to the National Gallery on the only day I can visit it—though I help to pay the taxes that support it;" what am I to say to him? But he will have something to say to the clergy before very long unless we begin to look at this and at similar questions from a wider point of view.

The Rev. BISHOP PERRY (America).

I DO not wish to speak upon this subject as a controversial matter. I will speak upon it as the Lord's day, which I look upon as the Christian Sabbath. It has been regarded as the day on which God rested from His work of creating the world, and which, since the introduction of the Gospel, has taken the place of the Jewish Sabbath; but as that application is sometimes disputed, it would be wrong for me to speak dogmatically upon the subject. I will only say that it seems to me that God's Son intended that the Lord's day should hold the same position which the Sabbath formerly held, and I look upon it as a great sign between God and His people worshipping Him throughout the universe. With regard to the change of day, I don't think the seventh day of the Jews was the day upon which God rested. The Jews were brought out of the land of Egypt on that day, and they kept that day so as to express their belief in God, the Creator of the world. Then again, respecting the character of the Sabbath. I believe in God's Word that "The Sabbath was made for man, but not man for the Sabbath." He says, "You shall do no work," and says nothing about amusement or recreation. If you do not abstain from work on the Lord's day, you have no right to impose work upon others. We must not do or cause any unnecessary work; and there, again, reason and conscience should come in. We must exercise our conscience in the question of what is unnecessary work. It has been said that Jesus had broken the Jewish Sabbath. He was a Jew, and never violated any part of the Mosaic law; therefore his keeping of it is an evidence of the manner in which I regard the Sabbath should be kept at the present day. I cannot

understand the statements that the opening of museums on Sundays would not resuscitate a large amount of compulsory labour. There is already too much on a Sunday, and I believe that if you increase the museums and places of recreation open on a Sunday, you will multiply still more compulsory labour on that day. It is the case now with railway servants, who, owing to compulsory labour, are prevented from going to church on a Sunday; and in many cases clergymen going to attend to their religious duties on the Sabbath keep these men compulsorily employed.

The Rev. J. O. MARSHALL.

WE must be very careful in striking a line on social questions as to what is good and what is bad. It may be unlawful and bad for an individual to use this or that book, or take part in this or that pastime, on Sunday; but if our brothers and sisters do it, to them will it fall to bear the blame and answer for it before God, but we certainly have not God's authority for condemning them for doing so. I venture to say that there are many amongst you who observe the Lord's day strictly and in a Christian-like spirit, who go to morning and evening service and Sunday-school, who in fact are very good attenders at church, yet have not taken part in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. You may hiss if you like, it is the way which is generally recognised as that of the goose; but it will not lead me to believe that the man who neglects the Eucharist himself has a right to dictate the way in which his poorer brethren shall spend the Sabbath. I cannot understand the movement for stricter-kept Sundays, excepting on the plea of compulsory labour. But we have always had such, though in a less way, and I don't see why it should hinder those who have liberty from spending part of the Sunday in recreation, so long as they do their duty to God. In fact, the whole question is a matter of practice. We cannot take any rule from the habits of the early Christians, because our way of living is in every respect widely different. It is a question for the working class, a question for men of all classes and women, to say what they think of these schemes, and to say in what way they consider the glory of God and the welfare of the human race may be best brought about, especially regarding the observance of Sunday, and so find out the truth. If we make a rule, it must be severity for ourselves, liberty for others—severity for the rich, liberty for the poor.

COMMANDER DAWSON.

It is important in this discussion that it bears upon the question, What is a true Sunday? As it is given to us, Sunday means the Lord's day. But it is not always given wholly to the Lord; and it is used for purposes that are not His. I hope that the Church or the clergy will not help employers to rob us of the Lord's day; because I think that men and women who have to work six days in the week should be allowed the blessings and comforts for the seventh, the Lord's day. Is it not hard, very hard, that a man having worked for six days must go to work by compulsion, in order that we shall not be interrupted in the possession of our pleasures? It has been the work of my life to plead with employers against the compulsory labour which they say does not exist; and it will continue to be the work of my life. That compulsory labour does exist, there can be no doubt about it. Let us leave it to the secularists and the godless to plead for the opening of museums and picture-galleries on Sundays; it is not the work of a Christian system. We who are members of a Church which honours God, and has devoted that day to Him, should do what we can to raise up a high standard of spiritual life amongst the working-classes. We cannot do that by advocating that a great number of them shall work upon a Sunday, so that others may spend the day in amusement. It is the duty of the Church to sustain great institutions like the observance of Sunday at present. I am not opposed to healthful recreation on a Sunday, but what I contend against is the godless system now proposed.

The Rev. FRANCIS MORAN.

I COME from amidst the hum of the busy Continental Sunday, and I know what it is to be awakened every Sunday morning by the knock of the workman's hammer. I have lived in Paris since February last ; and in the house in which I lived work has never ceased from that day until last Sunday. I am surprised and very much regret to hear Christian clergymen in this land rise and advocate the opening of museums and picture-galleries on Sunday—the very thing that every sect in France is united in endeavouring to stop. Every clergyman, to whatever denomination he may belong, is working heart and hand to have this infamous system put down—the system which is making France infidel, and which is the cause of our heavy Gospel-work. I have just a few days ago heard the Bishop of Kentucky tell that President Garfield, from his boyhood, even in the excitement of the Presidential election, refrained absolutely from labour of any kind on a Sunday. I would appeal to the ladies to guard the Sunday from desecration. No woman who has the love of God in her heart, who would wish to see her sons or her husband remain true to the Church of God, will support this unchristian-like outcry for secularist practices. On the Lord's Day, I regret very much indeed that a great number of our English people when they visit France seem to leave their country's religion behind them at Calais. When they arrive in Paris, they are as bad, if not worse, than the Parisians in their wholesale desecration of the Sabbath. They are numerous to be found in the galleries in Paris or at Versailles at the Sunday celebrations.

Summary of Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE'S Speech.*

I AM here to represent the Church of England Temperance Society, and I beg you to show by your liberal bearing upon this question that you are lovers of Christian humanity. I deplore very much the amount of evil caused by the opening of public-houses on Sunday, and which also causes large numbers of young men and young women to spend their Sunday evenings in idleness. Especially is this to be deplored in London, of which I can speak more particularly. People go to the public-house on Sunday instead of going to the house of God. They drink beer instead of praising their Maker ; and instead of being fortified for another week of life's battle, they become stupefied, debased, and their physical system is destroyed. In regard to the opening of museums and picture-galleries on Sundays, it is not in anyway as bad as the public-houses being open ; but it still would be demoralising, and in my opinion the Church ought to stand aloof from all such projects. There is abundance of good work, religious work, to keep us employed on the whole of the Sabbath day. Sunday should be reserved from secular uses, and should be devoted as much as possible to the service of God and the good of our fellow-creatures. We should do all we can on the Sunday to bring wayward souls to God, to labour for the Lord, whose day it is, and to endeavour to lighten the burden of our fellow-men. I hope the nation will be soon of one opinion on the question, and that we shall never be cursed with the Continental Sunday.

The Rev. C. LLOYD ENGSTRÖM (Secretary of the Christian Evidence Society).

I WILL make two preliminary remarks. First, that as others like myself are only allowed five minutes for whatever we have to say, both the audience and the reporters ought to listen with double attention, inasmuch as we must compress into one minute what might fairly occupy two. And secondly, that I think my friend, Canon Shuttleworth, in disparaging sermons, hardly appreciates his advantages in so often hearing Canon Liddon, and seems to have been guilty of a curious inconsistency in himself preaching at the Alexandra Palace. The subject of Sunday Observance for many years weighed heavily on my own mind, in connection with the duty of remonstrating

* Reporter's notes lost.

with the struggling little shopkeepers of a poor district, "Did they or did they not imperil their souls' salvation by so doing?" One rather curious question was once put to me. I was staying at Florence, in 1868, when Prince Humbert (now King of Italy) came to introduce his bride Marguerite. The lady who kept the *pension* in which I was boarding desired me to decide whether she would be justified in commencing a ball at one minute past midnight of Sunday. This will indicate the peculiar difficulty of making a strict Sabbatarianism fulfil its deepest principle. I regard the reading of Dr. Hessey's 'Bampton Lectures' as an era in my life; and yet, while thankfully acknowledging the force of the historical argument, I feel, as others must feel as they grow older, how impossible it is to settle such questions by a rigid logic. For if we invest Sunday with any sacredness, then, as this really involves the idea of a *week* of days, it introduces by a real, though almost indefinable, connection the idea of a *seventh-day* observance. But I wish now to enforce one point, raising the question of Sunday Observance to a higher level than that of what we *must* do and what we *must not* do. Rather let us consider for a moment what on Sunday we are *privileged* to do. Perhaps in this way we may find a common meeting-ground for those who are Sabbatarians and for those who are not. As to these points of difference, it seems to me that we who are so divided on doctrinal views may be compared to travellers journeying in the same direction along a number of roads separated one from the other by not very high walls. It only requires a little real spiritual elevation, a "*sursum corda*," to rise up above these walls, and thus, without our ceasing to occupy the same relative position as before, the barriers between us are gone, and our gratitude to our Father in heaven enables us to realise our brotherhood on earth. Sunday is emphatically the Lord's Day; and in that Name we find the key to its best observance. It is the day of our Lord, of our beloved Saviour, of our adorable Master. Let us connect this happy blessed day with thoughts of Him, and make our observance of it a tribute of enthusiastic loyal worship of our Head and King, Jesus Christ our Lord. To the best of my recollection there are only four things we specially thus connect with Him: The Lord's Prayer, the Lord's Supper, the Church, *i.e.*, as it originally meant literally the Lord's Body or Temple, and the Lord's Day. Let us take these in order:

The Lord's Prayer. I look back with deep thankfulness to the time in my own life when I gradually began to learn the full meaning of that prayer, the perfect prayer, pattern not only of prayer, but of all that our Christian life should be. A prayer which, by the very absence of our Mediator's intercessory Name, teaches us that by its use we approach through Him to our God and Father; a prayer which begins with Divine praise and ends with common prayer; a prayer which leads us, in "Hallowed be Thy Name," and the two following petitions, to think first and most of God, and then, in "Give us this day our daily bread," and the three concluding petitions, while permitting us to think of our own wants, forbids us to think of them apart from the wants of our fellow-men.

The Lord's Supper. The feast of love, which has, alas! become a feast of strife—a Holy Communion which has, alas! become an unholy disunion. Might I venture to suggest both to those who lay the chief stress on it as a Communion, through remembrance, and to those who esteem it mainly as a Sacrifice, that there is a higher aspect than either of these? That aspect to which in the longer exhortation we are called, "and, above all things, ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God." Were there less of self, less of desire of pardon and blessing of self by means of an altogether past, or of a still presented sacrifice, and more of Jesus, more of adoring thankfulness and praise, perchance we might, nay, assuredly we should, quarrel less over the doctrine of the Sacrament, and be drawn more closely together in the bonds of brotherly love. Then our Holy Communion would be indeed a Holy Union.

The Lord's Body, the Church—and here let us recollect that the very subject before us is, "The Proper Attitude of the Church towards the Question of Sunday Observance." Do we sufficiently remember our privileges, and our mutual connection as members of that great Body of which our Lord is the Head, as living stones of that glorious spiritual Temple of which He is the Foundation? What we all need most is a simple personal allegiance to Him, which shall make us welcome and love every brother and sister who is named by His Name.

And thus, as it seems to me, and as I hope, I have shown a natural and true connection, we come in the last place to see what a glorious and blessed day the Lord's day is. It is the birth-day of our King, the day of His resurrection, the day of His triumph, the day, therefore, of our most glad and unselfish joy. "This is the day the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it." And by no accidental coincidence, but by a necessary and designed connection, this day reminds us also of the birthday of the Church, for as the great Head was born into resurrection-life on Easter day, the first day of the week, so was His Body, the Church, born into spiritual life on the day of Pentecost, the same day of the week—that day when, for His dear sake, "they were all with one accord in one place," they became brethren indeed—baptised into one spirit.

Thus I have endeavoured to set before you an aspect of Sunday which it specially behoves us Churchmen to value and to rise to. Thus the observance of Sunday becomes less of a mere duty, more of an exceeding privilege; no longer a compulsory Sabbath, it becomes a joyful Lord's day. Nor need anyone think that such a view will encourage laxity—rather does it inculcate—nay, necessitate—a greater devotion, a more earnest striving, a more serious determination to set it apart as a day wholly sacred to God, and, therefore, also full of love to man.

The Rev. WM. H. RANDALL.

WE must consider and constantly remember in this discussion that the Sabbath day is the gift of God to man. The very moment we break in upon it, that moment we inflict a great injury on God's people throughout the world. I cannot express sufficiently my pain at seeing clergymen of my own Church—the last quarter from which I would expect such a movement to receive support from—joining in the effort to effect the work of desecration. When I find English clergymen coming forward as the advocates of desecration, I must ask them why they are so particular in limiting their places for recreation to picture-galleries and museums? I suppose that is Mr. Haweis's thin end of the wedge. But will they stop there, my friends? I am afraid not. Will they not develop to the advocacy of horse-racing and cricket-matches? Clergymen are ministers of God—they are stewards of the mysteries of God; but in Mr. Haweis's paper can anyone find a word which will connect it with a minister of Christ or a steward of the mysteries of God? I am only speaking of the paper. In that paper I do not find anything which necessarily connects it with the religion taught by the Church of England and the doctrine of the Church with regard to the Sabbath day. When I call to mind that there is nothing that has brought down God's wrath so much as the desecration of the Sabbath, I tremble lest in our time the Ark of God should be placed in the hands of the Philistines.

The Rev. W. H. WILBERFORCE.

IT is my firm opinion on this subject that the only way in which we can stop Sunday trading is to introduce some Bill, such as was brought forward by Lord Chelmsford some years ago, which provided that all trading on Sunday should be done before seven o'clock. Naturally an Englishman will not get up so early if he does not want the articles necessarily. It is useless to talk about putting Sunday trading down altogether, because people must take recreation; and it therefore causes much really necessary work. Small shops ought to be open for a small part of the day, so that necessities may be obtained. It is the true test of necessity for an Englishman to get up in the early hours; for depend upon it he will not, as a general rule, get up sooner than he can help. With these few remarks, I will not detain you longer. I am very glad I have not been caught by the bell.

The Rev. H. FAWCETT.

I LOOK upon Sunday trading as a blessing given by God to his people, and we should not make it too burthensome for other people to bear. Our duty then, I believe, is to regard it with great watchfulness. And it is really a question of charity, because in dealing with our poor on this question it is highly uncharitable to curtail their use of it in any way. Many of them live in hovels, and the gleams of sunshine in their lives are few and far between, and it is not for us ministers of God to endeavour to make their hard lot harder than it is already. The Sunday is a great Christian blessing. Its usefulness ought not to be restricted in the least way. We have not the right to put a narrowness on a great blessing given by God—a great blessing the importance of which cannot be too highly spoken of, inasmuch as it not only gives time for the glory and praise of God, but at present it is a constantly recurring day of rest for the poor artisan, or the wretched labourer, and is the oasis in the desert of the long journey of life. We should not keep from the poor the means of grace—as we would certainly do if Sunday were abolished, because they have difficulties surrounding them that make it very hard for them to grasp the blessings God has given us. If you only saw what is going on daily in East London you would perhaps realise more vividly my appeal.

DR. NEVIN.

I AM afraid that what I am going to say may not please many of my hearers. But I claim the right to speak upon the subject, as an American, because I feel that Sunday is quite as strictly kept there as here. In one of the States, indeed, a man was not allowed to kiss his child on the Sabbath, and was not even permitted to kiss his wife. If he happened to offend against this edict, he was fined a shilling. If he committed himself a second time he had to pay a fine of four shillings, and if he repeated the offence a third time the matter became a serious ecclesiastical offence, and he had to pay the penalty of his shortcomings by being thrown into prison. I am glad to say, however, that the law, though never formally repealed, has become a dead-letter, but it serves to show how our legislators had at one time viewed the Sabbath and its observance. Now as to the manner in which the Sunday is observed on the Continent. I am sorry to hear that the observance of the Sunday is being discontinued to such a great extent, but there are more things to account for the demoralization of the people than the Sunday. I might for instance call attention to the teachings of the Papacy as one of these things. But while saying this I am bound to confess that during a residence in Paris and Rome for twelve years, I have never seen in either capitals such ghastly spectacles of wickedness and drunkenness as has been forced upon my eyes in the Strand and other streets in London. As far as the purity of the Sabbath is concerned, I must say that it is far more purely kept by the people of Rome than it is in the metropolis of Protestant England. The observance of Sunday, however, is to my mind, only a matter of conscience, and nine-tenths of the English and Americans who come to Rome do not keep the day as they would at home. The majority seem to give themselves up to amusement—to drives and rides and the beautiful scenery—and the few who manage to get to the Roman Catholic Churches do not go to worship as much as to see and be seen. I know nothing in the New Testament which prescribes the keeping of Sunday in a Puritan spirit, but whether such an instruction has existed or not, we must all admit that it would be much more seemly if Englishmen acted on the Continent as they do at home.

The Rev. J. F. KITTO.

I AM of opinion that the duty of the Church is to afford for workmen, for every one, the right to worship God on Sunday, and to do this the present system of compulsory labour should be abolished. I am surprised to see clergymen rise up in this room and

advocate a system whereby that compulsory labour will be extended, and consequently to make a diminution in the number of souls available for God's work on the Sabbath. I might be described as one of those bigoted and narrow-minded persons from East London, but I regret very much that my attitude on this occasion is in defence of the Sunday, and against any further interference with Sunday observance. I would go further, I would not only secure Sunday to those who have it, but I would obtain it for those who do not now enjoy it. My answer to Canon Shuttleworth's working-men would be that I would not allow the rich man to go to the "Zoo," on Sunday, and I would do my utmost to have Sunday used only, as far as possible, for Sunday services, and the rest of the day to the glorification of the Lord. I do not know how it is, but for us in the East of London, some philanthropist is continually trying to experiment some new scheme upon us—and we don't always like these schemes. Now the working-men of East London do not want museums open on Sunday, and they repudiated the attempts of the West-End philanthropists who tried to impose upon them a sort of Sunday observance to which they objected. What they did want was to free a large number of persons from compulsory labour on Sunday—not to increase that number. I think a National League should be formed to secure to men compelled to work on a Sunday that rest which they so anxiously desire to enjoy.

SECTION ROOM, THURSDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 6.

The ARCHDEACON OF DURHAM took the Chair at 7 o'clock.

THE FIRST DECADE OF THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT—ITS RESULTS AND LESSONS.

The Rev. CANON GREGORY.

"THE First Decade of the Elementary Education Act—its Results and Lessons," is the subject I am invited to handle. I will endeavour to keep closely to my text.

Some of its results are certain and unquestionable. It has secured provision for the education of all the children in the country. Previous to its enactment the supply of elementary schools depended upon the zeal and sacrifice of individuals; where the vicar of a parish was active and energetic, and his parishioners liberal and inclined to co-operate with him, there, for the most part, a fair provision of elementary schools was secured previous to 1870; where the incumbent was apathetic or distrusted by his parishioners, or a man of small ability, there the school supply was insufficient, and in many country parishes there was no provision for the education of children of the poorer classes. I speak only of Church schools; for though the number of Nonconformist

schools is very considerable, they exist almost entirely in large parishes, by the side of Church schools, and seldom, if ever, furnish a parish with all the school accommodation it needs. Since the passing of the Act of 1870 the absence of schools from the apathy of the local clergy and magnates has been remedied; no place is allowed to be neglected; schools have been built wherever they have been required; and if a child now remains without instruction, it is his own fault or that of his parents.

There has, consequently, been an enormous increase in the provision made for education by our elementary schools. In 1870 the schools would have accommodated 1,878,584 children, of whom 1,365,080 would have been found in Church schools; in 1880 no less than 4,240,753 children could be instructed at the same time, and of these 2,327,379 would be in Church schools; the average attendance has grown during the same period at about the same rate, the numbers being, in 1870, 1,152,389, and in 1880, 2,750,916; of these 844,334 were in Church schools in the earlier year, and 1,471,615 in the later.

Another result of the passing of this Act is equally unquestionable. It has demonstrated the hollowness of the cry for protection of children against forced proselytism on the part of the managers of Church schools. Acts of hardship were coined for the occasion, and it was represented that the children of Nonconformists were instructed in religious truth in opposition to the wishes of their parents. No cases were ever substantiated; but the parent's indisputable right to determine the religious principles in which his children should be educated was admitted by all. The action of those who contended most loudly for the parent's right to object to his children being taught a religion of which he did not approve, seems to show that they do not think that such liberty should extend to the parent's being able to secure for his children instruction in a religion of which he does approve. The present definition of religious liberty seems to be that all definite religious teaching shall be withheld from those who do not wish to receive it; but that definite religious teaching shall not be allowed to those who desire it. To those of us who believe that in obedience to Christ is to be found the only true liberty, and that equity means fair play on both sides, such a mode of acting seems neither liberal nor just.

A third undoubted result is the exhibition by many of great zeal for education when it is supported at the cost of the community, who were absolutely indifferent to it when it had to be carried on at the expense of those who interested themselves in the work. Birmingham is a town to which this remark applies with great force; for in 1871, the year after the Education Act, there was accommodation in State-aided schools for only 28,983 children, or about 1 in 12 of the population; whilst in 1881 there is accommodation for 57,313, or about 1 in 7 of the population—the School Board, with money levied by rates, effecting, in ten years, as much as the liberality of the wealthy people of the town had effected during previous centuries.

When our examination of the results of the Act goes a little deeper, and we seek to ascertain what effect it has had in reaching the lowest strata of society, in bringing what are not inaptly termed "gutter-children" under instruction, and in securing the education of the most neglected classes of the community, it is much more difficult to come to

a conclusion on which we can depend. Those who regard the Education Act of 1870 as a wise and excellent measure would persuade us that the increased accommodation in schools, and attendance of children in them, represent so much additional education secured for the country. But to hinder our coming to such a conclusion, we find that when the London School Board commenced its operations (and, in this matter, what is true of London is probably true, in like proportion, of the rest of the country), it discovered by a careful census that there were 86,920 children being taught in private schools; these schools are now closed—few, if any, of them are remaining. For the most part, the education given in them was of a worthless kind; but the children whom they took charge of were chiefly the children of tradesmen, flourishing artisans, and people above, rather than below, the ordinary working classes. It is asserted that the increased attendance is largely made up of children of this class; and, as all attempts to test the question have been opposed and frustrated by School Boards and others interested in keeping up the belief that the children educated in our elementary schools belong to the poorest classes, the conclusion is inevitable that they distrust the result of any fair examination of the case. In opposition to the theory held by the optimists of whom I have been speaking, there are in London what may be called pessimists who assert that the old ragged schools educated more children of the lowest and poorest classes than are now found at school. How far either of these theories is true, I dare not take upon myself to assert, as we really lack correct data to form a judgment; but in the interests of the country it is certainly very desirable that the question should be sifted.

Akin to this subject is that of compulsion, about the effects of which people are far from being agreed. When I was a member of the London School Board I did my best to arrive at a correct judgment concerning its working, and I found that the opinion to which I had been led entirely agreed with that of a colleague with whom I should probably be found to differ on most points with respect to education. We thought that it had had a great influence upon careless and apathetic parents, who would be ashamed to be summoned before a magistrate for not sending their children to school, but that it had been powerless with the lowest and most degraded classes. Possibly London compares unfavourably with the rest of England with respect to the working of this Act; for, owing to the vast size of the metropolis, it is more difficult to know the facts and reach the neglected children there than it is elsewhere. I am encouraged to think this by an assurance I had from the chairman of the Manchester and Salford School Boards, whose zeal in the cause of education has long been proved by the personal sacrifices he has made for its furtherance, and whose impartiality is undoubted. He said that his experience proved that, in Manchester, compulsion did reach the lowest classes, and that there were numbers of children belonging to these classes in their schools. Of the effect of compulsion in the rural parts of the country I have no knowledge; but there it ought to be most successful, as the facts concerning each child may be well known by those who have to put the system in force. But we have still this startling fact to deal with—that we have the names of 3,895,828 children on the books of elementary schools, whilst the average attendance is only 2,750,916, or very little more than 70 per cent.; and

we also find that 2,662,802 were qualified by attendance to be examined—that is to say, had attended 250 times. This proves that the attendance of the larger part of the million and a quarter of children who had their names on the school-books, but who failed to qualify themselves for examination, must have been very occasional indeed.

A further result of our ten years' experience is to show the possibility of our voluntary schools existing side by side with rate-supported schools. It would have been cause for congratulation if, in the face of the difficulties placed in the way of our Church schools, they had maintained their ground. What, therefore, is it that they should be much more numerous in 1880 than they were in 1870? There were some who told us, when the Education Act passed, that in seven years we should not have a Church school left; instead of that, we have nearly 75 per cent. *more* school accommodation now than we then possessed; and this in spite of the transfer of a few of our schools to School Boards. If we deduct from the amount of school accommodation possessed by School Boards the schools which have been transferred to them by voluntary managers, Church and Nonconformist, we shall find that Church people during the last ten years have built more schools with money provided from voluntary sources than have the School Boards with rates levied upon the community. And it is gratifying to be able to add that never since the Act of 1870 passed has there been evinced more determination on the part of Church people to maintain their schools than there is now.

Let us now turn to the lessons which our ten years' experience of the working of the Education Act of 1870 have taught us. And here we must divide them under two heads—the lessons about which the evidence is clear, and to us decisive; and those which are open to dispute.

The first is, that voluntary schools must depend for their continuance on the efficiency of their management, and upon the manner in which they give distinctive religious teaching to their scholars. This last is the very reason of their existence. With the exception of some few country parishes, where the great landowner to whom the whole parish belongs, for political or economical reasons, has insisted upon the school being transferred to a School Board, only a few cases of transfer could be found, and those under very exceptional circumstances, which were not due to the incompetency of the managers, or their indifference about the character of the religious education given to the children; and in the case of Church schools, I fear that by managers we must generally understand the incumbent of the parish. I have invariably found (and my experience has been a very extensive one) that where the clergy of the parish take a living, personal interest in their schools, where they regularly fulfil their part by giving the religious instruction on two or three mornings a week, that there the difficulty of sustaining the schools can scarcely be said to exist, or, at all events, can be readily overcome. I know some of the very poorest parishes in London where the schools are prosperous, where the balance-sheets are satisfactory, and where the idea of transferring them to a Board never arises; but then it is because the clergy recognise that the school is part of the religious teaching of the parish; that it is their great opportunity of instructing the younger members of their flock in the truths of revelation; and where they evince practical power in managing their schools economically as well as

efficiently. On the other hand, I know of wealthier parishes where the laity who contribute to the support of the schools murmur at the waste of their money, and wish to transfer their schools to a Board, because they say the clergy never enter them, never teach the children, never see that the religious instruction is better than would be given in a Board school; but spend their days sometimes in laborious idleness, sometimes in furthering religious work everywhere but in the parishes for which they are responsible, or devote so large a part of their time to their club, or to lawn-tennis parties, or to other recreations, that they have none to spare for instructing the lambs of their flock in those blessed truths which would make them wise to salvation. I do not hesitate to say that whenever I hear of a clergyman transferring his school to a Board, I feel a strong suspicion that he must be inefficient or indifferent to the spiritual welfare of his flock, unless exceptional difficulties exist, which make his school or parish different from most others.

Another lesson which our ten years' experience has taught is, that the religious teaching in Board schools depends to a considerable extent upon what is given in the surrounding voluntary schools. In most towns where the voluntary schools are ably and religiously managed, as much religious teaching is given in Board schools as the law allows. In neighbourhoods where the Voluntary schools are not carefully tended and religiously taught, there the religious teaching in the surrounding Board schools sinks to a lower level. I believe the only exceptions which would be found to this rule are in places where there is either some able, religious layman, occupying a position of influence on a School Board, who raises the religious tone of the schools, of which he is partly in charge, by the force of his own personal devotion and labours; or else in neighbourhoods where political feeling runs high, and it is considered necessary to trample religion in the dust, so far as the authorities are able to do so, in order to prove their fidelity to the theories which they advocate.

The most important point with respect to the wide extension which has been given to elementary education remains still to be considered. What effect has it had upon the morality and well-being of the people? We are not yet in a position to state at all fully what are its results and the lessons which it teaches. All my life through I have been an ardent advocate of the extension of education to the lowest ranks of the community; and I hope that I have been able to do something towards furthering it. But I never contemplated education without religion—and by religion I mean Christianity, and I can recognise no religious teaching as Christianity which does not possess a definite creed; for “this is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent.” Now the religious teaching in our rate-supported schools must be creedless. Even if the words of the Apostles' Creed are recited, it can be only by chance if a definite meaning is allowed to be given by the teacher to any one of its articles. The Arian or Socinian ratepayers may object to children being taught that “Jesus Christ” is what the Nicene Creed tells us that He is; the Baptist to the Church's definition of the article about baptism; the Universalist to the interpretation which would be given by a Church teacher of the article relative to the Judgment, and so on. And it must be remembered that so studiously has the mention of Christianity been

avoided in the Act which constitutes rate-supported schools, that not a syllable of it would have to be altered if it were introduced into India to regulate the religious teaching to be given to children who were being trained up as Parsees, Mahometans, Buddhists, or idolators.

After saying this, it is perhaps unnecessary for me to add that I am not sanguine as to the moral results of such an education as must be given in our rate-supported schools. And we must remember that, unless very great care is taken by the managers of our Voluntary schools, the tone of religious thought in a town or neighbourhood will be considerably influenced by what is taught in rate-supported schools, as that is supposed to represent the mind of the Legislature of the country on the subject. It does not surprise me, therefore, to find inspectors of police telling us of a novel development of vice, and that there is more juvenile prostitution in London than in any capital city in Europe, and that the streets abound with young harlots of twelve years old and upwards. It does not surprise me to find that there is a demand for reformatories and industrial schools far beyond what was experienced a few years since. In 1870 there were in reformatories 5,433 young criminals; in 1880, 5,927. In 1870 there were in industrial schools 8,280 young persons under detention by order of the magistrates; in 1880 the number amounted to 16,136. The number of juveniles committed last year was only 5,579, against 9,998 in 1870. This is a very large diminution; but, on the other hand, it has to be remembered that the present Home Secretary has peremptorily forbidden juvenile commitments without his special permission; we are, therefore, surprised to find that the number is still so large. I will not venture to say that the system of education of which I have been speaking is the cause of this; but I do say that it will be powerless to prevent it. Luxury, the spread of active unbelief, the estrangement of classes, the hostility between employers and employed, with a consequent drying up of much real, hearty sympathy and kindly affection, may cause much evil and lead to the growth of much that is vicious and criminal. And these, or some of these, may be the causes of the evils of which I have been speaking. But I cannot help feeling that an extension of knowledge concerning the amusements, the refinements, the pleasures, the comforts, the employments, and alas! often concerning the vices and self-indulgences of the wealthier classes naturally tends to make the poorer and more laborious classes less satisfied with their lot, and more disposed to consider any courses justifiable which would tend towards an equalization of the fortunes of the various classes and conditions of persons in the world, and procure for them a share of what they regard as the advantages of others.

Believing, as I do, that religion alone can make men happy in this life and contented with that state of life in which it has pleased God to place them, that it alone can emancipate men from slavery to their own passions, lusts, and evil tendencies, and cause them to fulfil virtuously and unselfishly the duties they owe to those by whom they are surrounded, I must own that I view with anxiety, and not with hope, all schemes for sharpening men's intelligence which do not at the same time teach them concerning the only force which I believe can direct such intelligence aright—and that is, the grace of God. In another decade, experience will have thrown further light on this subject;

and whilst I fear what the result may be, I can only hope and pray that sufficient influence will be left to our Voluntary schools, and to the more definite religious teaching which will, I trust, be given in them, to counteract and overrule the evils which might otherwise overtake the community."

THE ARCHDEACON OF DURHAM.

TEN years' work has been done since the passing of the Elementary Education Act, with the startling result of adding to the number of children on the register no less than 2,307,000. The normal rate of increase, in proportion to the growth of the population, would have been 70,000 per annum. The average annual increase has been 230,000; and the additions even of last year were 185,000. I do not suppose that any Act ever accomplished so large a part of its purpose more speedily, or with more general acceptance. Voluntary effort could not have covered the ground. And it seems to me idle to cavil at a work which had become inevitable, and which was devised in a spirit so equitable towards existing interests, and so wisely economical of all existing organization. But it was essentially a supplementary system; and I believe it will mainly depend upon the zeal and courage of Churchmen whether it is ever suffered to become anything more. At present, out of every 17 schools, 11 are under Church management, and only three are Board schools: a proportion of 4 to 1. And out of every 37 children on the registers, 20 are in Church schools, and only 10 in Board schools: a proportion of 2 to 1. Church schools, therefore, outnumber Board schools by 4 to 1; but they exceed their rivals in the number of their scholars by only 2 to 1. That is, they are only half the size of the Board schools. I need scarcely say that this places them at a disadvantage financially; but it is, nevertheless, one of the happy proofs that the National Church has done its duty by providing nearly every parish, however small or poor, with the means of elementary and of religious education. Nor would it be fair to refrain from a generous acknowledgment of the efforts put forth by the Roman Catholics and the Wesleyans, the result being that £740,000 are contributed to the income of the schools by voluntary subscriptions, whilst only £726,200 are furnished for the same purpose by the rates. And a still more striking proof of the tenacity with which the English people cling to their voluntary schools is to be found in the fact that even since the passing of the Act of 1870 endowments have increased from £50,516 per annum to £143,000.

My inference from these considerations is that the nation, whilst thankfully availing itself of the admirable supplementary system of Board schools, is resolved that they shall not supplant the voluntary schools, but that the two systems shall co-exist, "Ephraim not envying Judah, nor Judah vexing Ephraim." It is true that *doctrinaires* may clamour for a theoretical uniformity, cramping the free life of the plant which they would train to the precision of their ideal mode. But in England they will fail. "Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret." Absolutism always alienates the best men, and the practical bent of our

national character induces us to utilize the best qualities of varying systems for the common good of all. Nor can I detect the slightest trace of any intention at head-quarters to cripple the voluntary schools in their work, so long as it be good work, or to rob the State of the noble contributions of money, time, and toil, which thousands of Christian men and women are making, for the purpose of giving to the children all that any Board school can give, and of superadding that which no Board school can give so efficiently—definite religious teaching, pointed home to the heart of the child ;—instruction in that *Scientia Scientiarum*, the knowledge of its soul, of the Saviour, and of its God. Mr. Mundella, when presenting the education estimates, expressed his satisfaction that through the direct and indirect operation of the Act of 1870, the amount of time generally given to religious teaching had very largely increased. Not only did he speak with favour of the Liverpool plan, by which direct incentives to religious teaching are applied to the Board schools, but he gladly recognised the fact that there had been, during the ten years, an increase of 810,000 scholars in the voluntary schools, in which the religious teaching is systematic and definite. Ungenerous attacks have been made upon Mr. Mundella, who has been taunted with having “undergone the usual transformation that takes place when a fluent talker finds himself in office.” It would have been fairer had the writer recalled the Vice-President’s manly speech in 1870 : “He should be one of the most ungrateful of men, if he did not acknowledge that he owed to one of the voluntary schools what little education he had received in his early youth. If the public faith was not pledged to the maintenance of these schools (as Mr. Winterbotham had alleged) public policy and public gratitude were. We had not a training college or a normal school which the existing societies had not given us. The question which his honourable friend below him wished to have settled was the extrusion of all religion whatsoever from the schools. Now he was about to make a statement which might perhaps be regarded as an indication of weakness, but he would rather be accused of weakness than of cowardice. Having received his education in a national school, he thanked God for the Biblical instruction received in it, and would rather never enter the doors of that House again than vote for the exclusion of the Bible from our schools. If the amendment were pressed to a division, he should vote against it, whatever the consequences might be.”

I confess then to the belief that we are fortunate in the opportunity for the revision of the code. The experience of ten years has proved the value of the voluntary schools even under the vigorous competition of their rate-supported rivals ; it has shown that the continuance of the old system is not incompatible with the expansion of the new ; it has proved that the people desire their children to receive the fullest amount of religious teaching which the Act permits the new system to give ; and this experience has been accumulated for the study and the use of a Vice-President who is capable of appreciating its lessons, and who has more than once showed that in a good cause he has the courage of his convictions. The Education Department has indicated the lessons which it deduces from the first decade of the Act in the proposals for a new code which it has courageously published for general criticism. And the eminently practical character of modern educationists is proved

by the remarkable unanimity with which they have hit the same blots and recognised the same merits in the scheme. The abolition of the requirement that 250 attendances shall qualify for examination ; the discontinuance of the individual examination of the lowest standards ; the discouragement of extra subjects amongst the younger children, and the limitation of them even amongst the elder ; the reduction of the clerical labour imposed upon teachers ; the recognition of the clergy as night-school teachers ; are all improvements upon the existing system : whilst the proportioning the amount of State support to the general merit of the school, as determined by the inspector, will make the grant less dependent upon contingencies against which neither managers nor teachers could provide, and will, I imagine, afford scope for an equitable adjustment of the claims of town and rural schools, and of schools for the waifs and strays, as contrasted with those used by the children of superior artisans. On the other hand, the sudden abolition of stipendiary monitors, the prohibition of more than three pupil teachers in any department, and the refusal to accept an assistant teacher as sufficient for more than 60 scholars, are limitations which would prove fatal to many excellent and valuable schools, unless they be counterbalanced by an increase of grant. Convinced that the department has no desire to extinguish these schools, and holding that the stipulations which I have recounted tend directly to material improvement of teaching power, I do not think that we should agitate for the relaxation of them. I should prefer that for schools containing an average below 150 scholars a more generous scale of grant be awarded upon a certificate by the inspector of general efficiency, and of his conviction that every reasonable effort has been made to bring the children to school.

The dangers, then, which threaten the voluntary schools are not, in my opinion, due either to the purpose or to the action of the Education Department. They rather result from religious animosities fanned into flame triennially at the School Board elections, and to the importation into municipal affairs of the bitterness of modern politics ; and although the results in recent years have not been so mischievous as they were during the earlier elections, there is evidence that schools which did not deserve extinction have succumbed to the pressure put upon them by the School Boards. It were invidious to specify instances ; and the tendency of a system is best ascertained by inductions from the full returns supplied by the Department. From these I find that in the Board schools there are 3 per cent. more children above ten years old than in Church schools. One might fairly anticipate, therefore, that there would also in those schools be 3 per cent. more children paying at least a threepenny fee. The fact, however, is that there are 10 per cent. fewer making that payment. This indicates an unfair bidding for the higher scholars. Again, I find that in Church schools about 18 per cent. either are free scholars or pay fees under twopence ; whereas in the Board schools 26 per cent. are free, or are admitted at that very low fee. There is therefore an excess of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the Board schools who are admitted to this privilege. It seems to me, therefore, obvious that, speaking generally, there is presented to parents throughout the country by the Board schools the powerful attraction of lower fees than are charged in the voluntary schools for certain large classes of children. By the Board on which I have for ten years worked this ungenerous

competition has been scrupulously avoided. We may fairly, I think, require that it be everywhere discontinued. As one mode of preventing it we should aim at minimising as far as practicable the differences which mar so grievously the harmony and efficiency of many School Boards. This, I conceive, might be effected by obviating the excitement which attends triennial elections, which compels men for the sake of party support sharply and crudely to define their policy, and implants in the Board the system of factious hostility. The system has the further defect that, however temperate and wise the course of a School Board may have been, a wave of democratic agitation, a flood of political enthusiasm, or a deluge of ratepaying indignation, may sweep away every friend of the existing system, and plant in the chief seats a motley company of agnostics, *doctrinaires*, and indifferentists. The London School Board, for example, has hitherto set an admirable example, and, mainly through the liberality of Sir Henry Peek, has offered a great encouragement to efficient religious instruction. Let me read you the prayer used in a committee-room by a large proportion of its members before each meeting: "Grant that we, and all associated with us in the work of teaching and training the young and ignorant, may be so guided and overruled by Thee in all our thoughts, and words, and works, that the children entrusted to our care may learn in early days to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent. Bless the religious instruction. May those who are taught have their hearts so opened by the Holy Spirit as to attend to the things spoken in Thy name from Thy Word. The Holy Scriptures are able to make men wise unto salvation. Vouchsafe the continuance of Thy blessing to those who may come under instruction, granting them in this world knowledge of Thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting, through Jesus Christ, our Lord." Could we desire anything better than this? Would not many a managers' meeting amongst ourselves be elevated in tone, and conduce to the higher welfare of our schools, if it were thus sanctified by the Word of God and prayer? But we must not forget that, admirable though all this be, the next triennial election may eliminate all the men of prayer, and relegate the Bibles to the closet for old stores. I venture, therefore, to suggest that results far more satisfactory in themselves, and more continuously productive of good, would ensue if one-third of the Board were to retire annually—being, of course, eligible for re-election, the chairman, however, being exempted from this rule during his five years' tenure of office. The election should be conducted by voting papers on the cumulative system, in the same way with those for the election of Guardians. Were this plan adopted, the frequency of the elections would, I believe, free them from much of the excitement which now agitates them. A gradual alteration of a Board would be possible, but violent and sudden changes would be obviated; the majority of the Board at any time would be men who had at least knowledge of its policy and of its machinery. Teachers would not be subject to frequent changes of management, and voluntary schools would not tremble under the onslaught of educational neophytes.

But neither this system of election nor any other would secure to our voluntary schools fair play, or to the Board schools the most favourable conditions for continued efficiency, unless men of large mind and

generous disposition consent to act upon the Boards. Sectional organizations should be discountenanced. A Churchman should not refuse to vote for a Nonconformist if he be sensible and fair; and a Nonconformist should act upon the belief that a clergyman is not necessarily a sheepstealer, but that he can honourably administer an Act of Parliament, even if it do not give him a liberty which for the children's highest good he craves. Men of culture and refinement must not shrink from companionship in a work with the robust, though unpolished, vigour of the men who have risen from the ranks. The clergy must not forget that they are citizens, and that whilst ever setting first their spiritual work, they may commend it to others by co-operation in an enterprise which fringes closely the domain of the spiritual and eternal. Let them leaven the whole lump with the generosity, the fairness, and the love which they are ordained to inculcate in every relation of life; and not only will they acquire the means of protecting the schools so justly dear to them from impoverishment and destruction, but they will gradually recall the nation to its allegiance to its Lord, and may even be prospered to vindicate for the noble School Board system of England the right which our unhappy divisions have hitherto denied it, of "seeking first the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof;" of systematically training every child committed to its care in the religious knowledge which is profitable for this life, and which alone admits to the glories of the life to come.

MR. T. E. HELLER (Secretary of the National Union of Elementary Teachers and Member of the London School Board).

My position to-night as the reader of a *third* paper on the *Results and Lessons* of the Elementary Education Act is a difficult one, and the difficulty is not lessened by the ability and eminence of those who have preceded me. I should not have accepted the invitation to read a paper at this Congress had I not felt that my close connection with the practical work of education, and with the elementary teachers of the country, would enable me to present to the Congress some special aspects of the question before us.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 is destined to exercise an important influence over the moral, intellectual, and religious life of the country. To a large extent it was, and is, an experiment, and it is only necessary to point to the fact that the original Act has been thrice amended (in 1873, 1876, and 1880), to show how experimental it was. Yet it introduced two new, but fundamental principles, into educational legislation—first, that it was the duty of the State to compel parents to educate their children; and second, that it was the duty of each locality to provide, either with or without State-aid, a school-place for every child requiring elementary education. I propose, in the first place, briefly to show how far, after ten years' operation, these two main objects of the measure have been accomplished.

Firstly, as to school provision. The facts relating to school accommodation are contained in the following table collated from the reports of the Education Department :—

	1870.	1874.	1879.	1880.
I.—Estimated Population.....	22,090,163	23,648,609	24,246,010	25,480,161
II.—Number requiring Elementary Education.....	3,681,694	3,941,435	4,040,668	4,246,693
III.—Accommodation :				
Church of England.....	1,365,080	1,889,236	2,105,849	2,327,379
British, Wesleyan, and Udenominational.....	411,948	557,883	563,566	582,600
Roman Catholic.....	101,556	179,199	200,753	248,140
	1,878,584	2,626,318	2,870,168	3,158,119
Board.....	Nil.	245,508	556,150	1,082,634
	1,878,584	*2,871,826	3,426,318	4,240,753
IV.—Percentage of total School Accommodation provided by Church of England.....	72·7	65·8	61·5	54·9
British, Wesleyan, and Udenominational.....	21·9	19·4	16·4	13·7
Roman Catholic.....	5·4	6·2	5·9	5·9
	100·0	91·4	83·8	74·5
Board.....	—	8·6	16·2	25·5
V.—Percentage of number requiring Elementary Education provided by Church of England. ...	37·1	47·9	52·1	54·8
British, Wesleyan, and Udenominational.....	11·2	14·2	13·9	13·7
Roman Catholic.....	2·8	4·5	5·0	5·8
Board.....	—	6·2	13·8	25·5

Some very instructive deductions may be made from this table. In 1871 the Church of England provided 72·7 per cent. of elementary school accommodation. In 1874 the percentage had fallen to 65·8, in 1876 to 61·5, and in 1880 to 54·9, and this notwithstanding the fact that the number of places in Church schools had, by the liberality of Churchmen and the assistance of the State, been increased from 1,365,080 in 1870 to 1,889,236 in 1874, to 2,105,849 in 1876, and to 2,327,379 in 1880. Extending the calculation to all voluntary schools, we find that, while in 1870 they provided all the available school accommodation, in 1874 they contained but 91·4, in 1876 but 83·8, and in 1880 only 74·5 per cent. of the total accommodation. Again, it will be seen that in 1870 the Church supplied 37·1 per cent. of the whole accommodation required, in 1874 47·9, in 1876 52·1, and in 1880 54·8 per cent. of the necessary school places.

The first great result of the Elementary Education Act is that, within a single decade, nearly two and a-half millions of additional school places have been provided, being an increase within the period of 120·7 per cent. Of this increase 78·9 per cent. is found in voluntary, and 41·8 in Board Schools. During the same period the school population (3 to 15) is estimated to have increased by about 12 per cent. I do

* 10,507 night-school places.

not hesitate to describe this remarkable increase of accommodation in the voluntary schools as a direct result of the Education Act, which, by limiting the period during which the building grants might be obtained, stimulated denominational zeal to immediate action. The £311,544 paid during the last ten years by the Department as building grants has been met by local contributions to the amount of £1,344,869, and thus for a comparatively small expenditure of public money no less than 279,464 school places have been provided, together with teachers' residences in some cases. I need scarcely point out that the same provision at the average rate per head of Board school places (£12 9s.) would have absorbed no less an amount of public money than £3,479,322, as against the third of a million awarded as grants. But noble as is this result, and gratifying to Churchmen, could the voluntary bodies have done all that was required? Could they, in addition to what they have accomplished, have also provided the other million of school places now found in Board schools, and could they have maintained this accommodation efficiently even if provided? I think not. Voluntary efforts during the past decade have been strained to their utmost tension, and this is clearly shown by the fact that, of the 3,342 applications for building grants made in 1870, no less than 1,332 have been subsequently withdrawn, chiefly on account of the difficulty in making up the local contribution necessary to secure the grants.

The position, I assume, is further proved by the transfer during the decade of nearly 900 schools to School Boards. Of these, 615 were Church, 12 Wesleyan, and the remainder undenominational, of which 191 were British schools. The chief lesson to be drawn from a consideration of the results of the Act, so far as they affect school provision, is, that the time had fully come when it was necessary, in the interests of national education, and to supplement the splendid but inadequate efforts of the various religious bodies; and it follows that, as the new educational agency is required to secure the education of all, it should be warmly welcomed by the supporters of the older educational movements, not as an antagonistic system, but rather as a coadjutor and helper in the great work of educating and elevating the masses. What would have been the educational position of the poorer districts of London and of the great towns at the present moment, had not the School Boards stepped in and provided with public funds what voluntary effort could not supply? It is exactly where voluntary means are least available that the educational wants are greatest. There are scores of earnest clergymen in the eastern and southern parts of London who regard the School Board as one of their best helpers in educating and humanising the dense populations among whom they labour. A few days since I went over a district of the parish of Battersea with its esteemed Vicar, for the purpose of ascertaining what extra school accommodation was necessary. And what did I find? In the first place, an excellent church, well served and attended—the clergy devoting their lives and their means to Church work, and taxed by it to an undue extent; the district poor, and the means of providing a school not at hand. Well might the vicar say that a Board school would be a boon. I hope that within the next twelve months the School Board will place a school there, and that we shall have the earnest, manly, and intelligent character of the clergyman influencing and guiding its local

management. And this is only a typical case. Surely then, it is the duty of all interested in the educational progress of the people, and especially the duty of Churchmen, to regard with friendliness, to co-operate with and to take their share in directing and regulating the School Board movement.

Secondly, the Act of 1870 was intended to secure, by compulsion if necessary, the regular attendance of children at school. The results of the past ten years are apparent from the following table :—

	1870.	1874.	1876.	1880.
I.—Estimated population...	22,090,163	23,648,609	24,244,010	25,480,161
II.—Estimated number of children requiring elementary education ...	3,681,694	3,941,435	4,040,668	4,216,693
III.—Number on school registers	1,949,026	2,497,602	2,943,774	3,895,824
VI.—Accommodation provided	1,878,584	2,871,826	3,426,318	4,240,753
V.—Estimated number who should be in average attendance—				
(a) Allowing 20 per cent. for all causes of unavoidable absence ...	2,945,355	3,153,148	3,232,535	3,397,354
(b) Allowing 25 per cent. for all causes of unavoidable absence ...	2,761,271	2,956,076	3,030,501	3,185,020
VI.—Number in average attendance—				
Day ...	1,152,389	1,678,759	1,984,573	2,750,916
Night ...	73,375	48,690	49,858	46,069
VII.—Number present at examination—				
Day ...	1,434,764	2,034,007	2,412,211	3,268,147
Night ...	77,918	36,720	41,133	49,602
VIII.—Percentage of children on rolls in average attendance ...	74·4	67·2	67·5	70·6
IX.—Percentage of average attendance (above seven) qualified by attendance for examination ...	—	60·0	64·0	74·0

From this it will be seen that the number on the day-school register has increased from about two millions in 1870 to nearly four millions in 1880, while the average attendance has grown from less than a million and a-quarter to two millions and three-quarters—or from 5·5 to 10·8 per cent. of the population during the same period. So far, this is a highly satisfactory result, and represents a higher rate of progress than that of school provision. But as compared with the number who *ought* to be at school, the results show that much yet remains to be done. The following extract from the Report of the Education Department for 1880-81 puts this very clearly :—

“ There was an increase during the past year of 4·35 per cent. in the number of scholars between five and ten, and of 5·99 per cent. between ten and thirteen. But we have again to call attention to the large number of children who are not known to be attending efficient schools, the small proportion of scholars who attend with regularity, and the meagre results attained by many of the scholars who are examined. For our tables show (1) that for every 100 seats provided there is an average attendance of not more than 71·05 children in Board and 62·75 in voluntary schools; (2) that for every 100 scholars on the registers, there is an average attendance of only 70·84 in Board, and of 70·52 in voluntary

schools; (3) that only 76.56 per cent. of the scholars on the registers over seven years of age were qualified by attendance for examination; and (4) that while 93.9 per cent. of these scholars were presented to the Inspector, not more than 48.32 per cent. of those above ten were presented in standards appropriate to their age. These figures are very significant. They show how much remains to be done in many districts in the way of enforcing the bye-laws, which now extend over the whole of the country."

No words of mine could convey with more exactness the still defective and irregular condition of school attendance. It appears that while the number on the registers in Board schools is almost identical with the number of places provided, 29 per cent. of the scholars are on the average absent, while in voluntary schools the excess of accommodation over the number on the register and in average attendance is still larger. I am disposed to attribute no inconsiderable part of the increase of attendance during the past ten years to the simple fact that new schools have been provided, more easily accessible than before 1870, and to the natural growth of population. Up to the year 1880 the compulsory powers of the Act were not universally applied, and I cannot regard their effect on school attendance as being in any degree equivalent to the cost and labour they have entailed. Nevertheless, results, if costly, have been produced; and it may be that in a few more years the national mind will become habituated to a higher standard of attendance and attainments. The Vice-President of the Council has undertaken to make compulsion effective. We wish him success in his efforts. The words of the Department convey at least a warning to negligent local authorities. To quote again from the Report for 1880-81:

"The number of empty seats in school which have been provided at so large a cost to public funds and private benevolence will henceforth, in most districts, be a guide to us in estimating the extent to which local authorities fail in carrying out their primary duty of securing the early and regular attendance of the children in their respective districts."

From an independent inquiry, made in the course of last year through the agency of the various teachers' associations (320 in number), I have ascertained that only in few districts is attendance strictly enforced; in many inadequate means are employed, while in the majority there is either an absolute neglect of compulsion, or an occasional and spasmodic effort, which is worse than useless. We are informed on all hands that the *minimum* of the labour pass is now too often regarded by parents and employers as the maximum of school attainment, and that scholars leave at an earlier age than heretofore; the net result of compulsion being, not so much a general raising of the educational level of the school, as the earlier preparation of children for labour. If the period of school-life is on the average shortened, there can be no wonder that the higher standards are not reached; and it will be useless to expect from the schools the higher results now asked for and expected, *because attendance is compulsory.*

The Department seem to be conscious of this when "My Lords" complain thus:

"We are sorry to find on examining the school returns connected with this subject that the education of so many children of ten years of age and upwards is discontinued as soon as, by passing the Fourth Standard, they are freed from the obligation to attend school, and become entitled to go to work. Out of 231,485 children presented in that standard in 1879, as many as 92,258 disappeared from our schools in 1880; while the 115,011 schoolars in Standard V. of 1879, fell in the year to 52,625."

The lessons to be drawn by voluntaryists from these considerations appear to me to be—

- (a) That it is the duty and interest of voluntaryists to co-operate with, and in every way to assist, the local authorities, whether School Board or Attendance Committee, in filling the vacant seats in our schools.
- (b) That a high standard should be adopted as a pass to whole time, and a reasonably high standard for half-time labour.

The chief difficulties in the way of compulsion are naturally experienced in the rural districts. From what I am told, I infer that members of local authorities are themselves sometimes guilty of breaking the law they are appointed to administer, and more often are content to see it broken by others. In other words, that the persons who are elected for the express purpose of securing the proper attendance of children at school are too often interested in their labour, and allow their interests to outweigh their sense of duty. Could not Churchmen, by their great influence in these districts, and by an active participation in the labours of these local bodies, do more than they have done to secure a higher aim and a better educational result? It is in the interest of all schools, but particularly of Church schools, that the vacant seats in them should be more constantly filled. Better attendance would result in higher grants, more revenue from fees, and a consequent advance in efficiency.

Closely connected with the question of accommodation and attendance, is that of school fees. The comparative contributions of scholars in the shape of fees is shown by the following table :

PERCENTAGE OF SCHOLARS PAYING PER WEEK.

1870.					
	Less than 2d.	2d. and less than 3d.	3d. and less than 4d.	4d. and over.	
Church of England	26·81	48·56	17·16	7·47	
British and Wesleyan	14·58	39·48	24·54	21·4	
Roman Catholic	47·56	40·16	8·94	3·54	
Average for voluntary Schools	25·23	46·27	18·31	10·19	

1880.					
Free Scholars.	Less than 2d.	Less than 3d.	Less than 4d.	4d. and over.	
Church of England	2·66	15·54	39·58	27·52	14·7
British and other } Schools ... }	4·72	9·37	29·13	30·49	26·20
Wesleyan	1·0	1·9	25·72	31·46	40·07
Roman Catholic ...	14·44	11·15	32·75	28·61	12·97
Board Schools ...	4·26	21·87	41·93	24·09	7·85

From this table it will be found that, while in 1870 the British and Wesleyan schools received much higher fees than Church schools, the tendency has been to invert this order—the Board schools being now, as the representatives of the British schools, in receipt of 9s. per scholar per annum as against 10s. 9½d. in voluntary schools.

The only lesson to be drawn from these figures appears to be that the Church will do well, wherever practicable, to utilise her buildings and school machinery for a higher grade of school, within the range of Government inspection, but in which higher fees may be charged. I do not regard this as in any way abdicating her function to educate the poor. She can in many districts maintain her schools efficiently on their present basis ; but wherever this cannot be done Churchmen

may, and in my opinion should, co-operate with, and utilise, the School Board system. By thus adapting herself to local necessities, the Church may exercise her legitimate influence on the education of the poor, and at the same time create a new influence for herself among a class hitherto neglected by her. She will, at the same time, confer upon the country a class of school which, though not now unknown, should be more generally distributed.

Having considered the direct results of the Elementary Education Act, I come to one of another kind—viz., its effect upon religious teaching. At the commencement of the decade, there was good reason for the fear that in the working of the Act a serious injury might be inflicted on the religious character of the schools. But experience has shown that for the present, at least, the fear has not been realised. The high value placed upon the religious and moral teaching of our schools by the country at large is reflected in the popularly elected School Boards, and, at the present moment the tendency is, to reduce even the small number of these bodies which have banished religious teaching from their schools. As a Churchman, and as an old Church school-master, I am of opinion that in the elementary school little can be done in the way of denominational religious teaching, and that the capacity of Church schools to perform this function has been greatly overrated. But be this as it may, I am sure that the Scriptural teaching now given in our London Board Schools is not greatly different in substance from that which is given in denominational schools, though I believe it is more systematic, and, consequently, more thorough. Of course, the lessons on the Catechism and Liturgy are absent, but a sure and broad foundation of Biblical knowledge is laid, on which the Church and the denominations may, if they accept the Bible as the foundation of their faith, the more readily rear their own doctrinal superstructures. In this opinion I am supported by many eminent Churchmen who have entered into the work of School Boards, and have noted its results. If this be the true result, what is the lesson it teaches? To my mind it points to the immediate importance of strengthening and extending the system of Church Sunday-schools, in which the special teaching of the Church may be added to the Scriptural teaching given in the day-school. Though much has been done of late to improve our position in this respect, we are relatively far behind the denominations in the ability and spirit with which the Sunday-schools are conducted. This is true at least of the south, and of the metropolis in particular. The future importance of Sunday-school teaching to the Church indicates the unwisdom of heedlessly transferring the Church schools to School Boards without ample reservations, securing the buildings for this and other Church purposes. If these reservations cannot be obtained from the School Board, my advice is, do not alienate your property, but keep it for Sunday-school purposes alone. Indeed, I regret that we have not a larger number of buildings devoted exclusively to Sunday-schools. Their work, staff, and organization differ so much from that of the day-school, that a building adapted to the one is quite unsuitable for the other. The efficiency of many of our day and Sunday-schools is impaired by the attempt, never absolutely successful, to meet the requirements of both. For a similar reason the teachers of the day-school should not be required—I had almost said should not be allowed—to undertake duties in the Sunday-

school. The discipline, temper, and methods of a good Sunday-school are so essentially different from those of a good day-school, that the attempt to apply the practice of one to the other results either in the weakening of the day-school teacher's authority, or in the Sunday-school losing its special character. It is also absolutely necessary that the teacher who is for five days in the week engaged in the difficult, worrying, and monotonous duties of teaching, and whose Saturdays are largely occupied with clerical work connected with the school, should have one day of absolute freedom each week from school work.

I had intended to note the educational results of the Act in detail, but the length to which my paper already extends warns me that this is impossible. I can only on this point remark that the increased school provision, the improved attendance, the superior educational appliances, and the increased means available for education, have resulted in steadily improving educational results. Not only has the range of subjects been extended, but the teaching in the elementary subjects has at the same time been improved. In 1871 the whole scheme of the standards was raised bodily one degree, and in 1875 class and specific subjects were added. Yet the passes in the various standards improved from year to year, and since 1875 the proportion of scholars examined in the higher standards has risen from 19.9 to 24.61 in 1880. There is no doubt that the present conditions of the Code induce teachers and managers to present their scholars in low standards, and that this, together with the restrictions on presentation, causes the recorded results of inspection to fall below the actual educational work accomplished. These satisfactory results have not been attained without great pressure on teachers and scholars. The gradual addition of *separate* examinations to correspond with the various increments of grant is a serious blunder, and I regret that in the generally excellent proposals of Mr. Mundella Mr. Matthew Arnold's advice to "simplify" has not been more fully adopted. We have moved forward from the position of 1870, when only the mechanical results of the Revised Code were measured, but our school curriculum is now too diffuse, and the schools are greatly over-examined. This is especially true of girls' and infant schools, in which the teaching of needlework, kindergarten, and domestic economy is added to the work of the boys' schools. Some relief must be given in these schools, or the results on scholars and teachers will be disastrous.

There is one other result of the Education Act which has apparently attracted but little attention, but which has already affected, and will in the future greatly modify, the relations between the religious bodies and the elementary teachers of the country—I mean the impulse it gave to the organization and consolidation of the teaching staff into an independent and separate profession. Before 1847 there were few persons specially trained and qualified to act as skilled teachers, and the teaching depended largely upon the zeal of the Church and the religious bodies. Even after the issue of the minutes of 1847 those who were induced to become teachers for many years did so as much on religious and denominational grounds as from professional or pecuniary consideration. This was a feature of the early period of State-aided education, and was the only method by which a qualified teaching staff could have been secured. But as the number of teachers increased, and as teaching became a permanent and recognised vocation, they naturally began to

think of themselves as a class, and, while still regarding their work as one of a missionary character, were compelled to consider also their pecuniary position. In this respect the teaching body has passed through the same stages of transition as the medical, legal, and clerical professions, and I have no doubt that as the importance of the teacher's work becomes more fully apparent, and the numbers engaged in it increase, the teachers will constitute an organized, and to some extent a self-regulated profession. Before the passing of the Act all teachers were regarded as the property of their respective denominations, but since that date a position has been provided in which the teacher stands solely in a professional relation to his employer, and is not looked upon as the personal subordinate of the clergyman or minister. In the past there were no individuals who owed more personal obligations to the clergy of the Church of England than the Church teachers, and even under present conditions there is great good feeling between individual teachers and individual clergymen in every part of the country. But the Church in its corporate capacity has not yet recognised the growth of the teaching body towards a state of independence, and has apparently not realised the altered position in which the two bodies stand. My object in referring to this point to-night is two-fold. Firstly, because it enables me to acknowledge for myself and for other old Church teachers the obligations we are under to the clergy for help and assistance in the early days of popular education. Secondly, it is my duty to point out that the growth of professional spirit among teachers does not necessarily imply antagonism to the Church or to her ministers. Yet this is the interpretation put by some clergymen upon the action taken by the society of which I am the secretary. In at least a dozen counties of England and Wales pressure is directly or indirectly brought to bear upon teachers, and especially upon the younger mistresses, to prevent them joining the local associations connected with the National Union of Elementary Teachers. Need I point out that this course is deeply resented by the general body, and even by those who, perforce, submit to such personal dictation; and that it tends to endanger the good feeling that ought to exist between teachers and clergy? And what is this society of teachers? It is simply an educational and professional organization, from which all sectarian and political considerations are excluded, through which all those engaged in the same work of elementary education may meet on common ground, and discuss such points of educational or professional interest as may from time to time arise. It furnishes a ready means for ascertaining and expressing the opinions of the teaching body on practical educational questions, and gives to teachers an opportunity of influencing and guiding public thought on matters connected with education. It also, as a professional organization, watches and protects the special interests of the body it represents. It is attempting to make provision for distressed and aged teachers, and for the widows and orphans of teachers, and is endeavouring to inculcate in the minds of the younger teachers the importance of thrift, and of providing definitely against times of sickness and old age. It seems to me that these objects are not only legitimate, but, on public grounds, are most desirable, and that they deserve the good-will, if not the support, of all who value education. The success of this society, which now has 320

branches in England and Wales, with a membership of nearly 13,000, is an evidence of the growth of the professional spirit already alluded to, and is undoubtedly one of the results of the Elementary Education Act. The lesson I will draw from the result is simply this—that the Church should realise the altered position in which elementary teachers now stand; and, while regarding the teachers of Church schools as the coadjutors and helpers of the clergy, should give them an independent professional position. The duties of organist, choir-trainer, and Sunday school superintendent should not be forced on them against their will; but all that is extraneous to their professional work should be left to their own voluntary efforts. If this advice be adopted, I am convinced that the Church will be the gainer, and that many a willing hand will yet be stretched forth from the school-room to aid the Church. I hope, too, that the clergy and all leading Churchmen will examine for themselves this professional movement, and will recognise in it simply the national development of that *esprit de corps* which distinguishes all large bodies of men and women engaged in a common occupation.

In conclusion, permit me to summarise very briefly the lessons which we, as Churchmen, should deduce from the experience of the past ten years. The first and most obvious lesson is that we should acknowledge the absolute necessity of the School Board system, and that it was beyond the power of the religious bodies to provide all the accommodation required. If the necessity of the School Board system be allowed, it follows that the Church, as the greatest educational force in the country, should work cordially with the new agency, and that Churchmen should take their full share of the public duties devolving on members of School Boards. There is a tendency, too often shown by Churchmen, to stand aside and allow others to do the work, and to a large extent monopolize the influence of these public bodies. From the rural districts of England, and of Scotland too, complaints have been already heard that the constitution of the Boards is not satisfactory, but that many persons are elected absolutely ignorant of educational work and unfit to control it. It is alike in the interest of the Church and of education that good men of all denominations should come forward for election, and, even at some trouble to themselves, help in guiding this powerful machine. A special lesson is that we must not attempt to maintain our schools in an inefficient or semi-efficient state. As soon as the means are not forthcoming to provide ample staff, good rooms, and sufficient material, allow the School Board system to step in with the public purse, but retain our buildings and strengthen our Sunday-schools. Let Churchmen take a full share of the local management of Board Schools. Perhaps nothing has done more to foster good feeling towards the Church on the part of Dissenters than the contact between their respective representatives on the Boards and in the bodies of local managers. Let us recognise in the 35,000 elementary teachers of the country a body of men and women who are exercising public functions of the highest importance, and are laying the foundations on which the clergy and ministers will have to build. Finally, let us not lose faith in education because its results are slow to appear, but labour on earnestly in the work which the Church began, which she still so largely supports, and which she will, we trust, be ever foremost in promoting.

ADDRESSES.

MR. F. S. POWELL.

It is not an easy task to concentrate within the space of fifteen minutes even a few cursory observations on the great and wide subject of education. I have this advantage in proceeding to make some few remarks, that I have little or nothing to say in contradiction to or adverse of what the preceding speakers have said. The only point as to which I feel any difference between my own opinions and those expressed by others is with reference to the remark made by my friend Canon Gregory, with whom it is my pleasure to co-operate in so many educational subjects. I agree with him that there is still much to be done in the way of improving the religious and moral, as well as the educational, condition of the sons and daughters of working men; but I do not believe that the result of their education during the last ten years has been to cause any falling off in their condition. On the contrary, I believe that this startling decrease which my reverend friend quoted may really be accounted for by increased diligence, by greater sensitiveness in the public mind, and by taking such steps in every department of our social system as to increase the facilities for laying the hand, sometimes of the policeman, sometimes of the truant officer, and sometimes of the casual friendly visitor, on each of those young subjects of the Queen. I cannot, in fifteen minutes, go into that point any further, but I believe that what I have mentioned is really the case. With reference to the progress made during the ten years that have passed away—contrasting the year 1870 with 1880—I have nothing to add to the figures which have already been given. But I may make this remark, that the Committee in Council in their last report stated that the total amount of accommodation in existing efficient schools, if distributed over the face of the country, would be nearly sufficient to meet the wants of the population. But, while the rapid increase of many districts is calling for a still further supply of schools, yet in other districts excessive accommodation has been provided by denominational zeal. Well, now, the general effect of that statement is this—that the relations as to accommodation between denominational schools and Board schools will not largely change. There will be an alteration, and there will be a modification. As the population increases, that change and modification will be against us; but I believe it will be so slow and gradual that our position will not be changed during some years to come in any material degree. Then comes the question, What is the character of this increase of Board schools, and where is it? It is almost totally in towns. In the country districts, if you find a new school, it is, in a large majority of cases, a National school enlarged and improved. There are gentlemen in this room—whom I have the pleasure of recognising—who know the feeling of the agricultural classes better than I do, but my opinion is that I am strangely wrong if there is not in the minds of the rural population, both landowners and occupiers, such a wholesome jealousy of rates, that they would rather hold on to the National schools than be scourged by any additional taxation; and it is in the towns that the actual growth has taken place. I have a statement made in Bradford a few months since, when the President of the Council visited that place. The statement is that in March, 1871, when the Board School system was first tried in Bradford, there were 14,204 children in the public elementary schools, and the average attendance was only 9,064. In the year 1881 the number on the registers was 34,460, and the average attendance was 24,744—showing an increase in the first instance, on accommodation, of 20,256, and on the average attendance of 15,680. This had been mainly an increase of School Board accommodation, and it had cost a quarter of a million of money. And when we look at the matter in a wider manner, and have regard to the country, we find from the Committee of Council that the loans sanctioned for Board schools up to April, 1881, had amounted to no

less than £12,703,917 15s. 1d. I think it is clear from these figures that we cannot hope to compete with the School Board in the towns, and that our great effort must be as regards the great urban population ; to maintain our own schools in the highest efficiency ; to justify their existence by showing that they are doing the work they are meant to do ; and for the rest, that they may not be in feeling or action antagonistic to the School Board schools, but rather to seek co-operation with their managers, and endeavour to inculcate, so far as the Act of Parliament permits, the opinion which we, as Church of England people, entertain. With reference to the progress made in religious teaching, there has been lately printed a most valuable report, which gives an exhaustive account of the progress made in religious teaching. In regard to the schools themselves there is every reason for encouragement, but when we go beyond the scholars to the pupil teachers I am afraid our satisfaction dwindles away. I am anxious to say a word or two on this subject, because I have the honour to be on the Council of no less than five training colleges, and as this is a question mainly for the managers, it is to the managers of our schools that we must look for the religious condition of the pupil teachers when they enter our training colleges. In that interesting speech made by the Lord Bishop of Manchester at the Crystal Palace, when speaking in language of satisfaction as regards the number of children who competed for distinction in the classes for Mr. Blackie's prizes, he says he cannot use the same phrase when he approaches the subject of pupil teachers. He says with reference to them that " whereas in the year 1880 there were 1,147 pupil teachers who successfully competed for prizes, in the year 1881 there were only 909, the number of pupil teachers in the latter year being 1,488 ;" and when I come to the report made by other inspectors I can find nothing to comfort, console, or encourage. I find the Archdeacon of Derby, in a recent report, making use of such language as this : " The statistics demonstrate two things : first, that there is a large decline in the work done by those trained ; and secondly, they are much worse (that is, the young men) than the young women who enter our training colleges ;" and then he proceeds to show how comparatively few first year students who had come from Board Schools had been taught religious subjects. Of the few who had some knowledge of the Bible, most of them had devoted some time to the subject privately. I have other facts from the principal of one of our most important training colleges, but I think I have said enough to draw attention to the subject. It is to my mind a matter of pressing importance, as, if the pupil teachers are not taught their religious knowledge in these schools, it is practically impossible to correct that defect in the training colleges. The teachers in the Training colleges, principals and subordinates alike, are earnest in this matter, and they desire to carry forward education in religious knowledge to the highest point. But they are so much fettered by the necessities of their position with reference to other branches of education, and the time at their disposal is practically so limited, that they must rely on the managers of schools and on the clergy to send no pupil teachers who are not well grounded when they enter the training colleges, in this most important branch of their work. I think I may, without exaggeration, say that the work done by the clergy and by the faithful laymen of the Church of England since the year 1870 is surprising. The advance of the last few years has shown that we have not given ourselves up to despair, but on the contrary, has given us the grounds, based on experience and upon knowledge, for abundant hope, and for the fullest encouragement. I do hope there will be no holding back in this matter. I believe the parents are with us, and if we are persevering the Government will be largely with us too. There will be changes in public opinion—ebbs and flows in the tide of sentiment on educational matters ; but if we do our duty, I believe the country will be with us, and the Government of the day, whatever it may be, will not fail us ; and countless generations will thank us for not having lost heart in a day of much anxiety, and of not being slothful under circumstances which demanded energy and zeal.

MR. ARTHUR MILLS.

A FRIEND of mine—I think it was the late lamented Dean of Westminster—once remarked that “nothing was more interesting [than education, and nothing more dull than a speech on it.” If this were true of one speech, what shall be said of the fifth speech, when all the statistics, facts, and inferences, and probably also the patience of the audience, are exhausted? We have, I think, already learnt that during the last educational decade our elementary schools, scholars, teachers, and pupil teachers have been more than doubled, though the population of England and Wales has not during that period added more than three millions to its numbers. As a member of the London School Board, it will perhaps be safest for me to confine myself chiefly to that part of the subject to which my own attention has been chiefly drawn. During the past decade about 2,050 School Boards have been created, which have built more than 2,500 schools, and have borrowed for that purpose nearly thirteen millions sterling. The vast and yearly increasing cost of elementary education has already been dwelt on. On this point I will only say that I should not grudge the money if I could be quite sure that it was wisely spent, and that we were receiving full value for it. It is the more important to watch this growing expenditure, as during the last decade nearly 900 schools have been transferred to Boards. During the last ten years the school accommodation in London has jumped from about a quarter of a million to half a million, and five-sixths of the cost of the maintenance of Board schools there is now defrayed from public funds. Far be it from me to depreciate the results attained in London, but as a member of the Board desirous to see the spirit of the Act of 1870 fairly carried out, perhaps I may be allowed to point out what seem to me some of our defects. I do not complain that we have accepted transfers of 131 voluntary schools, for this was inevitable; but the policy of the Act of 1870 was simply that of *supplementing deficiencies*, and this has, I think, been sometimes forgotten; and as we manage to spend 17s. 3d. per child per year more than the voluntary schools, which give precisely the same education, our ambitious policy is rather expensive. We are also too fond of central power, and do not leave enough to be done by local managers. Having adverted to some of our faults, I ought not, perhaps, to omit mentioning to our credit the establishment of twenty-six “Domestic Economy” centres, nineteen of which are in working order; also the efforts for the care of the blind, and of the deaf and dumb, ninety-eight children of the former and about one hundred and forty-six children of the latter class being now under instruction. Complaints are often made against us for “cramming” little children with more than they can digest, but these complaints should be addressed to the Education Department, not to us. They are the faults of the *Code*, which though not twenty years old, calls itself “New,” and wants reforming more than any institution in the country. If I might venture a word of advice to the Education Department, it would be to follow the example of our fellow-subjects in New Zealand, whose schools I recently visited, and who not only draw a broad line of distinctness between *Primary* and *Secondary* schools, instead of muddling them together as we do, but provide an admirable link by a system of scholarships by which promising children can pass on from Primary to Secondary schools. Perhaps if we adopted this plan, and instead of overtasking teachers and children with a load of “onomies and ologies,” gave more time and thought to the standard subjects, we might show a more satisfactory result than at present. It appears from the Government Report that only *sixty-two* per cent. of the children presented last year obtained *complete passes* in the “3 R’s,” and if in our Elementary schools we paid a little more attention to our mother tongue, perhaps a larger proportion of our children, and even of the members of our School Boards, might by degrees be able to pronounce all the consonants of the alphabet.

The Education Minister of New Zealand told me that he always knew the children which came fresh from the old country by the misplacing of their aspirates. Allow me to say one word in reference to which complaints have

arisen from misinformed persons. You are aware that we have about thirty-eight training colleges. Though no adverse word has been said against them by the Government, it has been suggested by those who are pleased to denounce everything religious as "Sectarian," that these colleges unfairly exclude fit candidates for work as teachers. These allegations are, I believe, *utterly unfounded*; but I would venture to remind those who are agitating in this matter, that whatever may be now given by the State towards the maintenance of these colleges, more than three-fourths of the cost of building them was, up to 1870, defrayed by private subscription.

In conclusion, a few moments must be given to the results of the past decade as affecting religious education. When the Act of 1870 was passed, there was an impression in some quarters that an exclusively *secular* system of elementary education had been inaugurated, and the action of the Birmingham School Board showed that it was quite possible so to work the Act. But on the other hand, the course adopted by the largest School Board in the country, and followed by nearly 1,000 Boards in provincial towns, soon proved that the introduction not only of the Bible, but of religious teaching into Board schools, was compatible with the provisions of the Act of 1870. On the 8th of March, 1871, the London School Board resolved that "in the schools provided by the Board the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such instruction and explanation thereon as are suited to the capacities of children." Seven years afterwards, on the 22nd of March, 1878, the London School Board, "having reason," as they state, "to know that in some cases the Bible lesson is confined too exclusively to mere formal explanations of the history, geography, or grammar of the portion of Scripture for the day," direct by special circular to the teachers that "during the Bible lessons every opportunity should be seized, earnestly and sympathetically, to bring home to the minds of the children those moral and religious principles on which the right conduct of their future lives must necessarily depend." But it is not only in London and in the other Boards which have followed its example, but even in the head-quarters of Secularism—Birmingham—that we have to note a marked change of tone. In 1879 the Birmingham School Board, finding that Secularism was producing the bad effects which might have been expected, proposed, through their chairman, Mr. Dixon, that a "text-book of morals" should be specially made for this Board, and in proposing this Mr. Dixon stated that "if in the teaching of morality some of the teachers should find it an assistance to them to mention the name of the Creator, and to dwell a little on immortality, he, for his part, should not ask that blame should be thrown on such teachers."

I never had the privilege of seeing Mr. Dixon's "moral text-book," but judging from the fact that a year afterwards the Birmingham School Board had admitted the Bible into their schools, I presume that by that time they had learnt to concur with Mr. Huxley that, in the "chaotic state of opinions in this country, the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, cannot be kept up without the Bible." Those who know anything of the working classes in this country know also that to trust to home influence or to Sunday-schools in the matter of religious teaching of children is purely romantic. Advocates of religious teaching, who mistrust Board schools, will learn perhaps with satisfaction that they are still outnumbered by voluntary schools in the proportion of four to one; but let them remember, above all things, that School Boards (which are certainly dominating in our large towns) are, like all other representative bodies, what they are made by the people who elect them; and if they desire to see the advance in the matter of religious teaching which has been made, maintained, they will show more zeal than in times past in supporting those who undertake the unpopular and laborious task of vindicating the cause of Christian truth and liberty on our School Boards. The "advanced sciences" and "ologies" of the 4th schedule to the Code may be very valuable in their way, but it is not by these that the children of the poor can be enabled to grapple with the evil that is in them and around them. It has been well said that it was not

Seneca, or Epictetus, or Marcus Aurelius, it was not any great Stoic, but an obscure Christian monk, who by one great act of daring put an end to the infamous gladiatorial games of ancient Rome. It was not the philosophy of the Academy, but the spirit of the Christian Church, which smote the apparently invincible institution of slavery in the high places of its strength. Culture may sharpen the intellect and refine the taste; it is *religion only* which can touch the heart and purify the emotions. If we desire that the decade on which we are now entering should be more glorious than the last, it will be effected by asserting (not in the spirit of proselytism, but of Christian freedom) that, in the language of an Order in Council passed forty years ago, "all intellectual instruction shall be subordinate to the regulation of the thoughts and habits of children by the doctrines and principles of revealed religion."

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. WALTER CARR.

I SHOULD not have ventured to send in my card but upon the ground that having held an incumbency in the midland district for ten years, during which time I have not only been a member of a School Board, but have been five years chairman, I have had an opportunity of seeing the two systems side by side. A great deal has been said which I, for one, have been thankful to hear, on behalf of the School Boards. My chief desire is to say that grievous injury was sometimes done, and perhaps done unintentionally, by the slighting remarks which were sometimes passed by the clergy against the religious education given in the Board schools. I yield to no man in the wish that all the education of the country might have been carried on by the Church schools, but that was impossible. There are large numbers of schoolmasters who are doing their best honestly and conscientiously to give as real and true religious instruction as the Act permitted them. These men regret that they cannot give religious instruction of a more definite character, and they feel it very hard to hear harsh words said by the clergy in comparing the religious education which is given in the Church schools to that which is given in the Board schools. While we might give more distinctive teaching in the Board schools, we owe a debt of most profound gratitude to Mr. Forster for having, in the face of great political objection, and against the feeling of many of his friends, insisted on religious education being permitted in Board schools, and there are very few schools indeed in which it is not given. Another point. Those who have already spoken say that Board schools will not have a great number of applicants for the position of teachers in the Board schools who are Churchmen. Now I have had to do with the appointment of many teachers, and I do not exaggerate when I say that of the many who apply for the positions of teachers in Board schools, five-sixths are Churchmen and Church-women. I do not think they are to be condemned for so applying; on the contrary, they deserve every encouragement, as Church teachers were frequently snubbed by the School Boards and left out in the cold. And, moreover, this was true in regard to the teachers. In widespread parishes children will go to the nearest school, no matter what it is, and where we find that the pupil teachers in Board Schools are Churchmen, something should be done for them, and they ought to have the same advantages with regard to religious instruction as the pupil teachers in the Church schools. With regard to the general question of education, something was said by the last speaker in reference to secondary education being a necessity in schools. I recently read that the people in the manufacturing districts are feeling particularly hostile towards it. They think that whilst they might be fairly taxed to pay money for the three R's, they ought not to pay for anything beyond it. I hope this impression can be removed. In my own parish I know the local rates for School Board purposes amount to many pounds, but I feel sure there are many parents amongst the working-classes who, if secondary schools were established, would contribute towards an increased fee for the extra education, and there will be found numbers of wealthy people who would give sums of money to enable their children to be sent to the secondary schools. It is said that the compulsory clauses are not taken advantage of in the provinces in the same way that they are in London. I do not think that is the case, so far as the School Boards are concerned. The greatest obstacles to the working of the compulsory clauses—the people who made it most difficult to work

them properly, and who encouraged parents to keep their children from school—were the magistrates. They push aside the cases against the parents, increase the expenses enormously by adjourning them, and teach defaulting parents that the whole thing is a sham, and lead them to resist the School Board and its officers. This is the state of things throughout the country, and something must be done to diminish very largely the cases.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON, M.P. (Shropshire).

THE School Board system is on its trial in this room, and we hope that this is one of the means by which public opinion may be educated in the matter. As reasonable Englishmen we have accepted the School Board system, and our criticism—however severe it might be—is consequently intended not to upset it, but to improve it. Whatever might be said, it is said in a kindly spirit. This is a popular institution—it cannot suffer from criticism. One thing which is most necessary to School Boards is competition, and therefore if I desire to destroy School Boards I should like to see the whole of the voluntary system done away with. I believe the voluntary system is a great advantage to the School Board, and I think the managers of School Boards think so too. But I wish to warn the voluntary system against a threatened danger. It is no secret that there is a small, active, powerful body, who would destroy altogether the voluntary system, and I want to point out the particular mode in which they intend to act, and in which, if they succeed, they will inevitably destroy the voluntary system throughout the country. Their *modus operandi* is to rate the voluntary schools at a very high rate; so high, indeed, are the sums charged that the mere recital of them will clearly show their injustice. The school at Upper Sydenham pays £31 a year, at Lower Sydenham £47, at Rotherhithe £70 a year, and in another place, which I cannot mention, the sum is £100 a year. We cannot too quickly see that this system is checked. It does not matter how much the School Board is rated at, because that is a mere book account, which goes on at one side and off at the other. This system is intended, by those who are urging it on, to destroy the voluntary schools by making them pay the rate at which the Board Schools would be assessed at. With the schools of private persons, the effect of such rates might easily be disastrous, and I hope that public opinion will prevent such a state of affairs to be allowed to exist in the future. Let me point out another matter. We have this School Board system in order to give an education to the poorest of the poor; but it does not do it. It does not touch the gutter children, and it seems to me that we should see that they do touch them. This was one of the chief reasons for their formation, and they should be prevented from giving education of a higher class than was ever intended, or to children whose parents can afford to pay for their tuition elsewhere. The endeavour to teach science and physiology in Board schools is not only a waste of time, but an injury to education. This is fully borne out by many of the inspectors of schools, and should be stopped. We might fairly ask the managers of School Boards to perform the humble duty for which they were elected, and not to neglect the training of the poor, for the sake of giving a fancy training to those who will do them more credit at the examination. If I could give any advice to those School Board teachers, it would be that they should fling away their ambitious aims and humble themselves to the task for which they were intended. Let them direct all their energies to the discharge of a duty which is imperative if the nation has to be raised from the ignorance in which it has so long been sunk.

THE REV. HENRY MARTIN.

ONE advantage of the parochial system is that in every parish there is a clergyman who accepts a certain responsibility with respect to all the children in his parish. Another advantage is that where he has schools, those schools have the advantage of the personal interest which they can claim from him. This is an advantage which the Board Schools can never have. The disadvantage is that the parish work is carried on separately and there is no unanimity or working together, not even in a large town. There should be, in every large town, a central council of Churchmen, whose duty it would be, not to interfere with any parish or clergyman in whose parish the work is going on satisfactorily, but to look after the Church schools that require looking after and to encourage the opportunities which the Church might have for carrying on its schools, keeping before them the main point—that the poorer children are not neg-

lected. Where there is a large percentage of passes of children in Board Schools, we can make sure that it is secured, by neglecting the education of the lowest and poorest children.

Mr. H. C. RICHARDS (Barrister, London).

I HAVE always made it my first duty, as a member of the School Management Committee of the London School Board, to look after the interests of the Church of which I am a member. Of course I do not neglect the interests of education, but I find that there is a party who are most anxious to have education without religion. I thoroughly believe that the School Board leaves gutter children untouched, and I am astonished to hear a Church of England clergyman make a charge against the magistrates. I believe that the magistrates exercise a very wise discretion, and I much regret that a clergyman should have sought to make the Church unpopular by counselling the utmost rigour of the law. A member of Parliament has attacked the training colleges simply because the religious body to which he belonged—the Congregationalists—were more anxious to devote their money to political purposes than Churchmen, and the consequence is that they have only one training college. My advice to Churchmen is to stand by the training colleges, and to see that in the schools the religious portion of the instruction is not reduced or restricted, either by the negligence of teachers or otherwise. The Birmingham Leaguers and the "conscientious parent" are about as intelligible to the ordinary intellect as the "aggrieved parishioner." The parents desire religious instruction, and it is the duty of the Church to see that these children are not deprived of it.

The Hon. and Rev. W. H. FREMANTLE.

I THINK there is still a tendency among the Church people to disparage the School Boards, instead of making the best of them, and endeavouring to treat them fairly. In some of Canon Gregory's statistics I could not help thinking that he was unfair, and I hope that this spirit will not be long in disappearing from the minds of Churchmen. With regard to the ragged schools, I think it is desirable that they should be done away with altogether. I do not agree with the remarks of the Archdeacon of Durham with regard to the election of School Boards. Far from eliminating the question of religious education, I believe that the more that question is agitated and brought before the minds of the people, the greater will be the response to it. With respect to what is called the Church party, to which a previous speaker has already alluded, we must take care how we deal with it. I believe that party has done more harm in London than any other body by making most disparaging remarks about the system adopted by the London School Board, and raising up a strong party in opposition to them, the result being that the Church is frequently dragged through the mire. I believe that if we treat the School Board system with perfect trustfulness, and endeavour to make the very best of it, the differences between Church and Board Schools will gradually be smoothed away.

MR. BYRON REED (Darlington).

I SHOULD like to re-echo the sentiments to which Mr. Richards gave expression—those of surprise that an English clergyman should have been found to condemn the magistrates for a want of harshness towards recalcitrant parents. One of my most painful duties as a member of a School Board is to sit and inquire into cases which are brought before the members of the Board, prior to being taken before the magistrates, of parents not having sent their children to school. Of every twenty parents brought before us, only one can be said to belong to the careless class. I find that if magistrates err on the side of justice and mercy it is in deference to that popular feeling which no party can afford to overlook. School Boards, I venture to think, are unpopular with the great mass of the ratepayers, and this for two reasons. Firstly, because the School Board as a body is frequently asking for precepts from the Town Council; and secondly, because of its compulsory powers being harshly and unduly exercised. Another reason is that the School Board system has been made the stalking horse by one political party for the purpose of redressing grievances in Church and State. We have the matter in our own hands, and we have ourselves to blame if on going into the field of action we do not come out victorious. My advice to Churchmen

is to cross swords on every possible occasion with the political Dissenter and stump orator, and by the right of the numerical majority of Churchmen to protect these threatened interests which we hold most dear.

*Summary of Rev. T. J. LAWRENCE'S Speech.**

MR. LAWRENCE said that, as far as his experience went, it would not be wise to adopt the School Board system for thinly-peopled and poor country districts. Generally in such parishes the clergyman was the only person who really cared about education, or had the slightest notion of the way to manage a school. The farmers were either indifferent or hostile to the education of their labourers; and the only thought of a Board consisting chiefly or inclusively of them would be to cut down expenses to the lowest point possible. Moreover, in a small place, a School Board was a very expensive piece of machinery. A small voluntary rate might support a voluntary school, when a large compulsory rate would be necessary to support a less efficient Board school. In his own parish, with the aid of a most zealous mistress, he had overcome the difficulty about attendance by allowing all the school children to be placed by their parents in the parish clothing club, and giving a bonus to each child who kept the necessary number of attendances, the bonus being doubled if the child also passed at the annual inspection. On the other hand, if a child did not attend the proper number of times, it simply received back at the end of the year the sum paid into the club in its name. This system worked admirably. It made parents anxious to send their children regularly, and anxious also that they should learn their lessons properly. He, himself, was a sort of voluntary attendance officer, looking up, in the course of parochial visitation, any children who had been absent from school without good cause. The result of the whole plan was that, at a recent inspection, every child of school age, but one, earned the grant for attendance, and every child presented for examination passed in every subject taken up. He thought that the present system of half-time did not suit rural districts. When a farmer got a team out, he wanted a whole day's work from them, which he could not get if the boys employed to lead the horses had to leave in the middle of the day to go to afternoon school. What was required was a change in the law to enable children to go to work for one or two whole days, and then to school for a corresponding time. And he would couple such a change with another, making it illegal to employ full time in agriculture any child under thirteen or fourteen.

The discussion was continued by Revs. E. Miller, T. Carr, J. J. Hannah, and the Chairman, the reporter's notes of which have unfortunately been lost.

TOWN HALL, FRIDAY MORNING,

OCTOBER 6.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

Archdeacon EMERY announced further subscriptions to the Newcastle Bishopric Fund amounting to £1,900, of which £900 at least might be taken as resulting from the appeal of the Bishop of Manchester.

Archdeacon EMERY also stated that it was usual on the last day of their meeting to announce the name of the town selected for the next Congress. At the present time, however, he was not in a position to make the usual announcement, for the simple reason that their next meeting-place had not been determined upon. The Consultative Committee of the Congress would meet in November in order to decide the

* Reporter's notes lost.

matter ; but meanwhile it was necessary to have some invitations from such places as were willing to receive the Congress. They would be carefully received by the committee.

THE HELPS AND HINDRANCES TO THE SPIRITUAL LIFE WHICH ARISE FROM THE RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR ACTIVITIES OF THE DAY.

The PRESIDENT.

WE have been lingering hitherto in the Courts and colonnades of the Temple. This morning we are entering the inner sanctuary ; and therefore we will stand in awe and keep silence. It has been the rule of Congress that on this occasion there shall be no expressions of applause. I am sure you will feel that this rule ought to be observed on this occasion. There is one other point—I think I may request that newspapers may be laid aside.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF BEDFORD.

THESE activities are like fire, which according to the proverb is a good servant, but a bad master.

There is no doubt as to the *fact*. Our lot is cast in an age marked by rapid motion. The contemplative life is out of fashion. The life of the recluse, the monk's cell, the hermit's cave—these are to most men unintelligible vagaries. Martha is certainly a more popular character than Mary. There is rapid thinking, and there is rapid acting ; partly from the simple spirit of eager activity which is abroad, and partly from the amazing multiplicity of subjects whether of thought or of action. And this equally in the religious and in the secular spheres of life, because belonging to a character pervading all spheres.

If I were regarding only the highest and best, I think I should mourn over the loss of the quietness and calm in which souls have grown to a maturity of holiness and a strength of perfected grace, which are rare indeed in our busy bustling age. But I am regarding man as he is, and I have little doubt that far more are at all times likely to be enslaved by indolence, and to suffer from an empty life, than to be demoralised by over-activity of either thinking or doing. So that, while holding an age of activities to be unfavourable to the development of pre-eminent saintliness, I believe it to be on the whole wholesomer for the ordinary type of manhood than an age of quiescence. If our blessed Lord spent thirty years in calm silent growth, and preparation for His great work, yet in His three supreme years—those years which the Holy Spirit surely sets before mankind as framing within their brief compass the finished picture of perfected manhood—He stands out marked and characterised far more by the active than by the contemplative features of His manifold life. It is only a sample of what must have often happened when we read of His crossing the lake for rest and quiet, and, instead, spending the whole day in teaching and healing and feeding. Nor is the great example wrought out in any of His saints more perfectly than in him who was “in labours more abundant” than any, labouring “night and day,” after the pattern of Him

"who went about doing good." So that, if the tone and temper of this age impose upon us manifold activities, there is no reason why this should set us farther off from Christ. If rightly used, these activities may be rather helps than hindrances. I suppose most of us would be prepared to admit the helpfulness of a life of active service. We often complain of the pressure of multitudinous duties and occupations, and say we have no time for quiet thought, no leisure for silent communing with our own heart and with God. Yet do we really doubt that abundant occupation is wholesomer than abundant leisure? Are we so sure that, if we had the leisure, we should think the more, and read the more, and pray the more? Is it not as I said—that, while for pure and holy spirits the calmer life of greater leisure might be very blessed, yet for most of us the leisure would rather bring increase of temptation and peril of indolence? Is it not perhaps possible to test ourselves in part by our own experience of seasons of greater leisure, as, for example, a holiday by the seaside? Might we not gather some conclusions as to the helps or hindrances of our busy lives by asking whether during such a holiday we really find ourselves enjoying the opportunity of calm meditation and larger communing with God, of the lack of which we complain in our ordinary lives of active work? I believe that most of us have reason to thank God when He gives opportunity and capacity for abundant labour. It saves from much evil, both positive and negative. And when the occupation is, as in all lives it ought to be more or less, for the good of others, it is then trebly blessed, lifting us above that subtle selfishness which is the bane of so many lives, and teaching us thankworthy lessons of reality, and of humility, and of Christ-like love and sympathy. To the man of business, whose daily routine of work might make him hard and dry and formal, some work among the poor, snatched even from scanty hours of leisure or of rest, will (as Dr. Arnold says) prove "one of the most certain softeners of his moral skin, and sweeteners of his blood." There are moods and tempers in all lives which need the remedial outlet of works of charity. "As a help in soothing and relieving your pent-up feelings," writes Keble to one who had consulted him, "get into a regular course of some kind of charitable visiting among poor and distressed people." There is deep truth (though of course we must not forget the possibility of grave error) in the saying, "*Laborare est orare.*"

But what shall we say when we turn to activities of another sort? Let us admit that *outward* activity (within due limits) has its helpful and wholesome aspect. But activity of thought—the eager pursuit of all information, the restless spirit of universal inquiry, the fearless re-opening of all sealed and docketed parcels of knowledge to test their soundness, the intense strain of introspective scrutiny—are these things a help or a hindrance to the spiritual life? Well; I suppose, like most things, they may be one or the other. But I am at present looking about for *helps*, and I do not roam in blank despair over this region of mental activity. I find in it at least two great sources of strength and hope: one belonging mainly to the intellectual, and the other to the moral part of our being. The former lies in the fact that truth which has been sifted and tried and tested is an infinitely more precious possession than truth lightly accepted and loosely held. Of course objectively the truth is the same, whatever the nature or degree of its

acceptance. But to the holder the truth becomes, if one may so speak, far truer, if, after all attempts to shake it, it still stands firm. I am not now discussing the question of the comparative loss or gain of this tremendous inquisition. I only know that, if souls which would once have gone on their way unquestioning, *supposing* things they had been taught were true, but in no worthy sense *believing* them,—if these have now let go what would at any time have been a feeble and nerveless hold of truth, there are other souls now grasping the truth with a firm, steady, rejoicing strength, because they have questioned and been satisfied, and know that what is in their hand is worth holding fast. Truth thus gained and thus held, is of the 'gold, silver, and precious stones,' with which the soul builds up that inner shrine which shall withstand the testing fire.

The second help which I find in the mental activity of the age lies in the depth and reality of self-knowledge. It seems to me that the determined search after truth, when turned inwards on the heart and conscience, is a great help to honesty of feeling and clearness of moral conception. We cannot put up with forms and phrases, shams and conventionalities. The current literature of the day, whether secular or religious, witnesses to the tendency to sift motives, and gauge and measure spiritual forces, and draw delicate portraits of subtle frames of mind. Here again the tendency may easily become morbid, and hinder instead of help. An introspective habit of mind is unhealthy enough if not counterbalanced by the grasp of objective truth. But I cannot but hold that in this phase of mental activity we have in these days a help to tenderness of conscience, and delicate discrimination of motive, and perspicuity of self-knowledge, greater than existed in days of simpler outlook upon external truth, and broader and more roughly drawn lines of right and wrong.

We can then look up to God and accept, not without trembling, but not without thankfulness, the busy, active, hurrying spirit of the age. Work is one of His good gifts. It will not hurt our spiritual life if wrought as in His sight and as the acceptance of His will. If the open eye of Faith keep before us the presence of the unseen, even the busiest life is blest. Men need not be hard because busy, nor worldly because always occupied. Ejaculatory prayer sanctifies the fleeting hours of toil; and they are happy who live

"Plying their daily task with busier feet,
Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat."

So, when tempted to ask for the solitude and repose of a life of contemplation, and to rebel against God's appointment for us of a life of active labour, we will say, with Archbishop Trench:

"Oh, let us not this thought allow,
The heat, the dust upon our brow,
Signs of the contest we may wear;
Yet thus we shall appear more fair
In our Almighty Master's eye:
Than if, in fear to lose the bloom,
Or ruffle the soul's lightest plume,
We from the strife should fly."

The *hindrances* to the spiritual life in the activities of the age lie

more on the surface and are easier to describe than the helps. Let me, as before, speak first of the outward and afterwards of the inward activities.

Plainly in a life of incessant occupation there is great danger of the neglect of prayer and of the study of God's Word. It is not only that the time seems all filled up, but that the heart, too, seems all filled up with other things; and it requires much resolution and persistency to rescue even a very small portion of time and of heart for God. "The world is too much with us," and God a great deal too little. It is of little use suggesting hindrances if one does not suggest remedies. I would strongly urge the immense importance of securing a quiet half-hour first thing in the morning for prayer and devotional reading, before the mind is caught in 'the fretful stir unprofitable,' and filled with the din and turmoil of the day. Even a very short midday prayer will also be a help, and I would once more remind myself and others how much the busiest life may be hallowed by the practice of ejaculatory prayer.

Then again there is a peril, even in a life of active usefulness and labour for others, lest outward service be mistaken for inward devotion, and so become itself a hindrance to the spiritual life. It is so easy for many to be active, and so pleasant to be useful, that they are ensnared into a self-satisfied contentment with what is in reality all outward and superficial. There is a very serious danger of activity, in this busy age, running all into the channel of work, and leaving the channel of devotion dry. A full hand and an empty heart—is this so rare? We have need to watch that the inner life of the spirit dwindle not, from indolence or from disuse of its energies, while the outer life of action is maintained in full vigour.

It seems to me that if ever "Retreats" and "Quiet Days" and devotional gatherings of whatever kind they may be, were needed, it must be in these hurrying days of ours.

But I turn once more to the intellectual activities of the age as bearing upon the religious life. The hindrances here are very real; and, though I have tried to show that they are not unmixed with helps, yet one must be indeed blind to the great features of the age we live in if one could make light of the perils which accompany the restless activity of thought and inquiry which prevails. Old truths are so assailed with questionings, old creeds so bespattered with doubts and objections, that the definiteness of the early Faith of the Church is bedimmed, and all sharpness of outline blurred and obscured to many an anxious saddened eye straining to behold the truth. The soul cannot rest in mists and uncertainties. It craves distinctness and certainty; and its spring of motive and energy is weakened in proportion to the weakening of its grasp on truth. And so, many souls, unable to pierce the veil of mistiness which has been drawn across their sky, and to behold the calm eternal heaven's blue beyond, sink down after a few struggles into a state of apathy and weariness and indifference to all truth.

Well, this is a very wide and a very difficult subject, and yet I dare not thus point out the all too obvious danger, and not add one word of counsel for those to whom this danger may have come. Surely we want humility to distrust our own powers and the hasty assertions of an age of transition, and to wait. We want a due recollection of the nature of the truths and of the evidence with which we have to do in spiritual

things ; not looking for mathematical demonstration on the one hand, nor for the evidence of sight on the other, when we have to walk as yet by faith. We want a recognition of the strength of the argument supplied by the experience of Christian souls, who have *known* the power of the Holy Spirit in the renewal and sanctification of their being. "If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from Myself." Above all, we want to escape out of the spirit of mere argument, and to understand that there are other elements in the question, and other spheres of evidence, than such as submit themselves to rules of logic or tournaments of wit.

In conclusion, we are here in this eager inquiring nineteenth century and in this busy active energetic England. We have to do our best with our surroundings ; they are of God's appointing, and may be used for His glory. If we are naturally tempted to indolence and apathy, we will thank God for the incitements we find to energy of thought and action. If we are in peril through restlessness and excitability, we will walk warily, and seek our strength in "quietness and confidence." We will try to make our life and our work real, simple, and true, neither overstraining ourselves by attempting more than is within our power, nor desponding because we cannot do all things at once. We may well meditate on a sentence in the "Imitation of Christ," with which I will end : "Love is life's only sign"—"for God weigheth more with how much love a man worketh than how much he doeth. He doeth much that loveth much. He doeth much that doeth a thing well."

THE REV. CANON HOARE.

THE whole world seems in a hurry—we are all moving on by express trains, some to do good, some to do harm, and some simply to pursue our own interests. Thus there is a vast contrast between the religious condition of the Church fifty years ago, and that of the present day. The characteristic of those days was stagnation ; the characteristic of the present time activity. Our business is to consider what effect this great change is calculated to have on the spiritual life. The question assumes, of course, that there is such a thing as spiritual life, and the subject relates to those only who possess it ; so that the question is whether that life, when a real thing, is hindered or helped in its growth and power by the bustling activity of the Church and the world.

I. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the varied activities of the day may be an immense help to the spiritual life. (1.) They supply opportunities of bringing forth fruit unto God. The beauty of life is fruitfulness, and one of the blessed results of the activities now prevailing is that they provide abundant openings for the development of Christian zeal. In days of stagnation, if persons' hearts were filled with zeal for the Lord's service they were compelled in many cases either to check their zeal, or to strike out new paths for themselves ; and the result was that there were multitudes of quiet, humble, timid believers whose hearts were filled with the love of Christ, and who longed to be employed for their Lord, but who were quite at a loss for any sphere in which to put forth their energy. But now all is changed. There are

openings in every direction. There is wholesome work for every peculiarity of mind ; and if only God gives the zeal, the varied activities of the present day are sure to supply some healthy sphere for its development. (2.) Activity promotes health. It cannot give life, but it can help to make life healthy. What would become of your arm if you were to keep it in a sling? and what must become of a soul if it does nothing but nurse itself? If we desire to make morbid, sickly, unhealthy Christians, and to see people the prey of doubt, discontent, and vain imaginations, the surest possible mode of doing it is to shut them off from the active service of Christian life, and leave them to feed on their own failures. If our powers are to grow they must be used. If habits are to be formed there must be habitual action. If selfishness is to be overcome we must be drawn out of self to others ; and if we are to be kept from vain imagination we shall find the best possible human preservative is plenty of useful and unselfish work. Whether therefore we look at fruitfulness in the Lord's service, or at the healthiness of our own souls, there cannot be a moment's doubt that the activities of the present day may be, and constantly are, a great help to spiritual life.

II. But they may also be a hindrance. The same things which may help may hinder, and there cannot be a doubt that activity as well as seclusion has its own peculiar temptations.

(1.) Activity hinders the spiritual life when it is too much for the nervous system. Some people have much more capacity for work than others. They do it quicker, and with less friction. The result is that some people are broken down by work which others can get through with ease. Now you may strain your mind as well as your wrist or your ankle. You may become entangled in more than you can thoroughly master. Instead of being master of your work, your work may become master of you. The result is a sense of hurry, incompleteness and dissatisfaction. The whole nervous system is overtaxed and strained, and the natural result is restlessness, irritability, with the loss of domestic enjoyment. A person may be so overstrained, that he cannot bear the noise of his own children's happiness. Let no one suppose that such work as that can be anything but a hindrance to spiritual life.

(2.) Activity hinders spiritual life when it is allowed to hinder stated, regular, and habitual communion with God. Work for God is no substitute for intercourse with God. We may be exceedingly active in God's service, but that cannot take the place of living habitually in His presence. Thus many of the busiest men have been amongst the most systematic in securing their stated seasons of retirement with God. Sir H. Havelock, even in his hurried march to Lucknow, secured every morning two hours before he marched, for the study of the Scriptures and private intercourse with God. That holy, that pure, that wise man, Archbishop Sumner, was up every morning for some hours before he joined the breakfast-table, and he told me himself, that he did not allow that time to be intruded on by business, but regarded it as sacred, set apart for communion with God. That was the secret of the holy, calm, placid, and peaceful spirit which was so conspicuous in his whole life and conversation. He had been with the Lord in the morning, and he was walking with him all through the day. When that is done, activity is no hindrance to the life, but a help. It becomes indeed a

means of grace, for it calls forth the spirit of prayer, and leads a person all through the day in and out of the presence-chamber of God. But on the other hand, when a person begins to think that he has no time for such stated communion, when he is too tired at night, and too much hurried in the morning; when he has no time to study the Scriptures, and when, if he rises early, he does it simply to work, there is great danger of that work drawing off the very life-blood from his heart. He may be very diligent, very clever, very ready; and he may have the reputation of an active philanthropist. But meanwhile he may have leanness withal in his soul, and the whole freshness of his spiritual life may be withered up by the very activity which the world admires.

(3.) The same principle applies to the Lord's Day. I believe that there is no power in human language to describe the unspeakable value of the joyous blessing which God has given us in that day set apart for Himself; and as for spiritual life, I am persuaded that a delightful Sunday, "holy of the Lord and honourable," is beyond all doubt essential to its progress. But the moment that we become so hurried by the activities of life that we allow them to intrude on the sacred enclosure of our God, that moment we shall begin to experience their deadening power. It matters little in what form the work is undertaken. It may be in account-keeping, or business letter-writing, or even in the preparation of sermons. It may be distinctly secular work, or work for religious objects, but if it be work at all it will mar the holy repose of the sacred day; and by so doing will weaken the power of the life. In saying this I am not alluding to those whose delightful office it is to minister to the Lord in His sanctuary, or to teach for Him in His schools. Such labour as that should scarcely be called work, but rather regarded as amongst the most sacred joys of the day of rest. But preparation is work; careful study for either the sermon or the lesson—that is work; and when people find that the activities in the midst of which we live, so absorb the six days set apart for work, that when Sunday comes we have to do the work of taking in, in addition to the happy privilege of giving out, even that privilege may become a burden, and the Monday may find us more worn than refreshed by what ought to have been the joyous rest of the previous day.

(4.) Activity will become a hindrance to spiritual life when we rely on it for our religious stimulus. There is something very exciting in work. It calls forth our energies, it kindles our zeal, and in many cases actually quickens prayer. Thus it is a very possible thing that the excitement of activity may imperceptibly become a substitute for quiet and abiding union with the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. The leaves may be kept on the tree artificially, even though there is no sap flowing into it from the vine. This explains how it is that some persons, who have been foremost in active usefulness, have been terribly harassed in their own souls after the failure of their strength. Activity in the day of health was made a substitute for the Lord Jesus Christ Himself; and then, when activity became impossible, there was a fearful collapse. When the activity is the fruit of an abiding union, it only strengthens that union, and then, when God brings it to an end, the union remains, and the holy fellowship becomes more precious than ever to the soul; but the moment that activity becomes a substitute it excites but cannot satisfy; and by turning the thoughts to that which is human, exciting, and transitory,

it draws off the dependence from that which is divine, satisfying, and eternal.

On the whole, then, we may conclude that there are great helps and great hindrances in the various activities of modern life. We may bless and praise God for the multiplied and magnificent openings which He has made for Christian work. We may endeavour to keep pace with the times, and throw into all we undertake the utmost energy with which the Lord has gifted us. We may act on the apostolic appeal that now it is high time to awake out of sleep. The world is awake; the intellect is awake; sin is awake; the Church is awake; and we must be awake ourselves. But, whatever we are doing, we must never forget that if our activities are of any value they must be fruit, the sacred fruit of a living union with the Son of God. That union, therefore, must be the first object of our lives. The work that springs from it will do no harm to any one; but work without it, work that is intended to lead up to it, or work that allows no time for it, may attract the admiration of the world, may keep up the stimulus of those who are engaged in it as long as it lasts; but it cannot last for ever, and when it is over it will leave the poor soul with all excitement passed away, and nothing remaining as the satisfying source of life and peace before the Lord.

The Rev. G. BODY.

WITH startling rapidity the course of events seems to me to be translating prophecy into history. The age in which we live is marked by two features—its restless movements and its ever-extending knowledge. By the triumphs of mechanical skill the barriers of space have been overthrown. By the triumphs of scientific thinkers time itself seems to have been subdued. The vision of the old Hebrew prophet is at length after many centuries a realised fact: "Many shall run to and fro on the earth, and knowledge shall increase." Doubtless the circumstances of to-day have brought many trying conditions for spiritual life. As we have been forewarned, so it is. True, all through its course the day of Christ has been the day of Anti-Christ. But anti-Christian influences are specially active and powerful to-day. Christian society, Christian faith, Christian morality, all seem to be in a state of disintegration. The allegiance of men to the prophetic, priestly, kingly rule of the Son of Mary is everywhere being severely tested; and under this test many are withdrawing from their allegiance to Him. The advancing secularization of thought, both speculative and practical, in this age of mental activity, is beyond doubt a serious hindrance to spiritual life. Spiritual life must have a dogmatic basis, for it is a life lived in conformity to the revealed will of God. It is a creed in action. Hence an age of indefinite belief is harmful to the Christian character. Again, the idolatry of work brings its hindrances. There is much anxiety about doing, and but little thought about being. Formation of character is sacrificed to success in life, and this in every sphere of action, religious as well as secular. We seem powerless to resist the onward rushing stream of restless activity. Our thinkers write too rapidly—there is no maturing of thought. How seldom do we receive through the press a book like "Wilberforce on the Incarnation," like Westcott's "St. John." Our men

of practical action are too fond of novelties in their restless impatience to attain to large and immediate results. Our men, gifted with the splendid gifts of imagination and sympathy—and how splendid is their power when in harmonious combination!—are carried away, first into extravagant action and then into an intense depression in their pursuit of high ideals, true in themselves but not realisable in a fallen race. And all the while *the* work of life, which is the formation of personal character by the harmonious development of each portion of our complex nature, is, if not wholly neglected, at least remitted to a secondary place in our thoughts and life. Oh for a St. Bernard to cry out with power the great message, “*Vacare Considerationi!*” Characters are marred, life’s work fails in reaching its highest ends, men live more and more under the dark cloud of pessimism, because of the restlessness of unlimited activity. “*Tu primus tibi et tu ultimus.*” What we *are* will in eternity fix our state. Therefore, duty makes the formation of character the first work of life. But a yet more serious hindrance of this restless age I believe to be its over-developed emotionalism. It is pre-eminently a psychical age—it loves the luxury of stirred emotions. Passion is becoming too prominent in politics, an æstheticism which is not moral but confessedly emotional is rampant on every hand. Power to stir emotion is more valued than ability to guide intellect, or even than holiness of life. The actor, whether on the stage, or on the platform, or in the pulpit, is more appreciated than the seer or the prophet. This craving for emotional pleasure is affecting our religious life. We see it in a development of a mere æsthetic ceremonial divorced from dogmatic significance and discipline in life. Ritual in its place, as a part of the Divine system of the Church, is, at least in my eyes, indeed precious. But divorced from the control of dogma and of discipline, its ministry is simply harmful. It makes the worship of God to be the occasion of mere subjective pleasure. Taste, not truth, regulates it. If Ritual does not express the conviction of the mind, the love of the heart and the oblation of the will, it is worse than a sham—it insults the God to whom it is offered and degrades the man who offers it. This craving for emotionalism is also to be seen in modern revivalism too often. The place assigned to women as preachers in the Salvation Army and other evangelistic movements is an evidence of this. For, at all events, when addressing men, a woman’s preaching has a strong psychical character. Of its harmfulness I have no doubt. It is contrary to the Bible. History has ever taught the final unwisdom of deviating from Bible ways; however, for the moment, success seems to crown the novelty. It cries with earnest tones of warning, “*De bonis non de novis sumamus exemplum.*” But the disobedient novelty of this practice is not its only great cause of alarm. There is also the fostering of a temper which leads men to think that spiritual life is an emotional experience rather than a life of obedience to duty as the revelation to us of the mind of God. In my heart, I believe religious emotionalism to be Satan’s most powerful counterfeit in this day of a religion which, in its essence, consists in holiness of character and righteousness of life.

These three prominent hindrances are the direct results of modern activity. They meet Christian men everywhere as they live in and breathe the atmosphere of the world as it is to-day. Consciously or un-

consciously, we are all acted on by them. Our wisdom lies in recognising their ceaseless activity.

There is yet another powerful hindrance, which is the result not of secular but of religious activity—I mean that of a spirit of religious intolerance. If this is not an age of religious sanctity, it is beyond question an age of religious zeal. Proofs of this abound on every hand. The land is covered with churches reared or restored by Christian liberality. The enthusiasm of charity is everywhere manifesting itself by creating and sustaining an organized conflict with human ills. The past hundred years or so has seen the rise and progress of that great missionary spirit which has already borne such glorious fruits of sacrifice, and will yet bear more. Whilst the antagonism of the world to the Crucified has become more pronounced, the earnest devotion of Christians to Him has become increasingly manifest. The hearts of Christians are deeply stirred : thought has become more definite, religious policy more shaped. But earnestness has its dangers, unless it be wedded with large-heartedness. Definiteness of conviction may produce serious hindrances to spiritual life, and will do so unless it be accompanied with breadth of mind. Earnestness divorced from the guidance and restraints of the virtue of charity ! How sad is its story as written in the pages of the past. Then when earnestness is under the sway of the human spirit men become like Jehus, seeking to manifest their zeal for the Lord by a policy of intolerance, which is not only cruel in spirit but unscrupulous in its use of means. They who are swayed by this spirit become ungenerous in judgment, suspicious in spirit, warped in mind, narrowed in sympathy, and so, too often, un-Christlike in character. God save us from all the baneful effects of the intolerant earnestness of party spirit ! Collision of thought there must be. The seeming paradoxes of the revelation of an Infinite Mind to finite creatures will find expression in varied thought within the Church—but the conflicts of thought must be waged in the spirit of charity, with restrainedness of language and kindness of judgment and wide sympathy of heart. Charity is the very essence of Christian life—charity is the one arresting feature of the Christian character. Against its Satan's attacks are ever specially directed, seeking to destroy its empire in the soul—and the special form wherewith he attacks this Christian virtue to-day is that of religious intolerance. Who has not grieved at seeing many a venerated Christian character with its beauty marred by this most unlovely sin ?

Four great hindrances to spiritual life arising out of the activities of the age are, then : the secularization of thought, the idolatry of work, the undue craving for emotionalism, and the sin of intolerance. Yet, by the providence of God, the age in which these hindrances are so mighty has within itself that which is needed to overcome these hindrances, and to reach the highest heights of Christian life. I do not look with longing eyes to the conditions of Christian life in other days—I am no *laudator temporis acti*. With all its dangers and its difficulties, I believe there never was a time when the grandeur of Christian living was more realisable than it is to-day. Progress is the law of God everywhere—science reveals it in the material creation, history reveals it in the family of man, revelation reveals it in the life of the Church, faith in the inworking of the Holy Spirit makes one look forward, and not back, for true ideals. The very catastrophes of national or ecclesiastical life which look like retro-

gression, time shows to have been steps in progress. The awful day of Anti-Christ itself is but the birth-throes of a purified world. It is the day of the regeneration of the race through the discipline of that last great trial. Fatal would it be for us, as a Church, were the spirit of archaism to sway our hopes and efforts. The past is gone, we cannot recall it—we cannot reconstruct it. Antique ceremonial uses and mediæval systems of thought are buried in a distant past, or, rather, they live on only as they are incorporate in the present. You may as well try to vivify an interesting geological specimen in Professor Owen's museum at South Kensington, as to make a living religious power of fossilized forms of Christianity: "The spirit of the Lord filleth the whole world, and He that containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice." This age is an age in which one can clearly see the Spirit of Christ creating conditions of Christian life which are correctives of the evil workings of the spirit of Anti-Christ. The activities of the world and the Church are stirred together. The movements of the one are met by the movements of the other.

(1.) Thus the age which is conspicuous for its secularization of thought has been the age of a great dogmatic movement of a most arresting nature. History will chronicle the revival of Catholic theology in the English Church as one of the most striking features of this century, alike in the power with which it has checked the onward wave of unbelief and in the enthusiasm for Christian truth that it has fostered. Called into prominence by the political victories of the secularizing spirit, it had at first a prophetic rather than an evangelistic aspect. But in its witness men have been brought face to face with the question of the basis of religious belief. Is the Incarnation of the Eternal Son of God a myth or a fact? If it be a myth, then dogma is immoral; but if it be a truth, then it is the logical sequence of the truth. The utterances of a Divine Person must be authoritative, simply because He is Divine. The posture of a created mind before One recognised as God must be that of intellectual submission. No position can be more contrary to reason than that which bids me suspend assent to any statement that comes to me with the sanction of a Divine utterance. The one corrective to the anti-Christian secularization of thought is supplied us in that intellectual position to which God has called this age, in summoning it to the acceptance of a dogmatic faith from the lips of Him whom we as Christians adore as God. With thankful hearts we welcome, as one great help to spiritual life in this age of mental activity, the clear call of the Eternal Spirit, bidding us accept the dogmatic creed of historic Christianity as the authoritative utterance of the voice of God.

(2.) Again, the age of restless over-activity is the age in which there has been a great revival of devotional life. The due organization of life is one great condition of true formation of character. In a duly organized life there must be time assigned in fitting proportion to work, culture, and repose. In this day work eats up the other two too often. But God meets us by various movements in the age, and corrects this evil. The way of the Church, with its regularity of life, its stated calls to eucharist, and prayer, and fast; the increasing practice of meditation and self-examination; the quiet day and the retreat—all striking features of our modern religious life, are God-given preservatives against the over-exactiveness and the restlessness of this toiling age. These, blended

with some measure of sustained mental culture—which is the duty of all, and to which the mental activity of the age calls us—will work out in us a character harmoniously developed. In such a life the three features of the practical, the intellectual, and the devotional, beautifully blending, will manifest in some degree the loveliness of realised manhood according to the will of God.

(3.) Yet again the age of over-gratified emotions is that in which there has been seen a great development of discipline in religious life. Repentance, with its fruits of confession, satisfaction, and definite mortification of passions and lusts, is no longer an ignored truth or way of conduct. The Church's doctrine and practice of penitential discipline is an eloquent protest against a religion of emotions. It bases its leading and practice on this cardinal question of repentance, on the ground that contrition is a virtue guiding sinners to a definite penitential life. Under its guidance sinners are led ever to seek the recovery of moral liberty from the Lord through the power of His Cross by the cultivation of a life of discipline. Obedience is the only real Christian life, and the condition of obedience for us sinners is discipline. Seeing this, men fly to the discipline of a penitential life as to the way of the cross in which they find liberty and peace—not the transient liberty and peace of high-wrought feeling, but the abiding liberty and peace of subjection to God in Christ.

(4.) Add to this that, in many ways, the condition of modern Church life tends to set us free from the narrowness of insularity. Loving the Church of England as we do, with our hearts' best love, we have yet learned that it is but a portion of the great Catholic Church. Foreign travel, increasing acquaintanceship with contemporary foreign theological literature as well as wider knowledge of the ancient past, have taught us to recognise the Catholic Church as being what the psalmist calls "a large room." We are less tempted to raise pious opinions to the position of dogmas, and are more prepared to see the one Spirit manifested under diversities of operations. Even beyond the visible unity of the Church we see with joy the evident workings of the Spirit of grace, and gladly clasp the hand of everyone in brotherly amity who loves the Lord Jesus in sincerity. Full unity among Christian men indeed implies union of conviction and practice as well as union of affection. But where union of conviction is lacking and union of practice marred, there may be the union of heart that comes from the recognition of a shared love for a common Saviour. And this love must be shared by all who live in the glorious peace of God. We are learning that breadth of sympathy does not mean indefiniteness of thought, but that a firm allegiance to Catholic truth may, aye, and ought to, exist with a tolerance for human convictions and a deep love for all righteous men. Yes, the days of bitter intolerance among Christian men seem to me to be numbered. God grant that it be exorcised from the hearts of all His people. Narrowness of thought and sympathy is essentially uncatholic. It is within the limits of a pure Catholicism—where tolerance is based on certainty, its only sure foundation—that we find removed out of our path the great hindrance that intolerance rears to the attainment of a true Christian character and life.

If, then, in the activities of the age I see hindrances, I also see many and blessed helps. But these helps all gather around the Divine system

of the Church. However great, then, be our difficulties, our dangers, or our needs in an anti-Christian society, these are all met for those who live in union with the living Lord within the unity of His Church. By loyal devotion to the enthroned One in heaven, and by patient continuance in Church life, we shall learn to know how far our helps surpass our hindrances. For through the ages this word rings out as God's guidance to a day when all seems unstable: "Fret not thyself because of the ungodly. Put thou thy trust in the Lord, and be doing good. Dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed."

What effect has this restless activity on our spiritual life?

THE REV. CANON KNOX-LITTLE.

WE pass, my lord, in some measure at least, this morning from the outer arena of the Church's struggle to the calm reality of her inner life. In speaking of the spiritual life we are reminded, and it is consoling to remember, that the Church, that the soul, like Him who is head of the body, and Redeemer of us all, has two spheres of activity, of movement, and of growth, of which healthy action in the one depends upon right principles of direction in the other. The inner life consists in interior disposition, feelings, sentiments, desires, determinations towards all with which the soul has to do—most distinctly in religious devotedness to God, to our neighbour in real and reasonable love, and in some degree of self-conquest, or even self-annihilation towards, at any rate, the baser nature in ourselves; in some measure, too, of shrinking from sin, in some serious resistance to what Scripture calls "the world." By the outer life of the Christian is meant, by theologians, those sensible and perceptible actions, those visible expressions of virtue, which flow from the spring—the fair clear spring—of the inner life. The real force and sustaining strength of the spiritual being is the union of the soul, through sanctifying and actual grace, by the power of the Holy Spirit, with Jesus Christ.

Now how—such is the question before your Congress—how is this relation of the creature to the Creator affected by the external activities of this busy age? First, I observe it *may* be hindered; but, if we will, it certainly *may* be helped. True, the noise of life is deafening, and its dust is thick; but "ever the worst turns the best to the brave," the open eye of the watcher, even in thickest darkness, discerns the first streak of the dawn: "All things work together for good to those that love God." "We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." Truth is sovereign, and must be victorious in the end. Stand as a faithful child of the Church of Jesus; in the power of the Lord and the strength of His might, and as the magic wand of the genius in the fairy story turns everything it touches to gold, so the soul that is living for eternity, finds helps all round. But of course it is true that in a subordinate sense the classification of your Subject Committee is more or less accurate. Some things are helps, *i.e.*, they directly tend to the progress of vital religion; other things are in their essential character hindrances, or can only indirectly tend, at best, to help the spiritual life.

I clear the way, as my contribution to the subject, by touching on hindrances that I may dwell upon helps. Religious activity, as we have been rightly reminded, is not religion. Of the former there is plenty:

the present day. There is at present immense activity in discussion and in act. We are also in a critical age. Criticism is the atmosphere we breathe. To debate in public papers the mysteries of religion, or to discuss the character of religious men; to report and comment upon the actions of others, sometimes with exaggeration, almost always with colour, is to keep alive the old bugbear, the *odium theologicum*; and it is not "he that hateth," but "he that loveth, who is born of God, and knoweth God." The sharp spirit of criticism is a hindrance to spiritual life. Then an active age will be doing. To oppose actively what we deem to be wrong is natural, and in some sense indeed is right; but it leads too often—has it not led every one of us, once and again, socially or politically, or ecclesiastically?—into a policy of persecution, into plot and counterplot, into mutual untrustfulness, and even dark and cruel suspicions, which have laid an icy arrest upon the streams, the life-giving streams, of the grace of God. This activity in controversy or ecclesiastical battle is a hindrance to the spiritual life. I may add that the very din of the combat, the clash of contending opinion, may drive the soul wrongly inward on self, not on God—bad introspectiveness, a miserable subjectivity, when the spirit feeds not on eternal fact, but on its own dis-tempered feelings, hinders spiritual life, as all my brethren who really work for souls know too surely, and is a mark of our own time. (1.) The active pursuit of material interests is a serious hindrance. Materialism as a system denies the existence of spirit—the Absolute and Divine, as well as the created and human. Materialism as a practice closes the eye to the spiritual facts of another world. Men must wrench themselves from work, and give sometime to God, for the health of the soul. (2.) Of the difficulties of adjustment of Church and State, although these lead in the same direction, I need not speak, as they may lead into an arena not altogether spiritual. (3.) But this I add: the wild scepticism which identifies hypothesis with fact, which has its propaganda in this age, active and unsparing, which treats the beliefs of others with a scoff—as if *any* belief that has possessed the hearts of men can be justly or wisely met with a sneer—this engenders a temper of scorn! then follows contempt for and disbelief in goodness; and when goodness is despised, or belief in its existence gone, then all is lost. For to despise, to lose faith in goodness, is to cease to wish to do right; and "Truth," says Fichte, speaking more truly than sometimes—"Truth descends from conscience." "If the will is steadily and sincerely fixed on what is good, the understanding will indeed discover what is true;" or, as our Blessed Master Himself asserts, "He that willeth to do His Will, shall know of the doctrine." This spirit of insolent scepticism is a hindrance to spiritual life.

But it cannot be denied, and it is blessed to remember, that both in the departments of religious and secular activity there is much to help us to live for God.

There is one great possession of the nineteenth century on which I desire to lay real stress, which is an outward sign of an inner feature of the Christian Church. Communion is a fundamental thought of Christianity, and intercommunication is a characteristic fact of our time. It is a great age, as my dear brother before me has reminded you, and an age of great sorrow, but there are blessings in it for which we may rejoice. By the press we are not only, as in our libraries, the close companions of the mighty dead, but we are in daily, almost hourly,

possession of the thoughts and acts of the best and greatest of our own time. By the telegraph we flash our ideas to one another across the world. By the railways and ocean steamers we are enabled to hold converse with Christians to-day in Newcastle, and a few days later in New York. Nay, here we have interchanged ideas and modified each other's thoughts. And *he* is a pitiable being indeed who goes away from such an assembly as this Congress with thoughts unsoftened and a heart not less unloving towards any of his brethren with whom he has been obliged, in some matters, to disagree. Only in separation is danger—sin disintegrates. To be nearer one another is, or may be, to be nearer God. And then I hail as a help to spiritual progress the spirit of inquiry which is everywhere, so to speak, "in the air." "Thought," says Pascal, "constitutes the greatness of man. There is in him, unless he be plunged in a slough of sensualism, a desire for Truth." I looked last night at that, to me, most thrilling spectacle of a vast assembly of my fellow men. One's heart leaped up and one's pulse flew faster at the mere sight of their pale strong faces, yearning for something! For something! Yearning, my lord, for the Truth. The spirit of inquiry is abroad, and the Truth has nothing to fear. The secularist, for instance, is such—as a friend observed to me yesterday—not because he is indifferent—that were death—but because there is a yearning for some theory of the universe, for some religion, in his soul. The *Times* newspaper is not ordinarily a storehouse of theology, nor a record of religious life, but I ask you to notice, as a significant fact, the amount of area in those lordly columns devoted to the account of that striking, that remarkable religious phenomenon, the Œcumenical Conference of the Wesleyan Body. Men are yearning, I believe, for religion, asking for truth for their hungry spirits. They shall have it, please God, shall they not? from the Church of the Redeemer. They shall have it, and learn once again to know, to love the Lord their Master, or if not, the Church must give the reason why. Do you despair before the spirit of inquiry? Oh no, not so! The forests of Ravenna, you will remember, my lord, wave where Cæsar's fleet once peopled the barren sea; sweet quiet homes now cluster on the ledges of the Jura, where once were only threatening crags. The valley of the dry bones of a century of indifference is echoing with sounds of reviving life. Much has been done, though indeed there is much to do. Breathe, oh Breath! The spirit of inquiry is a help to spiritual life.

And more strictly religious activity is not wanting in the means the Church is using for co-operating with the action of the Spirit of God. (1.) Our churches, for instance, now free and open, are more and more becoming—all too slowly, all too late, but still *are* becoming—the possessions of the poor. (2.) Our services are more attractive, less cold, less hard, less unmeaning, less merely respectable, more devout, more real. (3.) There are spiritual societies, and they are beginning to be less suspected and better understood by reasonable men. Societies are characteristic features of English life. It is a help and a blessing when men band themselves together not merely for secular purposes, or the technical and pecuniary necessities of mission work, but to encourage one another in devotion to the Lord Jesus, in love to Him in His great sacrament and in the work of intercessory prayer. (4.) Again, there is a steady supply of really spiritual literature, and an increasing sense

that the work and teaching of the great thinkers of the Church in other parts of its extensive territory is a hallowed and fruitful possession belonging to us all. Who in these days can do without his "Pascal," his "Vie Devote," as well as dear Mr. Keble's "Letters" and Law's "Serious Call." (5.) There is the parochial mission, whereby souls are awakened; the class, growing out of it, whereby they are built up in Christ. (6.) On all these I might dwell; but I dwell only on one. For the clergy to lead holy lives is to do, oh, so much! for the laity. The minister of Christ is a centre of blessing or a centre of sin. The unspiritual, the controversial, the ill-tempered, the lazy, the worldly parson is a curse to a parish, and a plague spot to souls. The spiritual exercise of retreat for the clergy is one of the most blessed exhibitions of religious activity in our days. This again was a practice once suspected, now more understood, and when once understood, most surely valued and loved. The effect of the quiet days of silence and prayer; of standing in a special manner face to face with our Heavenly Father; of being alone with God; of being in spiritual but noiseless communion with our brethren, side by side with whom we kneel; of facing calmly, seriously, the facts of life; of going down into deeper penitence; of renewing broken purposes; of endeavouring to be real, utterly real with God, as we must be when we come to die—this is one help to the deepening of spirituality, and to the avoidance of the dangers of active work—dangers of which we have been well and solemnly warned by a previous reader, which I commend earnestly to my brethren of the clergy and the laity, and with deep respect to the Right Reverend Bench. Bishops in America have approved and used this; the present Bishop of Lichfield and the present Bishop of Truro have, I think, sanctioned and used it in the form of a "quiet day," and dear Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, so loved, so mourned, passed through the exercises of a three or four days' retreat not long before he came to die.

(7.) And for the people I must add this. People might have feared (they *have* feared) the fuss and fidget of increasing services. Fussiness and excitement—these are not religion. The people have needed hearty services—yes, but also simple and practicable devotion. Matins and evensong, beautiful and stately as they are for the cultured and instructed, have not been enough. The Church of England is breaking through her buckram and the stiffness of her lines, and that by authority. Prayer meetings, devotional services, the meditations on "the Way of the Cross," and on "the Three Hours' Agony," these are helps, needed helps, existing helps, to the spiritual life, and these we have.

(8.) But let us remember finally they are but *helps*. They assist in stimulating and arousing to a true activity, in those divine actions which are needed for a spiritual life. For there is needed for the spiritual life, knowledge of self. A life unexamined is a life unprepared for the last great account. There is needed the mortified temper, the conquest of undisciplined passion, the spirit of the Cross. There is needed from the Source of Life and Love actual and sanctifying grace. There is needed the stretching out of the whole being—the heart in love, the will in determination, the eye in contemplating rapture on the image, the glorious image, of Christ. Hence, in the spiritual life, the spiritual understanding comprehends truth, the spiritual affection loves

it, the whole spiritual being lives in it, and rejoices in the glory of God. Christ Jesus, beautiful and strong, our Pattern, our Example, our Power, is the settled object of the soul's regard. O wonderful vision! O divine, exalting achievement! To this everything in life *may* minister, if we will—yes, if we *will*.

I close. My Lord, you will remember that the streets of Damascus are foul and narrow, hemmed in by crumbling and sordid walls, and with dim and dusty paths between. Follow those paths; you enter a narrow doorway: all is changed. There is the magic of an eastern palace, the splendour of a dream, the tessellated pavement, the agate and the gold, the sweet and sparkling water, the fragrant and glorious flowers, and above all, in completeness of splendour, the unclouded radiance of a Syrian sky. Rest, and beauty, and peace, after the hot and dusty day. Now that is like the spiritual life. Follow the services, and common paths—follow on—you pass from the fret of a wearying world into the glorious presence-chamber of the King. Ah! life is difficult, there are many hindrances, there is much to darken and distress, but—remember it—

“God's greatness
Flows around our incompleteness;
Round our restlessness, His rest.”

And pray, let us pray when we forget our higher destiny, “Let Thy *loving* spirit lead me forth into the land of righteousness.”

MR. J. TALBOT, M.P.

I WILL take the two branches of this subject in order, and consider first the helps to the spiritual life which arise from the condition of things in which our lot is cast. No one, I suppose, would deny that they are many and various. We have but to recall the memory of our own youth, still more the memory of the days “of which our fathers have told us,” to convince ourselves, if indeed it be necessary, how much we have which we had not, how much we have which others before us never thought of. The outward and inward appearance of our churches, the character of Church services, the general tone of sermons: in all these we have beyond question helps to the spiritual life such as were not given to those before us. But this is not all. We have helps to the understanding of the Bible, to the study of Church history, both in its more general aspect, and in that personal view which is brought out in such books as those lives of holy men of old which have been published by the S.P.C.K.; careful and impartial writings upon the evidences of Christianity, which, if we cannot say that they are unquestionably superior to those of former days, yet are they beyond doubt accessible to vast numbers of Church people who, in these matters, were left formerly almost entirely without external guidance. Perhaps we hardly sufficiently remember, when we complain of popular ignorance, the almost total barrenness of the whole field of popular Church teaching and Church history till within very recent times. The spiritual life, again, is greatly stimulated and encouraged by example, and perhaps especially by recent example. Why? Partly, no doubt, as we

are all imitative by nature ; but also, and in a much higher way, because such examples as I shall refer to make us feel that we are not alone, that we are members of a great body, working under a common master, for a common object, and in the hope of a common reward. What age has revelled like ours in religious biographies?—the best of which, I am bound to say, are not mere sensational stories of lives of virtue seemingly impossible, from which the dark colours are quite excluded, but faithful records of the hard struggles of Christians whom we feel to be “men of like passions as we are.” The lives of Bishop Patterson, Bishop Feild, Bishop Selwyn, Bishop Tyrrell, of Dr. Hook, of Canon Kingsley—or, again, the lives of Sister Dora, of Agnes Jones, of Mrs. Tait—or, again, those of William Wilberforce, of Commodore Goodenough, must surely be “helps”—we know they have been helps—to many. And their style, even their outward appearance, are helpful, and are characteristic of our days. Once more, the agencies for good which abound on all sides—these, too, are “helps.” If in these days iniquity abounds—and he would be a vain flatterer who would deny it—and if, as the predicted consequence, the love of many has waxed cold, yet surely it is no exaggeration to say that the amount of energy devoted to the service of God, to the benefit of men, is greatly in excess of any which has been seen probably in any former age, certainly in any of the ages of which recent experience or recent history tells us. Nor is this energy only a help to those for whose benefit it is employed, and whom it benefits directly ; it must be thankfully recognised as a help to the spiritual life by many who without it would ask wearily for a “vocation,” and not finding one, sink into listlessness or worse. Probably there is not a single person of either sex, of moderate health, who cannot find “on application” ample scope for the greatest energy, in some work which may be without the least strain connected with the spiritual life, devoted as such may be unreservedly to Him who is the only Source of that life. Nor can I pass by one branch of literature which is almost entirely of recent growth—I mean the record of work done. It would be presumptuous and ungrateful to say that workers for good did not arise till our own day, though, as I have said, they have in our day enormously multiplied ; but what is to be noted is that such books as “*Work Among Men*,” “*The Other Half of the World*,” were scarcely written till very recent times. And the same might be said of records of work in our colonies and in heathen countries. The workers worked, but their work was little recorded. Its value was of course not less to those for whom they worked, nor for themselves, nor in the gracious sight of Him to whom it was dedicated ; but it failed often of exercising that large influence which it might have had,

“*Carent quia vate sacro,*”

because there was none to record it, and therefore it did not stimulate others. The light shone, but not before many men. And I verily believe that one very main reason why the needs of our vast populations, at home and abroad, have been allowed to multiply to an extent overwhelmingly out of proportion to our means of meeting them, has been that till (say) a generation ago the dwellers in the favoured places of England, in country villages, in the well-ordered parts of London and our best towns, scarcely ever heard of what those needs were, of what

was being done to meet them, of what remained to be done. Dull generalities, or one-sided exaggerated pictures, these were sometimes offered to the few who would care to read them. But real genuine stirring accounts of the good and the bad as they really are, of success and failure as they actually happen, and not as we should wish them to come, these have been, speaking generally, only lately written, and we who have them must thankfully reckon them amongst the real "helps to the spiritual life." But the spiritual life has depths on which, had I not been bidden, I should have felt it presumptuous to speak to this assembly. It means of course that marvellous intercourse with the Creator, the Saviour, the Sanctifier, which is hindered above all things by sin, which is helped and cherished above all things by a conscience free from the burden of unacknowledged, unforgiven sin.

No one who is in earnest—whatever his religious convictions—will deny that we have great helps to the spiritual life thus regarded which have been dormant long—if indeed they ever existed to any large extent amongst Christians living the ordinary life of the world. No truth probably would be more generally acknowledged than this, that the Christian Religion was intended by its Divine Founder for every-day use, that "we need not bid for cloistered cell our neighbour and our work farewell." Yet direct spiritual influence has until lately been scantily brought to bear upon every-day life. The very word "religious" has, we know, been so used in other countries and in other branches of the Church, that it has come to be applied only to those who have retired from the world—and though this is not so in England (speaking generally), yet here also it was long considered that direct spiritual intercourse and instruction were mainly reserved for what were called in the language of Methodism "Saints." Now, we may thankfully note, there is a change in the tone of religious teaching and influence. Whether we think of the "missions," which have been held with so much success in many town and country parishes, by means of which we believe that many souls have been won to God without the great perils of "revivalism," or of the various collections of Church people—call them guilds, or societies, or what you will—which exist for the purpose of stimulating and refreshing the spiritual life, or of the direct instruction now given before Holy Communion, or of the opportunities of seeking "ghostly counsel and advice" (I quote the words of the Prayer Book), is it too much to say that in no well-worked parish ought there to be any spirit which needs help for its life and cannot find it? The supply of helps to devotion is another important branch of this subject. But I am not sure that I can honestly say that in this respect we have so decidedly gained as in some others. I greatly question whether this or any age has produced manuals of devotion to supersede, or even to equal, those, say, of Bishop Andrews, Bishop Ken, Bishop Jeremy Taylor. But yet I am bound to admit that these masterpieces are in the main couched in language above the easy use of the multitude. And what we have thankfully to note is that there are now "helps to the spiritual life" of *all* classes, amongst which we must not omit to reckon good plain manuals of prayer. Into some of these modern books, however, there has crept a tone which I cannot but think a "hindrance" and of which I will speak presently.

II. The "secular activities of the day"—can *they* be said to help in

any sense the spiritual life? The question seems at first a mockery—for no doubt beneath their heavy burden and ceaseless din many a gem of spiritual life has been maimed, mutilated, crushed. And in such scenes as those which surround us here, the first impression *must* be, that secular activity is so engrossing, so perpetual, that it is only by the most heroic and persistent effort that any other life can live. Yet Christians must not let themselves drift into a despondent Manicheanism. If these mighty forces of which we trace the influence all round us—which in this century have been so marvellously developed—if these are forces of Divine origin—then surely we can find in them “helps”—even to the spiritual life. And is it not so? Have not steam and electricity and printing been found to minister to the needs of the spirit as well as of the body of man? The great spread of Christian literature to which I have already referred without printing would have been impossible. The great company of Christian preachers have been aided in their progress—their progress has been made possible—by the facilities of locomotion and communication. And though this sounds a truism, perhaps it is well that we should be reminded that these things, ordinary and secular as they seem, are part of the Divine ordering of the marvellous world in which we live. Nor is it only that men move more rapidly than they did in former times from one scene of labour to another, nor again that they can communicate their needs more rapidly on paper; but the very fact of the enormously developed system of communication has tended to produce a state of public opinion which is a material “help to the spiritual life.” Apathy and neglect such as were once almost the rule have become the exception, and this not only because it is felt to be wrong to be apathetic and negligent, but also because for very shame people will not allow the continuance of what is felt to be disgraceful, and below the standard of the society in which they live. The motive, thus plainly stated, may not appear a high one. But no one who knows how much he owes of whatever may be good in him to the *tone* in which he has been brought up, will wholly despise such considerations.

III. But it is time that I pass on to consider some of the hindrances to the spiritual life which arise from the religious and secular activities of the present day. They are, alas! not far to seek. The difficulty is how to speak of them without being either censorious and dogmatical on the one hand, or vague and useless on the other. I earnestly ask those who hear me to believe that the faults I shall find are not pointed out by one who fancies he has a *right* to find them.

The religious activities of our times—it would be strange, indeed, if they did not carry in them some hindering power. It is inevitable that such a revival, or rather such revivals, as this century has witnessed, should contain some of the faults which are inseparable from all movements which are, at least in part, human. And though I agree heartily with those who welcome, with all their faults, the movements which some of us have witnessed—and of which all see the fruits; though I say heartily, “Give me life, with all its friction, all its wear and tear, all its disappointments and failures, rather than torpor which is but a step removed from death,” yet, surely, this great assembly cannot have wasted its time if, by to-day’s deliberation, it has resolutely faced some of the dangers, which others see plainly enough if we do not, and which

threaten to weaken, at least, the mighty forces of good which the Author of all Good has quickened so notably in this age.

Of course *the great* hindrance to the spiritual life, which branches out into various forms, and re-appears in very various guises, is the want of charity. It is probably not too much to say that if this greatest grace were present everywhere, it would minimise, if it did not remove, every "hindrance" of which we complain. I often think that if I were a preacher I should be tempted often to recur to a text which seems to me to contain a compendium of Christianity such as I cannot parallel. I refer to those words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, which he embedded in various minute personal directions in the last chapter of his first epistle: "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong: Let all your things be done with charity." There is here a combination of Christian manliness, of uncompromising determination, of, I would even say, a martial spirit, with a deep undercurrent of charity, on which one might dilate almost without limit. But mine is not the preacher's part—forgive me if I have even presumed on a hint to preachers. The "hindrances," then, are connected with this want of charity to which I have referred. And they show themselves in such ways as these. It is a temptation to those who rejoice in multiplying religious ordinances to despise those who think more of personal and private devotion, and to these, again, to condemn as formalists earnest men and women to whom the outward form is the real expression of inward feeling. Yet it cannot be denied that there is danger—there may be hindrances—to the spiritual life on both sides. That large and growing number of Church-people who take delight in the graces of architecture, of floral decoration, of music, know well, in their times of introspection, that it is not easy to avoid the temptation of resting in these things. The supreme effort of the Christian soul which should be implied in every prayer, it is not necessarily made because the house of prayer is beautiful, nor because the words of prayer are melodiously said. Yet certainly it is not therefore true that it is easier to make it if the place be ugly, or if the voice be drawling. The hindrance lies rather in the necessities of our nature, which, being composite, is like anything else of which the parts do not always work harmoniously. We should not, therefore, avoid this "hindrance" by trying in vain to stem the natural—may I not say the lofty?—tendency of our day to seek for beauty in all things. All that I would suggest is a caution, lest, in the pursuit of external order and decency (nay, even of beauty and splendour, remembering whose worshippers we are) we lose the spirit which they should imply. If *that* be kept steadily in view it is impossible that our outward expression of the spiritual life should degenerate into mere æstheticism. And so, again, with other activities to which I have referred as "helps to the spiritual life." There is an amount of excitement necessarily attending the agencies for good which are amongst the hopeful signs of our times, which has in it very obvious seeds of "hindrance." Here, again, charity is the salt which will keep the energy pure—without which it would soon corrupt. There are natures so busy, so energetic, that they cannot tolerate others less eager, less spirited, less strong. And when these vigorous natures are devoted to religious work, this intolerance of their opposites assumes the odious form of religious contempt. "Bid her, therefore, that she help me," is the utterance of such a spirit—but it is

not more acceptable now than on the lips of Martha. And not only is there a temptation to this unlovely harshness, but in religious business—as in all other business—there is a danger lest the spiritual life be choked and stunted. Who that has had much of the inevitable committee, the public meeting, the abundance of speech, which are the necessary machinery of religious work, has not felt at times the force of the appeal, “Come ye apart and rest awhile,” and without such rest, without time for thought and prayer, the life of activity—even of religious activity—may be full of hindrance to the spiritual life. Nothing, perhaps, is more instructive in such biographies as those of Dr. Hook and Bishop Wilberforce, than to observe how the very busiest lives have been fed and stimulated by private devotion. I rejoice to know it is so still. I could name at least one living man of the highest station who is known to the world by a life of active work in Church and State, but who is also known to his intimates by a life of constant, one might say unceasing prayer.

I think there are other hindrances also, of which you have already heard, and of which it does not seem that I am called to speak at any length. I refer to hindrances in the *tone* of speaking, of preaching, of books on religious subjects. There seems to me often a strange forgetfulness on the part of those who speak and those who write of the feelings—prejudices perhaps—of those who hear and read. And who can estimate the “hindrance to the spiritual life” which such forgetfulness may cause? An exaggerated tone in devotion—a suspicion that some doctrine believed to be false is being insinuated, and insinuated in the most subtle and the most painful form, when the spirit should be lifted up to heaven—a sneer in speech or sermon at some practice hallowed to many hearers or readers by dear and venerable associations—have not some of us suffered from these things? and may we not appeal to those who write and those who speak to beware lest after this manner they make their brother to offend?

And lastly the hindrances to the spiritual life arising from the secular activities of the day are so many, so obvious, that it can need but few words to dwell on them. I have indeed already anticipated much of what I might have said on this head. But even so slight a sketch of so vast a subject would be more incomplete than it must need be if I were not to recognise in the fullest way the danger which so largely exists on this side. We pursue business, and we pursue pleasure, so vigorously, so unremittingly—there are such multiplied facilities for the pursuit of both—that it is only too easy to forget “the spiritual life” altogether. Taken in this connection, the observance of the English Sunday must be ever regarded with deep thankfulness, and I cannot but feel that any substantial relaxation of it would be a grievous “hindrance to the spiritual life.” We may differ if we please as to the degree and the manner of its observance, but imagine it removed, and where would be the “spiritual life” of England? It is an impressive, not to say an oppressive, feeling which sometimes comes upon the dwellers in London. How is it possible to maintain in order the mighty machinery which provides for the wants of nearly four millions of people? But yet more impressive is the pause which once a week occurs in the working of that complicated system; if we were not so entirely accustomed to the cessation, could we arrange it, could we even conceive it? And if we ask, Why is it? the answer of the Christian must be, “It is God’s opportunity

of rest, to remind this toiling, struggling, pushing multitude of Himself, to give them at least a chance of remembering there is a life more worth living than the one which fills so largely our thoughts." I would most earnestly appeal to my hearers not to add another to the hindrances which exist and abound by weakening in any way the place which the English Sunday has amongst the institutions of our Church and country. Elevate it, brighten it, purify its observance by all means, but do not forget the marvellous influence which it has had, and may long have, in contending with those hindrances to the religious life which the secular activities of the day inevitably produce. We cannot avoid these "activities" except by "going out of the world" which I suppose few of my hearers would advocate, and which *cannot* be practical advice to a multitude, even if it be wise advice to any. We can scarcely even diminish them. They must contain hindrances—but surely it is our part to triumph over difficulties—it is the boast of Englishmen, it is the duty of Christians, and the greater the difficulty, the better worth making is the struggle. "There are," we know the poet is not weaving any fancy dream when he says,

"There are in this loud stunning tide
Of human care and crime,
With whom the melodies abide
Of the everlasting chime."

And a Christian preacher* of our own day has reminded us, in language which appeals to the judgment as well as the heart, of the spirit in which all work should be undertaken: "Work on," he says, "while it is day—work as Christ's servants—work with Him in view and with Him in your heart—do the appointed task, as He sets it you, day by day, cheerfully, thoroughly, and with a good courage, . . . live to Him and do all things, even the commonest things, as it is written, in His Name, that is, as belonging to Him, as His, His servants, His disciples, His friends."

To sum up: this brief consideration of this weighty subject has left upon my mind the conclusion which I hope will be the conclusion of the Congress—that the hindrances are many, but the helps are more—that it is with us as with the King of Judah†: "There be more with us than with our enemy: with him is an arm of flesh: but with us is the Lord our God, to help us, and to fight our battles." We have in these days a great encouragement, too long overlooked, in the practical recognition of the Article of the Creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." We feel that we are members of a mighty host, we have the memories of its past heroes, the examples of those with whom we have fought and who have fallen by our side, of those also with whom we are now fighting. Though the enemy derides our divisions, we know and feel that the Rock on which we agree to stand is immovable, and in the strength of that conviction we fight on, "faint" often, "yet pursuing."

The chief danger seems to lie, not in the hindrances, but in forgetting or ignoring them. If we acknowledge them, if we face them, it is my firm conviction that the Church of our day, and we her members, shall find strength amply sufficient to overcome the hindrances which beset us—to maintain at as lofty a level as we have received it the spiritual life.

* Dean Vaughan, "Earnest Words to Earnest Men," p. 50.

† 2 Chron. xxxii. 7, 8.

ADDRESS.

THE VICAR OF NEWCASTLE.

MANY and pressing are the claims of this age upon the willing and working servants of God ; but they seem still more pressing, and still more urgent, when viewed in the light of the knowledge of the wants of the age which has been acquired by many in the course of this session of the Church Congress. Ideas new to many of us have been put forth, projects for the reform and improvement of many details in regard to the service of our Church have also been discussed, and matters of most lively interest to all of us as members of the Church have been brought before our notice in this room day after day : and I can see that the gathering of this Church Congress is only one other sign of the great religious activity that is pervading all classes of society, and more especially the members of our Church, in this most active age. But we must not be unmindful of one great and important truth. I think if we would call down God's blessing upon this or upon any similar gathering, if we would invite the approval of the Most High upon any of our undertakings, the thing must be begun and continued in dependence upon the grace of God to guide our deliberations aright, and the objects set before us must be the promotion and the growth of spiritual life in the members of the Church. And let us not forget that those who are partakers of the spiritual life are members of Christ, and that, as His members, they should look to Him in all things who is the Head, the living Head, of the body, which is the Church. Now, it is undeniable that the age in which we live is one of great activity—activity in the world of thought, activity in the world of letters, activity in the world of science. We are reminded, all of us who are employed as clergy in great and populous towns, almost from day to day, by the multitude of applications that reaches us for aid for this or that society, how active persons are everywhere in the support of some good work. We are reminded also by the calls upon our time to attend meetings of a religious character here or there, to multiply the services in our Church, and to minister more effectually to the masses of the people, many of whom are estranged from the house of God, that men's minds are stirred within them, religious men's hearts burn within them, because they see so many who are living as if there were no God—living without hope in the world. Then, again, the age is one remarkable for activity in all matters connected with this present life. Look at the rapid growth of a town like this in which we live, swelling in its population from decade to decade, and with population outstripping the means of grace provided by our Church year by year. Surely this shows how active men are for the things of this life, and it is in this age of activity the Church of the present day has her lot cast, and to this world in its present state she has to minister as the Lord has given her opportunity. If a man will do anything in an age like this, he must be essentially an active man. And we must remember that there is no sin whatever in the instinctive desire of external activity which we find in ourselves. We are made, as a certain writer said—we are made for a certain sphere of service. We are qualified for this sphere by certain abilities, and sent into a fallen world, where there are a thousand things to be done in assuaging sorrow, in enlightening ignorance, and in removing sin. And let me remind all those who are workers for God, that an interest in the condition of their poorer neighbours will not suffice always to carry them to deeds of charity and mercy. We want something higher than a mere interest in the welfare of our fellow men. We must be constrained by the love of Christ, we must have a love brought in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, or we can never lead a life of activity in well doing. Our hands will be feeble, and will need strengthening. Look to Him for strength, and know that it is His work we are doing. In all our ways and in all our works, there must be an interlacing of our business with our

devotion. We pray that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in God, we may glorify God's holy name. Why! of the works of the present time, may we not begin, continue, and end them all to the glory of God? And remember that the promotion and growth of spiritual life can only come under certain conditions. There must be prayer, there must be meditation, and there must be the exercise of those abilities and faculties which God has given us to use for His glory. When we fulfil the various directions to worship, and meet the various claims of our Church upon us, to go from time to time, daily, it may be, or twice a day, to worship in the sanctuary, let us not omit the worship of the closet. "Thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet and shut thy door upon thee." Be alone with God. Alone! Who is not glad to be alone with God, and to open his heart before his Heavenly Father on his bended knees? Who can look up from time to time and see in the bleeding Saviour the atonement for his sin without being relieved, comforted and blessed? But over-activity in the work of our spiritual calling—and I speak more especially of those who, like myself, are called to the ministry of the Gospel—over-activity may lead to certain very serious results. Nature will permit you to lay her under contribution for resources to meet your present demand, but it must be remembered that she will supply that extra strength in time of difficulty only under the condition that you must repay every fraction of principal and interest, or otherwise make that inevitable break-down which is such a sad thing for so many over-worked, good, and faithful men, and withdraw from the sphere of duty in which you have elected to serve God during the remnant of your days. The young man's zeal cannot make up for the old man's experience and knowledge of God's ways and the working of the human heart. There may be much zeal and activity in those who have recently thrown themselves into the sphere of labour which God has set before them, but at the same time the experience of the aged man of God is far more conducive to the welfare of those whom he teaches than the activity and assiduity of those who have but recently entered into the field of labour. I will now speak very shortly upon the helps and hindrances of spiritual life. There are various helps. Many of them have been enumerated by readers, and more interesting papers it was never my happiness or privilege to listen to, and more devout sentiments I have never heard from men's lips than I have heard to-day.

This day has been to me, as I trust it has been to you, the most blessed of all I have spent in this Congress week, and I trust the spirit of love, the spirit of harmony, the spirit of peace and concord that has pervaded this devout assembly will continue to dwell in our hearts, and that we shall go forth with enlarged love to-night, and with quickened desires to glorify God. The helps to spiritual life I consider consist in the examples we have of many labouring in the vineyard of the Lord. There is not a single person at this present time, however humble his abilities, who cannot take example by some one who is undertaking a work for God, and tread in his holy steps. Then there is the encouragement to be derived from what others are doing, and from their successes in other spheres of labour. To hear that nothing is going on, that no effects are being produced by the preaching of the Word, that nothing is stirring in this world of ours as regards the religious edification of the people and the conversion of souls, is certainly very discouraging and depressing; but we cannot take up a newspaper published in the interests of the Church or of religion at large without seeing that God, through the working of His Spirit in those who are preaching the Word, is enrolling many under the banner of Christ. Then, again, we have great helps from the circulation of very valuable religious literature. We have come to a time when every reader of his Bible may be helped, and very considerably helped, by the result of such labours as those of our esteemed president, and many others like him, who have wrought hard, who have wrought successfully in that mine of precious treasure—the Word of the Living God—who have brought to our minds new ideas connected with the written Word, and who have shown us

where deeper interest can attach to the sayings of an apostle, because in a language which is understood. These are helps for which we would be ungrateful if we did not recognise, and for which we would be unthankful if we did not give God praise. I must speak, too, of the hindrances. We are in danger lest our force be distributed, lest in trying to do too many things we do nothing well, lest in setting out we walk only a short distance, then turn again and walk in another direction. We must guard ourselves against attempting to do a great thing, and in reality effecting nothing. We must work according to the ability that God has given us, and work in all sincerity of heart for Christ, trying to achieve something. Hindrances are many, and arise from various causes, but perhaps none are so dangerous as those which arise from within, from our own evil thoughts by reason of a want of faith and trust in divine power, from want of that deep and heartfelt communion with God which alone can sustain a believer amid the temptations of this ever changing world. I do not know that there ever was a time when it was more necessary to guard most rigidly and exclusively against interruptions, so as to give such short periods of time as we are able to give to quiet meditations of God's word. We should wrestle upon our knees and seek to obtain from Almighty God a blessing upon our own souls and upon our work. But depend upon it, if we ministers of Christ do not come forth with our own souls refreshed, we cannot hope to refresh the souls of the wearied. We cannot administer comfort when we have not received that comfort ourselves. St. Paul speaks of the consolation and comfort that he is able to administer because of the comforts wherewith he himself is comforted of God. So shall we, from our experience of the past, and from our present sense of God's approval and from our communion with our loving Saviour, be able to go to others and speak of the blessed things that God has done for our souls; and after our work, whatever that work may be, and however despondent we are, comes rest. It seems strange that from a world of activity the mind of the Christian should look forward to a period when he will rest from his labours and cease from taking part in the turmoil of this world. But so it is. We have for it the words of the blessed Master, who, in the midst of our toil, says, "Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavily burdened, and I will give you rest"—yes, the rest to the weary souls that God has promised in the Gospel committed to us. And surely one good effect of these Congress gatherings, which has been alluded to on the platform by a reader of a paper to-day, ought not to pass without some remark from myself before I conclude. No one who, like myself, was a spectator of that mighty gathering in the circus last night, where 3,500 persons were collected together to hear addresses from some of the most eloquent and eminent prelates of our Church, could have watched their careful and attentive faces, or have witnessed the keen appreciation with which they understood the various points of the different speakers, without seeing that there was in these men a deep and sincere conviction which could come only through and from God. There was in them a deep inner conviction that there is something powerful in the Word of God, and that man is something more than an animal born into the world to live, to eat, and to die. Doubtless some of them were real Christians, and even among those who were not there was a feeling that they were standing in the presence of One who reads all hearts and to whom they would have to give an account.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH.

It was only at the urgent request of the brother, who was sitting by my side, that I ventured to send in my card. I had hoped to have been only a learner and a listener this morning. He and I have one strong bond in common, beside many others. We both have sons in the missionary field, he in China and I in India. And I think, perhaps, that one of the aspects of the Church's work, which has been least alluded to in this our Congress, is its missionary work. That work will bring untold blessings to us here at home, if we accord to it our warm sympathy and our intelligent interest. But if we are cold and callous concerning it, then the very fact that our brethren far away among the heathen are bearing the burden and strong heat of the day, must be a hindrance to our own spiritual life. We are so intimately bound together :

“ One army of the living God,
At His command we bow,

And I will go on :

“ Part of the host have crossed the flood,
And part are crossing now.

“ One family we dwell in Him,
One Church—above, beneath ;
Though now divided by the stream—
The narrow stream of death.”

And for my own part, whilst sitting here this morning and listening to others, I could not help thinking of the vast increase in the Home above ; and, if we are one Church, surely mightier forces from age to age are being brought to bear upon us below from those in the Master's presence. They are with Christ, which is far better. They rest from their labours, and their works do follow them. Absent from the body, they are present with the Lord. But we are one with them ; and surely that is a power drawing us heavenward, who are toiling and labouring here. We are one whole family in heaven and earth ; and it is no small help to us to remember that constantly increasing body, who have already passed into the nearer presence of God.

“ The trumpet-note of welcome
Is always on the blast ;
It has no time to die away
The souls come in so fast ;
Then faint not, ye beloved,
But let hope conquer sorrow ;
Those golden gates shall open
To let you in to-morrow.”

And surely if by One Spirit the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified, it is no small help to us that so large a proportion—“ the many are in heaven, the few on earth ”—is in the nearer presence of our Lord. One thought more. Not only is there an unprecedented number of our brethren who sleep in Christ, but the Master is at the door. “ Behold, I come quickly,” rings on the ears of His servants here below. Now the response of the Church must be, “ Come, Lord Jesus.” We must work the more earnestly, because the time is short. There will probably always be difficulty here on earth in adjusting the claims of devotion to diligent work. But still we have lofty examples. We read of the blessed angels—are they not all worshipping spirits sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation ? They always behold the face of our Father in heaven, and yet they are our guardians and our ministers. We are to emulate them now ; and we look forward to a time when, as we read, His servants shall serve Him, and His Name shall be in their foreheads. Now it seems as if some more especially excel in contemplation and devotion, others in diligent labours ; but there these graces are in perfect harmony and perfect symmetry. There, in the presence of our Lord, we shall contemplate for ever, without a cloud between, His glory and His beauty, while yet we shall have the fruition of perfect rest, rest in His service—

“When saints like stars around His seat
Perform their courses still.”

God only grant us so to work here on earth that we may be accounted worthy thus to stand before the ineffable presence of the Son of Man.

SIR WM. WORSLEY.

IT is with considerable diffidence that I stand here to say a word in such a meeting as this, which is no place for making speeches, which is no place for any thoughtless utterances. We are here together for a great purpose, and that is to consider how best the spiritual life may be aided. It appears to me that one of the things we have to contemplate in this great question is how far the society in which we move is a hindrance or an impediment. No man or no woman either lives or dies to themselves; and I venture to say that the witness of a holy life lived for Christ, at any rate any earnest endeavour so to live, is one of the very highest elements of help which can come across any person brought into contact with it. And therefore I think the responsibility of such men and women before God is a very high and very deep responsibility; and I venture to say that if in the different spheres of life men and women would dare to live—and to say that they lived—under the high sanction of a Christian faith, that the help to spiritual life would be enormously increased. I acknowledge with thankfulness—though I cannot, I am sorry to say, mention names—that the example of one or two lives has been a very great help to me; and any life which is lived in a restrained and thoughtful way—struggling with the difficulties of temper and social position, and very likely amid great temptations—must exercise an enormous influence on those around. One of the greatest helps to spiritual life is the example of Christian-like lives around you, and the impediments are those which are worldly, thoughtless, sensual, and sensuous. I have felt, in the presence of this great meeting, that we were all animated by one spirit; that there was a really earnest feeling of devotion in our midst, and I believe all will go away from this Congress in Newcastle with a greater sense of the truth of the Catholic Church, and a wider and deeper sympathy with their neighbours. I am quite sure—looking back for a number of years, as far perhaps as 1872, never having attended a Congress from that time to this—I am quite sure that not merely has the spirit of charity deepened immensely, as far as I can judge, but that there has been a wide and significant increase in the comprehension and soundness of the cause we have in hand.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

How shall I attempt to sum up the reflections which have been offered for your consideration this morning? I am reminded of the story of the great Greek artist, who, taking a spectator up to his picture, and being asked to withdraw the curtain, replied, “The curtain is the picture.” These busy cares, these restless activities of modern life, we are apt to regard them as obscuring, as shutting out of view the higher life. Is it not true that they at least are trying this higher life? We need that warning of the Gospel, we are to act, to look here and there for the kingdom of heaven, and behold the kingdom of heaven is in the midst of us. I think it may be some consolation to this over-busy age to remember that the greatest, the most bountiful spiritual legacies from the past have, as a rule, been left to us by the busiest ages. It was so in the fourth century, it was so in the thirteenth century, it was so in the sixteenth century, and God grant that it may be so in the nineteenth century. Must it not be with us as it was with the patriarch of old? He sees around him the common things of nature—the stones, the flowers, the grass—he closes his eyes; a ladder is reared up from earth to heaven, and angels are seen ascending and descending. Ay, “The Lord was in this place, though we knew it not.”

TOWN HALL, FRIDAY AFTERNOON,

OCTOBER 7, 1881.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF BEDFORD took the Chair at
2.30 o'clock.

**THE CHURCH'S CARE OF THE YOUNG IN RE-
SPECT OF:—**

- (a) BAPTISM, CONFIRMATION, AND HOLY COMMUNION.
- (b) THE ORGANIZATION OF FRIENDLY SOCIETIES FOR YOUNG
MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN.

PAPERS.

The Rev. R. APPLETON.

IN treating of the first division of this afternoon's subject, I ask permission to confine myself to the case of the lower classes, not because I question the importance of the problem as regards the upper, and even more the middle, classes at this time, but because it is with respect to the lower classes alone that I can pretend to give the results of experience. The Church's care of the young, so far as it devolves upon the clergy, setting aside for our purpose the primary duty of the parent, is exercised partly in her ordinary ministrations—the Sacraments and the usual services, but more especially in the means which the pastor adopts for drawing the young to these ministrations, for instructing them, and for maintaining a general influence over their lives. In these he acts either directly or mediately. Directly, when he visits, catechizes, conducts confirmation and communicant classes, etc. ; mediately, when he appoints laymen to visit, to teach in the Sunday-school, to manage a guild or club. It is in a fuller recognition and combination of these two methods, I desire to plead, that we may find a large increase of the efficiency of parochial work with the young. As an instance of the pastor's direct action, let me take his instrument for spiritual instruction—catechizing. The importance of this instrument, increasingly as it is being recognised, will be dwelt upon immediately ; I am concerned at this moment to show that catechizing will not suffice alone. To discard other agency is to ignore a defect and to surrender an advantage. The defect is that the catechizing of a mass of scholars cannot test and develop each individual's knowledge, and still more cannot bring home the spiritual lesson personally to the individual life. The advantage sacrificed is scarcely less important ; a layman in charge of a class of scholars wields an additional influence, and has a more particular and intimate knowledge of each ; while again the teacher himself is blessed and trained in the act of helping others. Nor must we forget that to catechize a number of scholars well is an exceptional gift ; and if those

scholars range from seven years to fifteen, and through all grades of intelligence and several grades of social position, it is almost impossible to teach them in the mass with much profit, and quite impossible, save in very rare cases, to do so for a continuance. To use a well-worn metaphor, it is like attempting to fill a case of bottles by flinging water over them from one point, instead of pouring into each from a jug brought up close to it. No schoolmaster, however able, would attempt to do all his teaching himself. But, again, neither is instruction in a Sunday-school all-sufficient in itself, even in theory. For here again a weighty advantage is sacrificed if we do not attach the scholars of the parish closely to the church, and to its pastor ministering within the walls of the church. The difficulties in practice also are greater, or as great, in this case. Teachers, and particularly superintendents, are too scarce, when obtained are not always efficient, and generally speaking need some checking of their work to ensure that their scholars gain a systematic knowledge of Christian truth. Now these two instruments, catechizing and Sunday-schools, supplement each other, and form in combination a system ideally almost perfect. On the one hand, the school reaches the individual both in class and at home, and maintains an unrelaxing influence upon his life, carrying on and reinforcing that of the vicar himself. It attracts, with a little effort, almost all the children of a parish; it breaks up the work into manageable portions; it offers a channel for the co-operation of laymen, and especially of young laymen, in the pastor's work—that co-operation which is so earnestly desiderated by all now as an ecclesiastical question, and which is so indispensable for the Christian life of the layman himself. On the other hand, a periodic catechizing of sections of the school draws the scholars to the parish church; tests, stimulates, supplements, dignifies the school teaching; interests and instructs parents, and such children as do not attend the school. The details of adjustment of the two will be different in town and country, in large and small parishes, but the growing activity of the Church is everywhere learning to blend them; and the more this is done, the firmer does the conviction gain upon us that we possess a machinery amply sufficient to ensure such measure of success as we are to look for. The success is but partial at present, though encouraging; failure lies in the weakness of the instruments, not of the system, and every day, with every improvement of our organization, clergy and teachers alike are coming to understand their work better, and to master its principles, and thus to diminish that failure.

From this wider view of the subject, I pass on to consider the office of Sunday-schools as an agency for drawing the young to Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Communion; for instructing them about these ordinances; and for assisting scholars to realise the spirit of them in their lives. The neglect of Baptism is a matter that has been recently before the minds of Churchmen, particularly through a discussion in the Upper House of the Southern Convocation last July. It was there stated that while only 30 per cent. of the population of England are Nonconformists, and thus the Church of England alone is responsible for 70 per cent., only 55 per cent. of the children born are baptized in the Church of England, leaving 15 per cent. of the whole population, or 15 in 70 (*i.e.*, 21 per cent.) of the Church of England unbaptized, at least in infancy. The causes assigned for this large deficiency were the rapid growth of

population, the difficulty of receiving intelligence of births and of securing sponsors, and the general apathy of parents. In regard to all these, except the first, Sunday-schools and district visitors are ready to hand as the natural resources. It is easy to learn of births in the homes of our scholars; inquiry is made on admission to school (and almost every child in a parish applies for admission) whether the child has been baptized; parents are stimulated; the visitor and teacher excellently fulfil as sponsors the intention of the Church.

Next it is the duty of the Sunday-school to provide a complete scheme of instruction in the elementary principles of the Christian truth. Here I am afraid we must confess that much remains to be done. Not in one or two schools, but in a very large number, hardly anything is taught except the Gospel story over and over again, while in other schools in the North, as I am told, the catechism is treated in the same way, until unceasing reiteration has brought a boy of thirteen or fourteen firmly to believe that there is no meaning in it at all. True that it is better to teach a little well; but if a scholar is with us from four years to fourteen we can teach not a little but a great deal, and there is no need whatever to keep the form of that teaching invariable. May I say, however, from the experience of my own school, that it is easy to frame a course which, with two lessons, or an address and a lesson, each Sunday, shall embrace the following subjects: In the infant school—Some prominent Bible Lives, Psalms, Parables, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Decalogue, some well-known hymns. From the age of seven to nine—A series of familiar Texts and Hymns, learnt and explained; the main points in the History of both Testaments. From nine to thirteen—A more careful study of Old and New Testament in sixteen quarterly courses, while the other lesson in the day takes the Catechism, the Church's Year, some principal passages such as the Sermon on the Mount, the Order for Daily Prayer, the Litany, a few Messianic Prophecies, learnt and taught in due order, with illustrative hymns throughout. Such an endeavour to be comprehensive brings with it solid advantages, in the general firmness which accompanies a system, in the graduation and adaptation which are secured, and in the pleasure that both teacher and scholar derive from variety. It is even more important to notice that a scholar who has passed through a curriculum of this nature will be much more ready to take the second great outward step in the Christian life—that of Confirmation.

Let me dwell further for a moment upon graduation, and, as I do so, extend the term from the subject-matter of teaching to embrace the whole treatment of scholars. We have not forgotten the great stimulus in our school-life that was found in periodical promotion from form to form, with the privileges and position thereby secured to us. Our scholars are accustomed to moves of this kind in the day-school; but in Sunday-school we have not been at pains to institute differences between various ages and attainments, either in lessons or in other matters, and have so missed a useful means for making the work run smoothly and pleasantly. We deal with the scholar of twelve or thirteen, who is at the head of his day-school, in nearly the same method as the boy of seven who is at the bottom of it. No wonder that through our monotony the lad desires to escape as soon as he is strong enough. He has no position, he is tied to younger boys; and though the serener

dignity of the Bible-class is before him, it comes too late. In a large school, where they are chiefly required, graduations are not difficult to contrive, in lessons of course, but also in such matters as advance from a service in the schoolroom to that in church, advance into the division from which the choir is chosen, etc. Experience shows that the school falls naturally into divisions embracing scholars over a range of two years of age—7 to 9, 9 to 11, 11 to 13, 13 to 15, and 15 and upwards; and the head-classes of each of these divisions may have some slight distinctions and duties assigned to them. This will be illustrated best if I describe the plan which obtains in my own school for dealing with boys of 13 to 15 years. May I be allowed to lay special emphasis upon this particular division of our scholars, from a strong feeling that the battle of Confirmation and Holy Communion is often lost at this point, at least in the south-country schools. It is at thirteen that a boy leaves the day-school, begins to feel his strength at home, begins withal to lose his practice in learning lessons and in discipline, and sometimes encounters only too prematurely the hurry and lassitude of overwork. Yet, for the sake of Bible-class members, he is too young to be placed among them. But some change of treatment is necessary, else we shall lose him, or have at best a constrained and unprofitable attendance. Meanwhile, it is just at this age that he should be seriously approaching the subject of Confirmation. We have for the last ten years endeavoured to solve the difficulty as follows: Boys of 13 to 15 form what is called a First Division, consisting of five classes, and are held in a separate room, under a sectional superintendent. A more confidential tone is adopted towards them: their connexion with the teachers is made a more personal matter, and their discipline less formal. A few simple privileges or distinctions mark them off from the main part of the school: a dozen magazines are taken in for them, and lent weekly; they do their lessons by paper-work instead of repetition; in the winter a weekly social evening is provided for them, in the summer they join in the annual excursion as elder scholars. All this treatment is a recognition on the part of the school of the change which is a fact in their lives; it has an additional advantage, that it unites this little body at their critical age in a close fellowship.

This is the effort we make to retain and to influence our boys for Confirmation. When a class moves into this division, Confirmation is set before them as the goal of the work of this period; the teaching specially bears upon it, and there is an annual move of confirmees into the Bible-class division next above. On the whole the plan is decidedly successful. In this last description I have suggested, I trust, that valuable aid in training the young for Confirmation may be found in systematic instruction and graduated treatment in the Sunday-school. Further, the transition has been made from the question of instruction to the question of the retaining and influencing of elder scholars, particularly with a view to the Holy Communion. Such part of the subject now remains to be considered. We must suppose that scholars thus trained have been prepared by the clergy for Confirmation, and have attended their first Holy Communion. Now, as all clergymen know, comes the dangerous moment, the slackening of the stretched string. But now, too, the vicar must call in aid; he cannot continue his personal intercourse with the same frequency and closeness; his resource

is the Bible-class, and probably that in connexion with the Sunday-school. The young confirmee is entrusted to the special charge of a teacher till a certain age, say eighteen. There may be a communicants' association, a guild, and, as we shall hear presently, an institute. I only leave these without further mention, because my particular subject is to discuss how far the Sunday-school may do its part to help in leading young men and women to be faithful, intelligent, and regular communicants. The forces which the Bible-class teacher may wield to this end, as in all dealings with the young, are three : individual influence, fellowship, Christian work.

First, individual influence. Every young man has his special hindrances to becoming a communicant, his temptations to let the habit once formed drop. The teacher, in his constant intercourse and unceasing study of, and prayer for, each life, will watch the moment either of waning or of ripening spiritual progress, and by conversation or by letter will warn the scholar against flagging, and encourage him to begin or to advance. But, again, the difficulty in many cases is in the isolation of the young communicant. Neither his parents nor his mates are there. The teacher may even do something with the parents ; but he has special opportunities of forming a united body of young communicants, and a school may thus form a nucleus for the youth of the parish. Experience shows that a periodic class-communion will strengthen the weaker ones, foster the habit for all, and thus develop the element of Christian fellowship in the sacrament itself. Once again, if scholars are to have real Christian life, it must be by growth, and this must be by themselves undertaking some self-denying work. The teacher can hold this up as the stage of next attainment. He can choose the time and mode of work suited for each ; he can counsel and sympathise as the work progresses. Work is of many forms ; visiting, temperance, magazines, or more private influence over a brother or a friend. Sunday-school teaching is obvious ; and by repeated experience in many places has been found a successful opening for a young worker wherever there is a good organization in the school. Young teachers need training and regular employment, well-defined duties, and above all sympathy ; they repay all these by becoming often the best and the most trustworthy of the teaching staff. At a time when we are deploring the dearth of male volunteers, it does not do to neglect so obvious a source of supply and so rich a spring of blessing.

The capabilities of this great engine, the Sunday-school, which was brought into practical working a hundred years ago, are surely very wide. Our Nonconformist brethren have proved them so by vigorous use. It must be owned that in the Church of England they have not been developed to anything like their full power. By the side of our day-schools, our Sunday-schools in system, in discipline, in solid results, are deplorably deficient. Have we contemplated the weight of the blow it will be to our Church if so large a scheme of organized voluntary work, perhaps the largest ever known—150,000 teachers in the Church-schools of England and Wales alone—should fail ? But fail it will not ; for the two great causes of weakness and halting are being rapidly removed. In the first place, the clergy are accepting Sunday-schools as an indispensable and valuable portion of the parochial machinery, not as a "necessary evil." More thought, more zeal, is being thrown into

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their working ; and difficult as it is to gain the gift of management, this is understood to be an essential part of the pastor's qualifications. In the next place, teachers are realising their power and their responsibility. Every measure which emphasises these, improves the teachers, changes *dilettante* into professional work, draws in better and abler laymen. The Sunday-school Institute, with its long, patient, uphill work, has set a high standard of training and of spirituality, has provided instruments and suggested machinery, and so has raised the whole work to a higher level. But we need further progress yet ; and I venture to plead that we are ripe now for the great advance of diocesan organization. This has been already accomplished in part in the dioceses of Exeter, Lincoln, Manchester, and Truro with success ; and I will ask to close this paper by quoting the circular of a diocesan Sunday-school Society just formed in the diocese of Ely, and seeking, through associations on the basis of the rural deanery, to strengthen and unite small country schools and large town organizations alike. In this circular the general object of the society is defined to be, " To promote the efficiency of the Sunday-schools of the diocese by offering them a basis of closer union ; encouraging systematic catechizings ; affording opportunities for united services and conferences ; providing an experienced staff, who will, if invited by the clergy, attend meetings, catechize, and otherwise assist ; giving information as to text-books, courses of lessons, and Sunday-school work in general ;" but above all, to use the words of the Bishop himself, who has been from the first the head and heart of the movement, by " recognising the Sunday-school more formally as an agency of the Church."

Mrs. PHILIP PAPILLON.

My contribution to this discussion will be limited to the results of my own personal experience of the needs and difficulties of young women during the perilous interval between their leaving the parental roof and once more settling down under the sobering influence of their own married life. How to bridge over this interval is a problem on the practical solution of which the welfare of the whole community more or less depends. For these are the future wives and mothers of our working men, and their influence in the home will, as a rule, be beneficial or otherwise according to their early training. Yet, at the most critical time of their lives, when impressions are most easily formed, and before the lessons of experience have been learned, they go forth into domestic service or find employment in the shop or factory, there to encounter all the dangers inseparable from an early independence, whilst at the same time they are removed from the influence and protection, not only of the home, but of the home parish. For, owing principally to their long hours of daily work, they do not as a class come within the range of ordinary district-visiting, nor is there any general system of instruction for them corresponding to that provided in the Sunday-school for their younger sisters. Can we be surprised if numbers drift away, not only from the Church, but from all that is good, and pure, and true? It is evident that some special

agency is required to bring such a class as this within the sphere of parochial organization. To this end I would submit that an association which will carry on effectually and without a break the care and influence of the Church over the young, should be based on the following principles:

(1.) *It should form part of the existing parochial organization.* It is important that any association introduced into a parish should be carried on, not merely with a formal recognition of the clergyman's authority, but actually under his direction. For a self-constituted society, under external control, even if commenced with the sanction of the Clergy, may sooner or later come into collision with them; and, whilst formed on the Church's lines, in the end cross her path. This ought not to be possible. Special workers for the special work should be appointed by the Clergy to hold a precisely similar position in the Church to the staff of Sunday-school teachers, district-visitors, etc. By this means—and this is important—local liberty is obtained and branches are secured against interference from without. Moreover, undisciplined work is worse than useless. In the case of lady workers, especially, indiscretion is often the result of zeal, which, if properly directed, would be invaluable in bringing that personal influence to bear which is so powerful a lever in this particular work: otherwise, it is apt to become a positive hindrance.

(2.) *The association should be religious*—not partly religious and partly secular, but wholly religious in its aim. It is this motive power alone which can preserve its organization from deteriorating into a mere piece of useless machinery. First and foremost, it should carry on the teaching of the Sunday-school. It is the practice in some parts of the north for adults—even in some cases after marriage—to continue their attendance at the Sunday-school; but this is not the case in the south, where I have known young women to attend Nonconformist schools on Sunday, because no Church classes for adults were open to them. It will be found that classes conducted by lay-workers, together with the circulation of appropriate literature, will open the way for what has already proved to be valuable amongst women engaged in associated labour, viz: special missions followed by occasional mission services. I need scarcely say that so-called secular helps would follow the religious; not only because these must always form a part of the work of any Christian society for the help of body, soul, and spirit in each of its members, but in order that the path of duty may be made as easy and attractive as possible to them. The workers should consist of those who are themselves striving to lead Christian lives by the power of Divine grace; and, following the spirit of the Church in her requirements for godparents (as prescribed in the 29th Canon), communicants should be appointed.

(3.) *It should embrace all who are endeavouring to lead Christian lives.* As a parochial and religious society it could not do otherwise. It must have the comprehensiveness of the Church, its object being not only "to strengthen such as do stand," but "to comfort and help the weak-hearted, and to raise up them that fall." And this principle, whilst it necessitates the reception of the repentant and reformed, together with those who have been kept, by God's grace, from notorious sin, is also absolutely necessary for the efficiency of the work itself, and for the

well-being of its members. My own experience has taught me that there is no better way of helping those who are striving to lead Christian lives, than by at once assigning them some work to do for others, so that in lowliness of mind they may be led to realise their sisterhood in Christ, and the great Fatherhood of God. But whilst for their sakes the missionary element is needed, on the other hand an organization limited to the degraded, the falling, and the fallen, would as surely defeat its own end as a temperance association would fail, were the reformed drunkards alone to be the total abstainers, the act of joining such an association at once branding the member. The society should, in fact, comprise all, with the exception of those who will always form a residuum to be dealt with by the existing rescue societies; and although primarily for the young, the married women should also be included, not only that they may share the benefits of the society, but in order to secure their co-operation. Although this is desirable in rural parishes, it is specially so in the mill or warehouse, where the married and elder women, by virtue of their position, occupy a vantage ground for influencing the public opinion which is so great a power amongst those working together in masses.

(4.) *It should be general.* If local only, an important element is missing, *viz.* : the *esprit de corps* which is a source of strength and encouragement to each individual member of a wide-spreading association. Nor is this all. Owing to their dependence on local agencies which are of necessity constantly varying, local organizations are apt to pass away with their first promoters unless linked together. There should be one centre to which the branches may look for help in grants, deputations, etc., a special literature; and advice derived from a common experience. Lastly, the more wide-spread the society, the more complete will be the machinery whereby the members of a migratory class may be handed on from the care of one branch to another.

Among general societies in existence for young women the Young Women's Christian Association has been particularly successful in benefiting those employed in shops, both in London and elsewhere. It is distinctly religious, no branch being without its Bible-class as the nucleus of its work, whilst a prayer union links together the Associates. It is not, however, entirely a Church society, and this limits its operations. The Girls' Friendly Society is too well known to need description; but, as an Associate of that society and a former member of its Central Council, I may, perhaps, be permitted to call attention to two features in its work which appear to me to be specially useful. One is the complete network of communication afforded by its numerous branches, enabling domestic servants, who are a migratory class, to be transferred from branch to branch at each change of place. The other is the friendly help accorded to the otherwise friendless workhouse girl as she goes forth into service, everything being done to remove the reproach of the workhouse from her, whilst home and shelter are held out to her between her situations. In all parts of England, with the exception of London, where the excellent Metropolitan Association for befriending Young Servants has been longer established—the Girls' Friendly Society undertakes this much-needed work.

The society, however, which is based entirely upon the principles which I have been advocating is the Church of England Young Women's

Help Society.* This society aims at being purely a development of the Church's work. Reference to its rules will show that its government is entirely in the hands of the Bishops and Clergy. Not only is each branch under the control of its parochial Clergy, but the diocesan committees are to be under episcopal presidency, and to consist of those Clergy of the diocese in whose parishes branches are established. Meanwhile, a small provisional committee, whose province it is to assist in the formation of branches, and to link them together, exists only until a sufficient number of diocesan committees can be formed, delegates from which will constitute the Central Council. It is scarcely necessary to add that, being a Church society, its strength lies in being distinctly religious. Its workers must be communicants, and each undertake some definite work under the direction of their parochial Clergy; such work, ready for adaptation to local needs, being sketched out in the rules of the constitution, as follows: Bible and secular classes; recreation and reading rooms; lodging-houses and registries; a lodge of the Church Temperance Women's Benefit Society, for the assistance of sick members, and convalescent homes; coffee-houses; temperance meetings and addresses, with the circulation of appropriate literature; penny banks, clothing clubs, etc., and lastly, lending libraries.

These benefits are open to all who are striving to lead Christian lives. From the elasticity of its constitution, the society is able to meet the needs of the most opposite classes under the most varying conditions, and, whilst covering an infinitely wide sphere, to maintain, as a Church organization, unity of action. Girls and women of good character are admitted to full membership after a probation, as Associates, of not less than six months—a probation which, in some cases, has to be prolonged, special care in admission being necessary in a society which admits the repentant and reformed. Members and Associates receive a card on enrolment, with a different rule of life, the standard being higher for Members than Associates. There is also a different and appropriate rule of life for married Members. These rules have been found helpful, not only serving as a reminder or warning in time of need, but as a bond of Christian union between Members in different localities, this being strengthened by a Bible reading union. Membership in this society is analogous to membership in a parochial guild, with this advantage, that the local organizations are connected for co-operation. A separate department is being formed for a class of married women specially needing assistance in garrison towns, *viz.*: soldiers' wives, who, not being "on the strength" of the regiment, are left behind when it moves into fresh quarters. Provision is also made for those who although at present ineligible as Associates or Members, are yet earnestly striving against their evil surroundings, and perhaps more than any need pastoral care, the helping hand, the word of counsel or encouragement. At the same time, all penitentiary work is left to other agencies. Until the machinery is so complete as to enable Members to be handed from the care of one branch to another, it is recommended that the organization of the Church be used, and that where there is no branch of the society, the clergyman be communicated with, and the girl commended to his care when she enters his parish.

Substantial help is given to branches on first being set on foot.

* Office: 29, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury.

Grants are made towards the establishment of reading-rooms, lending libraries, etc. ; and a band of travelling workers has been organized, who hold themselves in readiness to visit any parish on the invitation of the incumbent, to address meetings of young women, and explain the objects of the society, with the view to the formation of a branch, all travelling expenses being defrayed by the society. And, in order that branches may not be crippled, particularly at starting, by any outgoing payments, the almost nominal sum of two shillings and sixpence annually from each branch is all that is required towards the central fund of the society.

I am aware that some have imagined this society and the Girls' Friendly Society to be rivals. Such an impression would greatly prejudice the work of both ; but a brief explanation will show that this is not the case.

The central aim of the Girls' Friendly Society is the encouragement and maintenance of purity. But this aim, excellent as it is, necessarily narrows its sphere of action, and confines its operations within clearly defined limits. Its benefits are reserved for those, and those only, who are and *always have been* virtuous. It can assist—and that very effectually—some young women of the parish, but not all. As its foundress has repeatedly asserted, "it cannot cover the whole ground ;" so that, if adopted as a parochial society, it must be supplemented by some auxiliary institution working side by side with it, unless the repentant and reformed, together with the degraded, are to be excluded from the parochial care. But here we are met by the difficulty which I have already stated. Besides the additional trouble occasioned by two organizations each with its separate funds and different staff of workers, the supplementary society would be branded at starting, and would consequently fail in its object, because no young woman would be likely to join an association consisting only of those whose past or present character excluded them from the other society. My own experience testifies to this being no theoretical or fanciful difficulty.

I commenced my work amongst factory girls in the south of England, with the full assurance that the Girls' Friendly Society was competent to do all that was required, and it was with reluctance that I was at last forced into the opposite conclusion. For, as I found, it is one thing to skim the cream off a large class of female operatives, and quite another to benefit—or, if needs be, reclaim—the class itself ; and a society which excludes from Bible classes, and other helps in a Christian life, all who are not or have not always been virtuous (however penitent or reformed at the present moment), acts, no doubt, as a moral strainer, but is plainly a deterrent not only to the disqualified, but to the far larger class of those who associate with the disqualified. I felt it to be impossible to ignore the large intermediate body between the few who could be admitted into the Girls' Friendly Society in manufacturing towns, and on the other hand the few (as we may hope), who are only objects for a rescue society. For this I felt another and more comprehensive society to be needed ; and that, whilst the work could not be effectually carried on without those who had been mercifully preserved from evil to form the nucleus, at the same time help should be extended to the repentant and reformed. Lastly, I felt my work to be crippled by the exclusion of the married women, who are inadmissible to the Girls' Friendly Society, or, if already members, cease to be so on marriage. My position as foundress of the factory depart-

ment of the Girls' Friendly Society, which I represented on the central council, brought me into communication with all branches of the society working in this particular direction, and I soon learned that others shared my experience. I could come to no other conclusion than that the sole condition for membership in a religious association for the help of a whole class should be no other than that which admits to the highest privilege of Christ's Church—that "they repent them truly of their former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life." I laid the difficulties I had encountered before the Central Council, but after some discussion it was resolved that the society could not enlarge its borders, and that it should be left to other agencies to undertake all that lay beyond its proper province. The suggestion was then made that another society should be formed for this purpose, and the expression of sympathy which this received from the meeting was recorded in the printed minutes.

Such was the origin of the Young Women's Help Society. I hope I have shown not only that it fills a void, but that the ground on which it has entered was unoccupied. It was therefore formed in no spirit of rivalry. Nor does it fulfil the conditions which constitute a rival. It is different in its central aim and different in its sphere of operations.

This last may be best illustrated by the extension of my own Bible class, since the work has been transferred to the Young Women's Help Society. Its members have increased from eight or ten to between fifty and sixty. Married as well as single are now admitted. With but one or two exceptions, all are factory workers, who can neither read nor write, and attend no place of worship. No question is asked as to character, the wish to come giving the right of admission; and this willingness to come will be better appreciated when it is borne in mind that it entails no small sacrifice on their part. The persecution which I have known many of these poor souls to endure because they are "turning religious," can scarcely be conceived. I call to mind one poor widow in particular, who went through a fiery ordeal, because she was confirmed and became a communicant. At the same time I have known those who have been the persecutors, and have even sworn at their companions for coming to the class, themselves end in becoming regular attendants—such is the power of example. One woman, whose antecedents years ago render her ineligible for the Girls' Friendly Society, is doing a grand missionary work in the factory by her Christian influence over the younger women, and in bringing them to the classes. I humbly hope that my Bible-class is a feeder to the Church, and a stepping-stone to attendance in God's House. It forms but one portion of the work undertaken by this branch of the Young Women's Help Society. Mission Services take place monthly. Weekly classes of all sorts, a lending library, branch of the Church Temperance Society, penny bank, and flower mission are established, and periodical entertainments provided in the spacious club-room which is open every evening of the week, on Sundays, and holidays.

It is here that I have served my apprenticeship; and I have had the advantage of shaping the organization to the work instead of fitting the work to the organization. It is this alone which gives me any claim to be heard; and I have as far as possible confined my observations to that which I have found to be most practical in my own work amongst young women of the working classes.

F. B. MONEY COUTTS, Esq.

MY LORD BISHOP :—England prides itself on being practical, and the theory of “practicality” is a very needful one. That the carrying out of ideas must be tempered with tact and common sense, that prejudice and sensitiveness must be taken into consideration—these are truths that receive almost daily exemplification. Human nature is more prone to exaggerate than to depreciate them. What seems far more likely to be unperceived is, that all individuals and communities have sets of unformulated current ideas or impressions which determine their life. It is very noticeable how our Lord’s teaching recognises this. Many of the unmethodised, though motive, ideas of the people were inadequate or false. He completed or superseded them with those ideas of love, inward holiness, and perfection of life, which, in the face of their success, the world dare no longer call impractical. Yet when the preacher holds up before his flock that wonderful ideal of love exemplified in our Lord’s life, how many of his hearers does he expect will attain to it? In such a sense it is certainly “unpractical.” Yet we are believers, not only in a Saviour, but in a teaching; and I submit that it is not for Christians to fear what the world calls theory. If then a friendly society for the young is to have vitality, it must not be a mere fraternity or conglomeration. It must be permeated with ideas. No organization ever yet had any contagious or leavening effect unless it was. It must have an individuality in order that it may impress its influence on the multitude. It must be something more than a circle round agencies that remain isolated. The objects such a society has in view are not to be attained by material agencies alone, nor even principally by them. Bricks and mortar—everything, in a word, that can be photographed; instruction—everything, in a word, that can be reported; these there is a tendency to reckon as of first and last importance; as the only things worthy to be called *work*. They are by no means to be left undone. Recreation rooms, lodges, homes of rest, registries, Bible-classes, or wholesome literature, these are indispensable. So are co-operation and amalgamation, amid so much effort weakened by disunity. These are sure to be duly advocated. But a society for the young should have principles of thought, as well as principles of action. It should contain something more effectual than an impulse of philanthropy, if it is to be truly “practical.” *Deus ex machinâ* methods are comparatively easy to apply to social problems. But, when the momentum of this heroic treatment has spent itself, the problems recur, unsolved. As Goethe says, “It is so easy to act; but it is so difficult to think.” Every kind of philanthropic patchwork has had a fair trial. It is too easily rent in pieces. The question is, what can infuse true ideas? since false ideas perpetuate evil. Whatever can, must contain regenerative power. The historian who shall hereafter study this age will certainly not ignore its great growth of charitable institutions. But he will examine more deeply than these. He will inquire what those influences were—those emanations of mind—which at all moulded or modified the motive ideas of the people. Then, first, let the friendly society enshrine in its teaching the principle of love. The notion must be dispelled that the workers themselves need

nothing from the society. There must be *mutual* help. It might almost be said that the friendly society should be formed more for the upper and middle classes than for the lower. For all its objects would have a tenfold fulfilment if those classes acted more in the spirit of the love that Christ taught. It would be well if we could often substitute love for work; for loving can do much more than is commonly meant by "working."

Assuredly it is time that Associations were formed to help women to love women, and men to love men. Think what it would be, if masters and mistresses *loved* their servants. Nothing less than that will avail. It is not enough to be able to say with Marie St. Clare, in "Uncle Tom's Cabin": "I'm sure if anybody does more for servants than we do, I'd like to know who. And it don't do 'em a bit of good, not a particle; they get worse and worse. As to talking to them, or anything like that, I'm sure I have talked till I was tired and hoarse, telling them their duty and all that; and I am sure they can go to Church when they like. . . . I'm very particular in letting them have everything that comes convenient." But who will deny that there is a great deal of this spirit in England? And what is it doing? The Reformatory and Refuge Union finds that there is a majority of domestic servants among the fallen women whom it succours. It finds that a large proportion of its refuge institutions is needed specially for unbefriended domestic servants. Is not want of love responsible for many such sad facts? The magic power of a kind word and an interest taken is never more exhibited than it is by the action of the Friendly Society among young servants.

Again, think what it would be if the middle classes *loved* those that are under them. Would there be so many "little" servants, as they are called, living in one continuous drive of work from week's end to week's end, Sundays included; underfed, and falling back upon beer or brandy as the only "support;" with a mind wholly untended, and no living soul to give them one word of sympathy? Would there be so many young women in business, shop-girls, warehouse girls, factory girls, and mill "hands," with no means of procuring any proper morning meal, and so driven to stop the craving of hunger with gin; with every enticement to draw them away in the evening from their wretched and crowded lodgings, to enter into some giddy course that can only end in ruin; extravagant, and foolishly romantic, tumbling at last into matrimony or another life as if by chance; in shops, worked without even the small mercy of a chair to sit on; in factories, gradually growing callous to foul language and filthy talk—possibly designedly corrupted by immoral overlookers? Is it too late to say to the employers of such kind of labour, "Whosoever will save his life, shall lose it"? There is hope that it is not; for many employers are willing to join the Friendly Society; and the more they do, the easier will it be to encourage faithfulness of service among those they employ. The Friendly Society must also seek to interest parents, and the masters and mistresses of National Schools. It must go to the home and the school, in order to secure candidates for the Society at an early age, and so anticipate the next generation. The question for England is how far that generation will be pure, honest, temperate, and thrifty. So, too, the co-operation of Guardians, and of masters and matrons of workhouses, should be obtained. Then there are classes that it seems no one's business to care for, except the parochial clergy's.

Gangs that serve for hire in the harvest or the hop field ; the daughters of bargees and navvies, or communities that ply some special trade. One of the main things gained by organization is *inter-communication*, resulting in a wider sympathy. There are many proofs that the young working population grasps with ease the idea of a Friendly Society. Many a girl has dated her first feeling of caring what became of her from the day she joined a great fellowship of women, and paid her contribution to the fund that carries the same influence to others.

But when once a corporate life of this kind has sprung up, there comes with it a great responsibility. Corporate lives have consciences like individual lives. In every school, for instance, there is what has been well called a "collective conscience." It approves some things, condemns others. Everything is referred to this tribunal, which may judge wisely or foolishly.

Now the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury has recognised, in the most unqualified way, that there is a decay of purity going on in this country. The appalling report just presented to Parliament by the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the law relating to the protection of young girls only too strongly corroborates this view.

The question is, then, what judgment will the "collective conscience" of your Friendly Society give with regard to impurity? It will probably not judge much amiss with regard to intemperance or dishonesty. There is, happily, still a feeling abroad that the commission of these sins is not venial or unavoidable. But it is not so with impurity. The horror of it is obscured ; the worth and beauty of purity are very feebly appreciated. The current ideas about them are totally inadequate.

How, then, is the society to strengthen and sharpen its "collective conscience," in order that it may exert an educational effect on the body of its members?—in order to create the *possibility* that common ideas may become more adequate?

Surely the answer is, By stamping purity with an unmistakable value. The society must demonstrate, as the nation has ceased to demonstrate it, that purity is still held unspeakably precious. By that means possibly in course of time a higher tone, engendered in the society, may spread into the surrounding masses.

But of course this demonstration must take a practical shape. Mere oral teaching is patently insufficient. It is not so easy as might be supposed, in Christian England, to bring home to the mind of every young girl that there are those who are caring about her purity. It can hardly fail to strike her sometimes that it is only if she lose it that she becomes of any interest. Then machinery of all sorts is set in motion for her. Till then there is small visible token that anyone thinks or hopes about her. But if she can become one of a society of many thousand women, in which the principle of purity is practically vindicated, then purity ceases to be a name—it has become a definite power. And further, if she can feel that the whole society—workers and worked-for—is unitedly striving in the cause of virtue, and jealous of its own fair fame, that raises her up to a higher moral level.

In order, then, that the voices of purity may be heard in chorus, there must be a distinct refusal to admit impurity, past or present, into the ranks of the society. Such a rule has long ago passed into the sphere of "practical politics." It has worked, it is working ; and if any

difficulties are connected with it, all that can be said is, that they are part of the work to be done. It matters little to the society whether such a rule exists or not, but it matters everything to the girls. They need its tonic influence. They need it as the embodiment of the principle of purity that still lives among them, but which, split up among the units of their community, cannot gather force enough to stem at all the prevailing tide.

Considered with reference to the individual, Miss Ellice Hopkins's work comprises the *preventive* and *restorative* work. It remains for the Friendly Society to undertake the *preservative* work. But it has also a work to do with reference to the community, wherever a sufficient nucleus of purity exists; and the fact that prevention and restoration are needed, should not be allowed to weaken the proper work of the Friendly Society.

There is no time to consider the question of purity among young men and boys. Of course it is as important for them as for women. The sanctity of true marriage, reverence for women, and respect for the weak, these are some of the principles to be used as levers.

The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury has passed a resolution that a Church Society should be formed with the sole object of combating impurity. But, alas! the clergy complain that they have too many societies already. They have the Girl's Friendly Society and the Young Men's Friendly Society—both as thoroughly Church Societies as possible. Founded in 1875, the Girls' Friendly Society had for its sponsors Mrs. Harold Browne, the late Rev. T. V. Fosbery, the late Mrs. Tait, and the late Mrs. Nassau Senior. It now possesses a powerful representative organization and a large number of institutions. The Queen is its patron, the Archbishops are its presidents, and the Bishops of the two provinces are its vice-presidents. Its associates are members of the Church of England, and its local establishment depends on the parochial clergy. Its bond is *ἀγάπη*, and its strength, prayer. The encouragement of purity is certainly not its only object; but it reads the signs of the times, and believes that impurity must be boldly met. The rule which it employs for that purpose has received the sanction of a meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops held at Lambeth early in February last year.

The Young Men's Friendly Society is founded on exactly similar lines, having for its patrons the Archbishops and most of the Bishops, and the list of the clergy on its Council contains many well-known names. The Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth is the secretary of it.

The Church herself has given birth to these societies without knowing it. They are the power of good gathering itself into centres. Is it not for the Church to cherish her own offspring, and by their means to apply elevating and enriching ideas, which may still be potent in England long after individual workers have gone to their rest?

ADDRESSES.

Mr. EUGENE STOCK.

I AM requested to speak on the first of the two subjects on the paper, namely, the Church's care of the young in respect of baptism, confirmation, and Holy Communion. There has, no doubt, been some neglect in our teaching of the young regarding these matters, and I think it has arisen from the circumstances of the case. In the foreign Mission-field, where adult baptisms are common, the newly-won converts are enrolled as catechumens, and as such are taught to look forward to the three great steps of baptism, confirmation, and Holy Communion. But most of the children we teach—not all, as Mr. Appleton has shown—have been baptized already. We rejoice that it is so; but the fact has tended, undoubtedly, to give baptism a less prominent place in our teaching than it would otherwise have had, or than it ought to have had. What we should do in the home teaching, in the school teaching, in the personal intercourse of teachers and scholars, in the clergyman's Bible-classes and public catechizing, is to refer to baptism as a thing done, to the baptismal privileges and baptismal responsibilities as things existent, and to confirmation and Holy Communion as things "which eager hearts expect." I say nothing to-day about these various agencies themselves. What could I say that has not been well said over and over again at Congresses? Mr. Appleton, indeed, has made a fresh contribution to the subject to-day, for which we ought all to thank him. I will only add one word in passing about Sunday-schools. It is a mistake to suppose that well-worked Sunday-schools have been failures in this matter. There was nothing exceptional in the school which I formerly had the honour of superintending; yet it sent up twenty-five or thirty candidates for confirmation every year; some sixty or seventy of the elder scholars in actual attendance were more or less regular communicants; and of the whole number of communicants in the parish two-thirds were, or had been, scholars in that Sunday-school. But on this occasion I confine myself to one point.

Look at the ideal child brought up under Christian teaching as a member of the Church of England. Watch him as he learns at his mother's knee of the great Father in heaven, of the redeeming Son, and the sanctifying Spirit, and hears how, while yet an unconscious infant, He was solemnly laid at the feet of that Father, placed in the arms of that Son, delivered to the care of that Holy Spirit. See him growing up a praying, Bible-reading, church-loving boy; yet not on that account dismal and gloomy and unboylike, but brave, pure, generous, the idol of the cricket-ground as well as of his mother and sisters. See him, in fearless but humble loyalty to his chosen Lord and Master, coming to confirmation, rejoicing to take upon himself the vows made in his name, which indeed he has been faithfully keeping all along in his childish way; and then with yet deeper joy and higher consecration kneeling at the Table of the Lord, and feeding on Him in his heart by faith with thanksgiving. That is the ideal. Alas! how rarely is it realised! And why not? Is it the fault of the teaching? Yes, perhaps, in some cases. But there is a far deeper cause than that. It is simply this, that sin is a great and terrible fact. This is a truism, of course; but we need to remember continually in all these discussions the truth of the familiar words—explain and apply them as you like—"the infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate." The result is that, looking not at our ideal young Churchman—nor yet at the City arabs, or those neglected specimens of youthful humanity that one meets going down to your quayside here—but at the ordinary boys and girls in our day and Sunday schools, and in our homes—looking at these boys and girls as they are, we see that the great majority of those who are pledged to fight manfully under Christ's banner against sin, the world, and the devil, and to continue His faithful soldiers and servants unto their life's end, are to all intents and purposes ranged, if

not actually fighting, on the wrong side. We are told not to regard our children as little heathens. No; but they are, too many of them, little deserters, little rebels against the great King. It may be, not wilful and intentional rebels; but at all events members of what are in fact families not owning and serving the King, and, therefore, churchgoers, though some of them may be, in a state of rebellion more or less pronounced.

What, then, is the Church's work with these young people—that is, with the great majority of our boys and girls? Is it not to win them back to their allegiance? Is it not to say, You are Christians in name, be Christians in heart and life? What they want is, in one word, conversion. Some of you may dislike the word, but after hearing Mr. Maclagan, the present Bishop of Lichfield, tell 3,000 Sunday-school teachers in Exeter Hall a few years ago not to be ashamed or afraid of that word, I don't see that anyone need be ashamed or afraid of it. Not that I care for the name, but I want the thing. I want to see those who are going one way turned right round and going the other. If you do not win these youthful wanderers back, you may bring them to a formal confirmation and formal first communion—many motives will bring them that far—but it will be merely, as it were, persuading the deserters to take their places in the ranks while the army passes in review before the general; and, while you are congratulating yourselves upon the large contingent you have furnished to the army of the Lord, they will begin to fall out again directly the review is over.

What, then, are we to do? In reply to this I have four things to say. (1.) Our teaching, whether in the home, in the school, or in the church, must be of the right kind. Bishop Wilberforce never said a wiser thing than when he deprecated the continual exhorting of children to "Be good." "Be good, obedient, kind, truthful, regular at church, and so on, and then you will go to heaven when you die." This seems to be the gospel usually preached to children, varied now and then with a little law, in the shape of "If you do so-and-so, where do you think you'll go to?"—though happily there is less of this latter than there used to be. My Lord, that is not the gospel at all. What is the gospel? It is just this: the proclamation of the King's free pardon for Christ's sake to every rebel, young or old, who lays down his arms. That is the gospel which the Bishop of Carlisle with such power and simplicity proclaimed last night to the working men of Newcastle. In that vast assembly last night there were hundreds of young men. If it was a good thing to preach it to them at the age of twenty, is it not a better thing to preach it to them at the age of ten, and so, it may be, by God's blessing, save them from years of sin and of sin's consequences, and perhaps avoid some of those distressing evils referred to in the preceding papers? "What sort of children," said an infant-class teacher to her class, "does God love?" Instantly, of course, came the response from fifty voices, "Good children!" "But, teacher," said one little girl, "I think God loves naughty children." *That's the Gospel*; and that must be the Gospel the Church preaches if she will win the young. God loves naughty children; for naughty children the Son of God died. (2.) Upon the foundation—*this* foundation—we are to raise the superstructure of systematic Christian teaching. Of course I do not mean that we are to wait till the "rebel" has come back before we teach him. I only mean that our teaching itself must have, in one sense as its foundation, and in another sense as its aim, "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." And when, by the power of the Holy Ghost, the deserter has returned to loyal service, the teaching already given to the head will come home to the heart. To such an one every word of the Catechism will have a power and a beauty it cannot otherwise have. Confirmation, whether viewed prospectively or retrospectively, will be transfigured in his eyes; Holy Communion will be to him, in a sense very different from that in which the words are too often used, the highest act of Christian worship. (3.) But let us remember that it is those young people whose hearts God has touched who need to be specially watched over. They are just in that state of mind that may render them an easy prey to teaching which is

not Church teaching, and to teachers who are not Church teachers, but who profess a peculiarly high spirituality. At the time of the London Mission of 1874, a godly and active Plymouth Brother said to a friend of mine, "Now is our reaping time. We are on the watch for your converts, to show them the way of God more perfectly. You will sow the seed; we shall reap the harvest." I know that Rome was on the watch at that time too; and it is at seasons of religious awakening, whether in parochial or in individual history, that the value of sound systematic Church teaching—teaching that is dogmatic but not controversial—will be proved as against allurements on all sides, whether from without or from within the Church. If we had had more really good Church teaching, I for one believe we should have had fewer Plymouth Brethren, and I for one believe we should have had fewer Ritualists. (4.) On the other hand, let us avoid the fatal mistake of supposing that Church teaching will of itself attach our young people to the Church. It has often been said at these Congresses that Dissenters gain their adherents by giving their Sunday scholars distinctive Nonconformist teaching, and that we lose ours by failing to give distinctive Church teaching. The fact is, and I speak what I know, that the systematic teaching of distinctive Nonconformist principles scarcely exists in Nonconformist Sunday-schools at all. I don't think we could fairly complain if it did prevail; but as a matter of fact it does not to any extent. Nonconformists win their young people by the personal influence of their teachers. "Come with us, and we will do thee good," is their word; and it succeeds.

It is not fresh machinery that we want, but men to work it. "Not the machinery, but the man," was the principle on which I enlarged at the Plymouth Congress, and I reiterate it now. And I do so with this fresh illustration of its power. At Plymouth I described three remarkable cases of the man (or the woman) making his own machinery, and working it effectively. Of the three agencies then referred to, two have since come to an end, while one has prospered and grown exceedingly. In the two cases the workers have been removed; in the third, the worker is still at his post. You will ask, Does not this rather show the weakness of the principle? Yes, if you trust in it too exclusively. But we may thank God for the good done while the workers were at work—which good would in neither case have been done without them—and humble ourselves before Him because successors were not found. Let us perfect our machinery by all means. We are all trying to do so. We are rapidly improving our Sunday schools, and those who ignore the improvement, and ignore also the Sunday school Institute which has done so much to promote it, seem strangely ignorant of what is going on around them. We are establishing Bible-classes for children of higher grades of society—a work yet in its infancy, but still a growing work. The teachers are learning how to teach; the clergy—I say it with all respect—are learning how to catechize. We are arranging the public worship of the children so that they shall no more be constrained to say, "I was *sorry* when they said unto me, let us go into the House of the Lord." But all will avail nothing without the personal contact of heart with heart. And in our intercourse with our boys and girls, let us, above all things, be careful of this, that while they enjoy a walk, or a game of cricket, or an evening's entertainment in which we are their bright and pleasant companions and leaders, whenever it really does come to pass that one of them is bowed down in his conscience by the convicting grace of the Holy Ghost, he shall be afraid to come to us with the story. Let us not be such as that he may be led to say, "I cannot tell *him*." Let us be such as that we shall be the first to whom he comes with confidence, else he will assuredly go where we would rather he did not go. Then, if we have been his helpers at that supreme moment of his life, he will thankfully take our hand when we lead him to confirmation, and will joyfully kneel at our side to take the Holy Communion.

The Rev. H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH (Minor Canon of St. Paul's).

EVERY working clergyman knows the difficulty of getting hold and keeping hold of the lads and young men of his parish. They ought to be his hope and his strength; too often they are his anxiety and his sorrow. Some of the sorest of those disappointments which make his heart sad and his head grey, are felt in the falling away of the bright, promising lads from whom he hoped so much, when they were boys in his parish school. He, more than others, feels the supreme importance of winning the young men who are outsiders, and maintaining some influence for good upon those who at least begin as insiders. How can he reach the one? how can he keep the other? The society which I am here to represent: the Young Men's Friendly Society, is one of the latest efforts, but wholly unsuccessful, to meet (in part at least) a difficulty which threatens the future of the Church and of religion in England. A few well-known clergymen and laymen, who had long felt the importance of dealing with this matter, met during the Sheffield Congress and resolved to establish a society for young men, which should endeavour to do for them what the Girls' Friendly Society had done for girls. After some preliminary meetings, in May, 1879, a meeting of delegates from all the English dioceses was held in Lambeth Palace, the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding. But it was not until May, 1880, that we may be said to have fairly begun our work. Two main principles governed our actions.

First, it was clear that one human power alone could really retain the hearts and the allegiance of boys. The one thing which holds lads, and moves them, and lives in their hearts in days to come, is the power of *personal influence*.

Through this, the key of great movements, the soul of all that is mighty in human life, the problem must be solved. Truth shown forth in character is what wins hearts, and keeps hearts. "To the personal influence of Christians," says the Dean of St. Paul's, "our Lord has committed his cause. On personal influence the Church was founded; by personal influence she must endure." With this great fact in view, we endeavour to secure such an influence for every member of the Young Men's Friendly Society. The society consists of (a) associates, and (b) members. The associates are those who do the work; the members those for whom it is done. The associate is the *influencer*. The member the *influenced*. The associate is the unit of the society. Where he is, or she, for we recognise with grateful reverence the fact that ladies can often do more for lads than men, and therefore we welcome them as associates—where he or she is, there is the society. The associate's power of admitting members makes it at once possible for him to set the society going wherever he may be. Let me here point out that this is a grand field for that lay work of which we hear and hope so much. Lay people who might not feel equal to the care of a district, or the charge of a large class, might be glad to undertake the oversight of a few lads: we do not recommend that one associate should have too many. The character of the associate's influence is sought to be secured by only admitting communicants: persons, that is, for whose thorough loyalty to the English Church, and desire for a higher spiritual life, we have at least some guarantee. This provision places Young Men's Friendly Societies on Church lines. But the only test of membership is that of good character, for which the admitting associate is made responsible, and that of age, which is fixed at thirteen and upwards—the time when a boy leaves school, and thus the time when the help of a pure personal influence is most needed. Thus the limit of membership is as wide as possible, so that every working lad may have a chance of being brought under the influence of an associate. For those who want something more, a guild may be established with stricter rules; but in a society which aims at being universal, the rule must be as elastic as possible. Indeed, my own experience leads me to the conclusion that strict rules for lads are generally a snare and a delusion. Give them a standard of life to aim at; but do not require them to promise to do too much. I venture to lay some stress upon the advantages to be secured by bringing

every member into contact with an associate. The associate is his *friend*; we are a *Friendly Society*; this expresses an aim, to provide a friend for every working lad; a friend to whom he can always look for advice, teaching, sympathy, and genial help. The associate will usually be of a social class superior to the member—though we have the assistance of working-men associates, or even of big lad associates: and very useful associates they are; and in such cases a modification, or even an entire remission, of the half-crown subscription is allowed. A wise associate will know how to use the position of his members' *friend*. He will find some means of bringing himself across their life, and getting to know how they think and feel. It is of no use for him only to see them when they have their Sunday clothes and their company manners on. If he would really know them, he must go deeper than that. He will join in their games—go and meet them at the reading-room; he will sit there and talk to them freely and pleasantly about the news of the day, or the pictures in the illustrated paper. He will learn more of his boy's characters in a cricket-match, or in a discussion upon the morality of pigeon-shooting, or the character of President Garfield, than he will ever know if he stands at a distance. There is here the germ, we may hope, of a something which is indeed *the* need of our time; a link to unite class with class. When, in almost every European country, there are ominous signs that the gulfs which part class from class are widening in a manner which threatens the very foundations of society, we may surely hope much from an organization which is built upon the principle binding the associate of the one class to the members of the other in the bonds of a friendship cemented by religion.

An associate will gather his lads together for a class on a week-day evening, and a Bible-class on Sunday afternoons—I think that lads who have left school should not be asked to meet in a school-room. They don't like the notion of going to school again, where the little boys go. Have your class in your own house, if you can. On week-day evenings we can teach the boys elementary science, or drawing, or history. Why should we not take the life of some great historical character, read it with them, discuss it with them, pointing out his mistakes, his strength, his danger, his weaknesses, and getting the boys to give their views of it. Why not use our own hobbies? our smattering of botany, or geology, or our dabbling in chemistry, for the benefit of our members? Our Bible-classes, of course, will enable us to give our intercourse with them a definitely religious tone. We can make the Bible a real book to them, and its characters real persons. We can point them to the One Ideal of human character, and show them how to follow in His steps. But it is not enough to deal with our members in classes: we must know them as individuals. We are rather too apt, I think, to deal with our people in the mass. Personal influence, to be real, must be individual. I will just touch upon two dangers. The wise associate will beware of patronising his lads on the one hand, or of petting them on the other. If he patronises—if his idea is that of the worthy parson whose one test of his parishioners' excellence or depravity was whether or no they touched their caps to him—he will never be his lads' friend. If he pets them, he will spoil the weak, disgust the strong, and ruin his work. He must have no favourites: his justice and his fairness must be above suspicion.

I have spoken so much of the work of associates, that I fear some may think it is impertinent on the part of a central secretary, whose work is with the machinery, to go outside his own business. My excuse is my fear that we should become a mere paper society, an organization with branches, and offices, and elaborate machinery, but no more—a machine which does no work.

Second, But I will pass now to the machinery. If our first thought was of personal influence, our second was of *organization*. The advantages of association were too great to be ignored. Without organisation, the work would lack plan and purpose; it would be a rope of sand. The Young Men's Friendly Society may be described, then, as *the organization of personal influence*.

Associates, though they may work alone, will find it better to join together and form a branch, especially as each branch has "Home Rule," and complete independence within the wide limits of our central rules. A branch is held to be formed when its rules, and the name of its secretary, are sent to the central office. It manages its own affairs, makes its own rules, and administers its own funds, subject only to a yearly contribution, proportioned to its means, to cover the cost of cards, forms and lists, which are supplied gratis. I need not stop to point out how a well-ordered branch can make its corporate life felt. I will go on to say that the central council in London tries to *centralise* as little as possible. It is only a link to unite the organizations together, a centre for official purposes. Perfect freedom to all local branches is its principle.

There is provision for a diocesan council; but we have found it best to work up from below, and from the branches first. It is of no use to get a great council together, when they have nothing to administer. We have several diocesan secretaries, but only one diocesan council, that of London. But there are more branches, and the society has taken deeper root, in London than elsewhere.

Let us take one point more. Some may say that they do not want such a society, that they can have a parish guild, or parish workers of their own, and organize personal influence without any outside interference. But is there not far greater strength about a *universal* society than a merely local one? A lad feels the bond of a body which links him to other lads all over England or the world. And there is one advantage which the objector can only find in Young Men's Friendly Societies. If his lads leave his parish, he loses sight of them. He does not know—say in London—to whom he can commend them, with any security. But in this society the associate can transfer a member leaving his home to an associate at the place where he is going, and the attempt is thus made to keep up the good influence of an associate. It is clear that the full advantage of this plan can only be reaped when the society is universally spread over the country. Every branch formed, every associate enrolled, is thus a contribution to our complete efficiency. We have been at work for little more than a year, and we have between 70 and 80 branches in active work, above 1,000 associates, and from 5,000 to 6,000 members. We want your help to carry out further schemes of usefulness—to establish registries, lodging-houses for lads in towns, to bring out good leaflets and literature for lads, to start convalescent homes—we have one at Brighton already—and generally to promote the welfare of working lads. We want your help as associates; we want new branches formed, we want existing societies to be affiliated to us, and we want *money*. I ask you to help us in some one of these ways, to help us because we have done our best to deserve help; to help us, because Young Men's Friendly Societies afford a great opportunity to all who are interested in the most fascinating, if the most difficult, the most important, if sometimes the most disappointing, of all our works—the winning and the keeping of our boys and our young men.

[See Appendix for Discussion.]

SECTION ROOM, FRIDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 7.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 o'clock.

THE CLAIMS OF THE REVISED VERSION OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT TO GENERAL ACCEPTANCE.

PAPERS.

The Venerable EDWIN PALMER, D.D. (Canon of Christ Church
and Archdeacon of Oxford).

THE claims of the Revised Version to acceptance rest on two foundations—1. The need of a revision, and 2. The character of the revision which has been completed within the past year.

Why was a revision necessary? For two main reasons. First, because the Authorised Version was made from a Greek text of inferior quality. Secondly, because in many respects it is not an accurate translation of the Greek text which it represents. Other reasons may be added, but they are reasons of less importance. For example, some words and phrases in the Authorised Version have become obscure by reason of disuse. Again, the names of Old Testament personages appear frequently in their Greek form, and are not easily recognised by the unlearned reader. Noe, Elias, Eliseus, Osée, Esaias, are instances; above all, Jesus for Joshua. No doubt it is a real advantage to read, as we read in the Revised Version, of Noah, Elijah, Elisha, Hosea, Isaiah, Joshua. It is a real advantage also to exchange the phrase, "I know nothing by myself" for a phrase which actually conveys St. Paul's meaning, viz., "I know nothing against myself;" or, to take another instance, the phrase "guilty of death" for the phrase "worthy of death." In both of these cases the Authorised Version is unintelligible, if not misleading, to a modern ear. It is an advantage, again, to read no longer of a multitude of ships on the lake of Tiberias, of two ships sunk, or well nigh sunk, by a single haul of fish, of our Lord teaching from a ship the crowd which had gathered on the shore. But few persons, I imagine, would have consented for the sake of small gains like these to disturb a version justly dear to the ears and hearts of all. The only grounds on which such a consent can reasonably be asked are the two grounds which I named first—the inferior quality of the Greek text which the Authorised Version represents, and the imperfect accuracy of that version as a version. If these charges can be substantiated, men who believe in Revelation must needs be dissatisfied with the Authorised Version. No purity of English idiom, no felicity of rhythm, can atone for defects like these. To a Christian the Bible is not a collection of poems or

romances, the value of which depends on style and diction : it is a collection of narratives, precepts, arguments which he believes to contain a message to him from God. He cannot but desire to know as exactly as possible what God has spoken by the mouths of apostles and evangelists. If he can read Greek, therefore, he will seek for that Greek text which comes nearest to the original. If he cannot read Greek, but must needs read the New Testament in a translation—nay, although he can read Greek, if ever he does read the New Testament in a translation—he will require that the translation shall represent the best Greek text, and shall represent it as accurately as possible. It is alleged that the Authorised Version is founded on an inferior Greek text, and is inaccurate as a translation.

I will take first the charge of inaccuracy. I hold it to be undeniable that in many particulars the Authorised Version does fall short of accuracy as a translation. I will mention two notable instances. In Luke xxiii. 15, it makes Pilate say, "Lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him." It is difficult to conceive what Wiclif and Tyndale and Tyndale's followers—for it runs through all the early English Versions—understood by this rendering ; but it is certain that the Greek words mean, "Nothing worthy of death hath been done by him." In Acts xxvi. 28, Agrippa is made to say, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," a translation which is utterly inconsistent with Greek usage. Few cases, perhaps, are to be found in which the inaccuracy of the Authorised Version is so plain as it is in these two. But there are many cases in which a want of minute attention to points of language—it may be a want of minute learning—has caused it to obscure the meaning of an Apostle or an Evangelist. In the translation of so peculiar a book—a book intended "for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," it is not easy to be content with anything short of the closest possible approximation to the original utterances of our inspired teachers. I am not impugning the general accuracy of the Authorised Version. For that, as for other excellences, it deserves the high place which it has gained among ancient translations. But I submit that general accuracy is not sufficient in a translation of Holy Scripture.

I can imagine, however, that the amount of inaccuracy which is found in the Authorised Version might be thought insufficient, if it stood alone, to justify a demand for its revision. But it does not stand alone. Beside it stands another defect more palpable and more momentous, to which it is time that I should recall your attention.

The Authorised Version, in common with all the early English Versions (except those which were made from the Latin Vulgate), represents a Greek text of inferior quality. The Greek texts of the New Testament printed in the sixteenth century (on which Tyndale and his successors relied) "were founded for the most part on MSS. of late date, few in number, and used with little critical skill. Nearly all the more ancient of the documentary authorities have been known only within the last two centuries." Moreover, there is no small amount of discrepancy between the more ancient of the documentary authorities and the MSS. which were used by Stunica, Erasmus, Stephanus, and Beza. Time would not permit me to go into detail on this subject, if I possessed the necessary qualifications. Sufficient for my purpose is the notorious fact that every critical edition of the Greek Testament which has appeared in the pre-

sent century exhibits a text very different from that which is reflected in the Authorised Version, and of which the Greek Testaments in common use among us, derived from the editions of Stephanus and Elzevir, are familiar representatives. Cautious critics, as well as those who are bolder, admit in many instances the unsatisfactory character of that which has been called, since Elzevir first used the phrase, the *Textus Receptus*. If the difference between this text and the texts found in modern critical editions lay only in such matters as the order of the words, the omission, addition, or interchange of conjunctions, and the like, critics might probably get scant hearing from the general public, though the sense is often materially affected by such variations as these. But when it is seen that the received text is condemned by a great *consensus* of critics in passages which have been used by authors like Bishop Pearson to establish important doctrines, and which must continue to invite such use so long as they stand unaltered in our English Bibles, it is impossible to rest satisfied with a version which represents that received text. I will give two examples only, but they shall be examples of the first importance. One is the famous text of the three Heavenly Witnesses (1 John, v. 7), the other that verse in the First Epistle to Timothy (1 Timothy, iii. 16) which exhibits in the Authorised Version the words, "God was manifest in the flesh." In both of these cases the *consensus* of critics is remarkable. Not only do Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort omit in the first case all mention of the three Heavenly Witnesses, and in the second case substitute the relative pronoun for the word *ὁ*, but the same course is taken alike by Dean Alford and by Bishop Wordsworth in their commentaries. And in the case of the First Epistle to Timothy I find the Bishop of London in the "Speaker's Commentary" on the same side. The Epistles of St. John have not yet appeared in that commentary, but I cannot doubt what it will say to the reading which introduces the three Heavenly Witnesses. Can it be satisfactory that the New Testament which we read in our churches and put into the hands of those who know no Greek should represent a text which contains spurious or ill-supported readings of such a character? I might add, if time allowed, other cases, only inferior to these two in importance, besides a host of minor imperfections.

I base the need, then, of a Revision primarily on the fact that the Authorised Version represents an inferior Greek text, and secondarily on its occasional failure in accuracy as a translation of that text which it represents.

Let me say, however, at this point, plainly, that whatever inferiority may be attributed to the Greek text represented by the Authorised Version, whatever inaccuracy may be attributed to the Authorised Version as a translation, it is not suggested for a moment that it is an untrustworthy guide with regard to the great doctrines of our religion. On the contrary, I desire to state most explicitly that the New Testament teaches the same theology and the same morality in the Authorised Version and in the Revised. More than this, no Greek text which is honestly based on documentary evidence, no translation which is honestly conformed to the rules of language, can make the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists preach another Gospel than that which the Church has taught her children for more than eighteen centuries. But although one Version may teach the same doctrine as another, it is the duty of the Church, as "the witness and

keeper of holy writ," to place that holy writ before the eyes of men in a form which reflects the original with the utmost precision and clearness that is attainable.

I turn now to the work of the revisers. As it has been my privilege for the last eight years to share their labours, it would not beseem me to come forward either as their critic or as their panegyrist. I will attempt rather to state their aim and the character which they have desired to give their work, than to estimate their success. It has been their aim, in one word, to revise both the Greek text and the English translation thoroughly. Let me speak first of the Greek text. The revisers have not put forth a new edition of the Greek Testament. "It did not fall within their province"—I am quoting the preface to the Revised Version—"to construct a continuous and complete Greek text." But in every verse, from the first verse of St. Matthew to the last verse of the Revelation, they passed under review every variant which had a fair show of authority and seemed to have any possible bearing on the translation, and determined, according to the best of their power, on which side lay the preponderance of evidence. The readings which they adopted, in preference to readings followed in the Authorised Version, have been set out carefully in editions of the Greek Testament published for that purpose at Oxford and at Cambridge. The number of these readings is very large. It will be observed that they are often concerned with points so minute as to be incapable of affecting the sense. I call attention to this fact in order to illustrate the thoroughness of the work. It was thought better to correct the Greek text in points where correction might seem unimportant, than to run a risk of leaving it uncorrected where correction might possibly be, or even seem to be, of importance. It will be observed, again, that the readings adopted by the revisers are not always those adopted by Lachmann, or by Tischendorf, or by Tregelles, or even by Westcott and Hort, although Westcott and Hort were themselves revisers, and by their kindness each of their colleagues had their text beside him in proof throughout the work. There were amongst us textual critics of different schools, whose names are well known to the learned world. When they agreed, those of us who had not made textual criticism our special study followed their consentient voice. When they differed we deemed it our duty to ask for a statement of the evidence and to decide between them. It was our desire not to follow blindly the lead of one or more individual editors, but to amend the text so long "received," wherever, and only where, there was a distinct preponderance of evidence in favour of such amendment.

I come now to the translation. Here, again, our aim has been completeness. Indeed, the fact that it was our special business to put forth a revised English text, and not a Greek text, naturally led us to give to this part of our task a minute and scrupulous attention, for which the other part did not call in an equal degree. We examined again and again every verse from end to end of the volume. Our first care was to conform the translation to any new Greek reading which we had adopted; our second, to correct erroneous or inadequate renderings where we had adopted no new reading; our third, to remove such archaisms as tended to obscure or distort the sense; our fourth, to secure, as far as possible, in parallel passages, or passages in which there was no difference of

meaning, a uniform rendering for the same Greek word. In striving for completeness, I doubt not that we have pushed our efforts beyond the limits of public expectation. Men who have not themselves tried their hands at the work of revision are apt to think that it may with advantage be limited to the removal of important blemishes. And these, again, they expect to find few in number. "Why should this or that word," they say, "be changed? Surely it can make little or no difference to the sense?" Even revisers, before they face their work, are often victims of the same delusion. When it was prescribed to the revisers of 1611 that they should "follow the ordinary Bible read in the Church (commonly called the Bishop's Bible) and alter it as little as the truth of the original would permit," no one probably expected such a multitude of minute alterations as they actually made. When a rule modelled on this old rule was laid down for the revisers of the present day—I mean the rule that they should "introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the Authorised Version, consistently with faithfulness,"—the same dream, in all probability, floated before the draughtsman's mind. I do not believe that any man of learning and judgment, who sat down by himself to revise the Authorised Version, would find that his task corresponded to such a dream. He would find it difficult at the outset to define an important blemish. If he defined it narrowly, he would soon be sensible that he was trifling with his task; if he defined it loosely, the rule would cease to be a guide. I venture to think it a merit of the revisers that they have not construed the rule in question slavishly. The conviction forced itself upon them at an early stage of their work, and grew in strength as that work went on, that if the Authorised Version was to be touched at all, it ought to be made in all points as true to the original as their utmost powers and utmost exertions might avail to make it. Its outward garb indeed was to be kept unchanged. They accepted this rule with hearty goodwill. Ancient words and phrases, ancient grammatical forms—so far as they were still intelligible—they were glad alike and careful to retain. It was their study so to execute their revision that neither language nor rhythm should fall on the ear with an unfamiliar sound. Of course this was not always possible, but I venture to think that in this respect no small measure of success has been attained. The English New Testament has not been modernised. But when it was necessary to choose between sound and sense, between truth and elegance, the revisers have not hesitated in their decision. Antiquity cannot make error or obscurity venerable. To the reverent student of Holy Scripture felicity of rhythm and accuracy of translation are things incommensurable. The revisers have desired to put the English reader as far as possible on a level with the Greek reader. To this end they have given him in their text the most exact equivalent of the Greek words which in their judgment was consistent with English idiom. To this end also they have placed alternate renderings in their margin, when they have deemed them such as the Greek words might not unreasonably suggest to one who could read Greek.

I rest the claims, then, of the Revised Version on these two grounds: the necessity for a revision, and the thoroughness of this revision. It is not for me to estimate its merits: I am of course sensible that in so vast a mass of detail there must be blemishes for critical eyes to discover.

But I will say, in conclusion, one word for our work, the truth of which I am confident will be admitted by all who study the Revised Version carefully. I claim for our work that it has been done fearlessly, without consideration of individuals, or of parties, or even of the divisions which have broken the outward-unity of the Church. No consciousness of strong feeling within our own body, no apprehension of passion or prejudice outside, has been suffered to overpower our deliberate judgment. We have not retained traditional readings because they have been used to support the doctrines of the Church, we have not retained traditional renderings because they were agreeable to modern fashions of thought. I am claiming a rare freedom from disturbing influences for the body to which I belong. I cannot but think that the composition of that body made it easier for us than for individual critics or commentators to escape such influences. We were a numerous body. Number shields individuals from the impact of hostile criticism. We were a body composed of diverse elements; diverse in cast of mind, in educational training, in religious communion. We were a body—I speak boldly, because what I am going to mention does not apply to myself—which contained in it not a few of those who have won a place by their writings among the foremost textual critics and exegetists in this nation. These features in the composition of our body were our safeguard. A smaller body, a less mixed body, a less distinguished body, could not have failed to approach the task with more timidity and with more partisanship. The work was one which needed to be done without fear or favour, if it was to be done at all—in the fear of God only, without a thought of the judgment which this or that man, or set of men, might pass on its execution.

The Rev. PROFESSOR PLUMPTRE.

It seems to me that I shall best deal with the subject on which I have been asked to write, by not attempting anything like a detailed discussion of the changes made by the revisers. I take this course partly because it is not easy to take a survey of 36,000 variations within the space of twenty minutes. Even if one were to select but a thousandth part of those changes, that would still give the somewhat narrow average of .555 of a minute for each. Partly, also, I write in the hope that, so far as the subject admits of being treated at all in this way, it will be sufficiently handled by the eminent scholars who precede and follow me. If it were necessary to add a third reason, I should find it in the fact that the last four or five months have given us, in reviews, magazines, and newspapers, an abundant harvest of discussions from all points of the compass. The wise and the unwise have each had their say; the latter, as was natural, more quickly and more loudly than the former.

I aim, therefore, at pointing out some thoughts which seem worth considering in connexion with the several stages through which the great work, which has now been brought to its completion, has had to pass; and I take these in their natural order of—I. Its beginnings; II. Its progress; III. Its reception; and IV. Its future.

I. The history of the work in its inception teaches the old lesson of

nil desperandum and the ultimate, though it may be long delayed, victory of Truth. Many of us are old enough to remember the time when the only prominent advocate of revision was found in Mr. Heywood, who thought it a fit subject to occupy the attention of the House of Commons. There it was treated, as might be expected, as one of the crazes or crotchets with which private members disport themselves on Wednesday afternoons, and was met with the usual arguments of a timid and prejudiced Conservatism. "It would unsettle men's minds and shake the foundations of their faith. What could be desired better than the incomparable version which had associated itself with the life and literature of the English people? No bishops were found to sanction the proposal; and her Majesty's Ministers could give no sanction to a scheme which would wound the feelings of the great body of the clergy and their flocks." It was a significant fact that, when the Speaker's "Commentary," was first started, and the contributors were invited to take counsel as to its plan, a modest proposal on the part of one of them, that a Revised Version should be printed in parallel columns with the Authorised, was stamped out by the Most Rev. Prelate, who had a supreme influence in that enterprise. Even Archbishop Trench, though he felt the necessity of such a work in the future, and supplied valuable materials for it, took up the position which we have learnt to describe by a French term as that of an "opportunist," and held that the opportunity had not come. "The Greek and the English necessary to bring it to a successful issue were alike," in his judgment, "wanting." The same line had been taken by Professor Scholefield, and there was a more determined resistance to the proposal on the part of men like Dr. Scrivener, whom we have since been glad to welcome as a Reviser, Dr. M'Caul, the Rev. S. C. Malan, and Dr. Cumming. It might have seemed as if, in Tyndale's words, "there was no room, either in my Lord of London's Palace or in all England," for a Revised Version, or, in Cranmer's vigorous phrase, that if men waited for it at the hands of the bishops they "would have to wait to the day after doomsday."

There were not wanting, however, a few bolder and more hopeful champions. Foremost among these we may rank the honoured name of William Selwyn. The five clergymen (Alford, Moberly, Barrow, Humphry, Ellicott), who published two or three of the Epistles as examples of the way in which the work might be done, did something to prepare the way. To the last-named of these, however, belongs pre-eminently the credit of having led the vanguard in what at first seemed as a forlorn hope, of having uttered the boldest and truest words on this matter that had yet been spoken. He asked, in the preface to his work on the "Pastoral Epistles," whether it was right to resist all proposals for a revision, and he returned the answer, "God forbid. . . . It is in vain to cheat our souls with the thought that the errors in the Authorised Version are either insignificant or imaginary. There *are* errors, there *are* inaccuracies, there *are* misconceptions, there *are* obscurities. . . . And that man who, after being in any degree satisfied of this, permits himself to lean to the counsels of a timid or popular obstructiveness, or who, intellectually unable to test the truth of these allegations, nevertheless permits himself to deny or denounce them, will . . . have to sustain the tremendous charge of having dealt deceitfully with the inviolable words of God." So he wrote in 1862, when there seemed little hope of being

listened to, and now, like most men who have the courage of their convictions, he has seen his great task brought to its close. If he has to hear hisses as well as cheers from those who have not borne the burden and heat of the day as he has done, it is only, as we shall see, what others in the cause have had to hear before him.

To the writer of the article on the Authorised Version in *Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible,"* from whom I have borrowed somewhat largely in this narrative, may also be ascribed something of the credit of a prophetic soul musing on things to come. After dwelling on the various points which chiefly required attention, the basis of a revised Greek text, due respect for the style and phraseology of the Authorised Version, the general rule of rendering the same Greek or Hebrew words by the same English, as contrasted with the fantastic principle avowed by the Revisers of 1611, of ringing the changes as widely as possible on the grounds of an imaginary fairness, as though words were candidates for the suffrage, a more careful discrimination of the force of tenses, cases, articles, and prepositions, on the lines which are traced with a firm hand in the preface to the Revised New Testament, he ended, writing in 1863, with words which I will quote, "The work, it is believed, ought not to be delayed much longer. Names will occur to everyone of men competent to undertake the work as far as the New Testament is concerned; and, if such alterations only were to be introduced as commanded the consent of at least two-thirds of a chosen body of twenty or thirty scholars, while a place in the margin was given to such renderings only as were adopted by at least one-third, there would be, it is believed, at once a great change for the better, without any shock to the feelings or even the prejudices of the great mass of readers. . . . As the Revised Bible would be for the use of the English people, the men appointed for the purpose ought not to be taken exclusively from the English Church, and the learning of Nonconformists ought, at least, to be fairly represented. The changes recommended by such a body of men, under conditions such as those suggested, might safely be allowed to circulate experimentally for two or three years. When they had stood that trial, they might without risk be printed in the new Authorised Version. Such a work would unite reverence for the past with duty towards the future. In undertaking it we should not be slighting the translators on whose labours we have entered, but following in their footsteps. It is the wisdom of the Church to bring out of its treasures things new and old."

Here, also, the anticipations of the writer, then hoping against hope, have been unexpectedly and abundantly fulfilled. Even the "opportunists" were obliged to confess that the opportunity had at last come. Even Convocation—

"Via prima salutis
Quod minime reris, Graiâ pandetur ab urbe,"—

opened its arms with an unlooked-for expansion of heart and intellect, to the admission of Nonconformists as fellow-workers with deans and bishops. Only the irreconcilables of Church politics on the right hand and the left were found to take up their parable and utter Cassandra warnings, "prognosticating a year of sects and schisms." At one time, indeed, there seemed to be the risk of a reaction. Some even of those who had been foremost in urging this comprehensiveness recoiled

at what was its logical and legitimate conclusion. They could accept the presence of men of other religious communities in the work of making the English Bible, more than it had been before, a true presentation of the mind of the Eternal Spirit; yet it seemed to them startling and sacrilegious that those engaged in that work should begin their labours by a solemn act of adoration, intercession, communion, prayer, for that Spirit's guidance.

II. The enterprise, however, was not wrecked even upon that rock. The floods might lift up their voice, and the waves rage horribly, but the ship was steered by an expert pilot, and it made its way calmly, if slowly, through those stormy waters. Of the difficulties within the Council Chamber I have no power and no right to speak. The divisions, the casting vote, the resolutions modified or rescinded, are not as yet in the category even of open secrets. But there is one point in connexion with those labours which seems to me to have been somewhat strangely passed over. So far, at least, as my knowledge goes, it has hardly been touched upon in any spoken or written utterance. The ten years' task on which the Revisers entered was one to which they were drawn only by a strong sense of duty. It was, from first to last, as that of the Revisers of 1611 had been, unpaid labour. They gave on an average forty days a year of hard work, to say nothing of what each of them may have done at home, or by way of correspondence, without the prospect of any remuneration, or, I may add, in most cases, of any increase of personal reputation. To some, indeed, previously but little known beyond the world of scholars, it may have been felt as an honour to be invited to co-operate in such a work, but of the greater part it is obvious that their position was before so high that such a summons could not raise it, and was simply an appeal to their acknowledged fame on the principle that *Noblesse oblige*. And in such a work it must be remembered there is absolutely no opening for individual distinction. The labours of each are merged in the collective result of those of all. No one knows who suggested this special point of accuracy or that felicitous rendering. There is no published, if any, record who formed the majority that determined the text of the Revised Version, or the minority whose opinion was relegated to the margin. Each was content to do his work faithfully, "not with eye service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God," and in that fear of God, and the consciousness of ministering to His truth, to find his own, and his only, "exceeding great reward." That plea, which I have thought it right to make on behalf of the Revisers, because they will never make it for themselves, ought, I think, to check the tongues of many who "intellectually unable to test" the value of their work, are therefore forward in hastily condemning it.

III. I pass to that which this last sentence in part foreshadows, the reception which that work has met with. It was not to be expected that a Revised Version of a sacred book should meet at first with an unqualified acceptance. There is a natural and, within due limits, a righteous reverence for that with which men have been familiar from their childhood, for the very rhythm, the cadence of which is associated with the most sacred memories of their lives. It has been so in the past, and we may be thankful that it is so still. So, when the Jews returned from their Babylonian exile, and heard, according to the received

tradition of the Rabbis, the first Targum or paraphrase of the law, in another tongue than the old sacred Hebrew, they wept then, as they had wept before, when they remembered the greater glory of the first Temple as they laid the foundation of the second. It was so when the Alexandrian Jews made their Septuagint translation, and those of Palestine looked on it as a national humiliation, almost a national sin, and commemorated it, as they did the crime of the golden calf, by a solemn annual fast. (Walton, *Proleg.* ix.) It was so when Jerome put forth his Vulgate to take the place of the older Latin version, and was rebuked even by Augustine for thinking that he could discover anything that had escaped the notice of so many skilled interpreters, and for daring to set aside the pre-eminent authority of the Septuagint.* It was so when Erasmus published his Latin version of the New Testament, and Standish, afterwards Archbishop of York, preaching at Paul's Cross, prognosticated the total extinction of Christianity, unless these new-fangled versions were suppressed. "Was it not intolerable that he, a doctor of so many years' standing, should be sent to school by a 'shallow and pretentious Grecian,' like Erasmus?" Was it not enough to call for the tears which the preacher poured forth "to the astonishment of the men, and the edification of the women"? (Brewer's "English Studies," p. 371). It was so when Tyndale entered on his great work, confessedly the basis of all that has been done well and wisely since in the translation of the New Testament, and was denounced by bishops and by scholars—even by Sir Thomas More—as a pestilent fellow, a "foul and blasphemous heretic, ignorant of Greek, corrupting the sacred text in at least a thousand places" (More's "Dialogue," iii. 8). It was so, lastly, when the so-called Authorised Version of 1611 was published, and Hugh Broughton, most eminent among the Hebrew scholars of the day, declared that he "would rather be torn in pieces by wild horses than impose such a translation upon the poor people of England;" (Broughton's Works, p. 661), or Selden, damning with faint praise and civil leer, condemned it for its literal accuracy as "being well enough so long as scholars have to do with it, but when it comes among the common people 'Lord! what gear do they make of it' ("Table Talk"). With this induction before them, we shall not be surprised at any amount of repugnance or obloquy which the Revised Version may encounter, even from scholars of repute. This, at least, may be said, prior to that examination of the work, on which I do not enter, that there is a strong antecedent presumption in favour of the Revisers as against the vast majority of their critics. Never before were so many scholars of repute furnished with all the latest results of criticism and philological culture, brought together for such a work. Never was there such a security against the subtle influences of sectarian bias as that which was found in the composition of the Revising Body. Never did any such body of men labour so long or so assiduously at their task, or take so many precautions against hasty and inconsiderate decisions. On any theory of probabilities the odds in their favour are as 1,000 to 1. In this diocese I may, perhaps, venture to add that those odds rise to a yet

* What he dwelt on most was that when an African bishop had read the book of Job in the Revised Version there was an actual uproar among the people, because what they heard differed from that to which they had been accustomed all their lives, and had been read for centuries (*August., Epp.* xlvi., lxvi.).

higher figure when we remember that their work was largely anticipated in its main lines, and in several hundred instances, in the volume, "On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament," published by him who was then Professor Lightfoot. As a matter of fact, the accuracy of their version is, I imagine, generally acknowledged. What we hear for the most part, are complaints that take the form of "No! I don't like that" coming from those who cannot, or will not, ask the question whether what they like is the truer rendering of the original. Men will not give up their old *mumpsimus* for the new-fangled *sumpsimus*. We hear sneers from those who should know better at the minute care bestowed upon articles and particles. Some content themselves with "foolish talking and jesting which are not convenient" about the substitution of "love" for "charity," while others feel, or affect to feel, a serious alarm lest it should lead to the spread of an unrestrained licentiousness. Some object to the introduction of the "Evil One" into the Lord's Prayer, because it gives a fresh prominence to a dogma which they regard as obsolescent; others, forgetful apparently of the explanation of the Lord's Prayer given in the Church Catechism, maintain that the prayer to be delivered from "our ghostly enemy" is not a Christian prayer, and therefore cannot have been that which He gave to His disciples.* Some object to the respect shown to the older MSS., and maintain, apparently as the result of a new theory of probabilities, that the accuracy of the copies of any book varies *inversely* as their nearness to the originals.† Perhaps, however, the most prominent objection heard in many quarters, and endorsed by no less an authority in literature than Mr. Spurgeon, is that the style of the Revised New Testament is bad. The Revisers, we are told, may have been good Greek scholars, but their scholarship did not extend to English. The rhythm, the music of the old Version is gone, the brightness of the fine gold is departed, and we have instead the stammering lips of pedagogues, and the harsh clang of a tinkling cymbal. I confess that I have learnt to be somewhat distrustful of such objections. A man, for the most part, does know whether he has learnt Greek or not. He is liable to a very subtle form of self-deceit as to the question whether he has learnt English. I venture to think that the names of Ellicott, Lightfoot, Stanley, Trench, Vaughan, Angus, Moulton, carry with them a greater weight of authority in this matter than even those of Mr. Washington Moon and Mr. Spurgeon. I ask, and this Congress gives a wide field for the challenge, whether any turn of language or structure of sentence is to be found in the Revised Version which may not be paralleled from writers of the best age of our literature, or was not forced upon the Revisers by the absolute necessities of faithfulness as translators? If we have before us the alternative of euphony or truth, which ought we to choose? My own conviction is that in proportion as we give the Revised Version a fair trial, even that alternative will not be forced upon us, and that we shall soon find that our ears will become familiar with the new rhythm as they have been with the old, and would then resent a change as much as, it is assumed, they resent it now.

* I leave the sentence as I write it. It is needless to say that it was written before the publication of the Bishop of Durham's elaborate and exhaustive *Apologia*.

† It may be well to state that this was written before the publication of the Article on Revision in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1881.

Thus much, at least, may be said for the work of the Revisers, that now, for the first time, the student of the English New Testament is placed almost, or altogether, on a level with the student of the Greek, is made acquainted with all the more important variations of the text, and with the authority which is due to each, is less likely to be misled in the use of an English concordance by the use of many English words for one Greek, or one English word for many Greek, is able to see when the inspired writers spoke of an action as completed at a given moment, or continuing in its results, or only inceptive and incomplete, has the prepositions and conjunctions which they thought fit to use brought before him with the meaning which they attached to them. And this, it will, I think, be admitted, is no small gain. I can imagine no better training for the theological student, no better test of the merits of the two translations, than that he should sit down with his Greek Testament before him, and the Authorised and Revised Versions on either side, noting where they differ, and inquiring, with lexicon, grammar, and concordance to help him, as to the grounds on which the differences rest. If I were to assume the attitude of a critic, I should, I think, be disposed to express a regret that the Revisers had not had the courage to go some steps further than they have done. The "Holy Spirit" might well have taken the place of the "Holy Ghost" throughout; "Gehenna," like "Hades," might have avoided, where it is used in the Greek, the ambiguity of the English "Hell." The distinction between "demon" and "devil" need not have been obliterated. I do not see why we should not, in translating the Greek Testament, follow the rule now all but uniformly adopted in translating other Greek books, and give the names of heathen deities as they stand in the text, Zeus, Hermes, Artemis, instead of their Latin equivalents. From more detailed criticisms of passages in which my own judgment would have led me to vote for the reading of the margin rather than for that of the text, or to have suggested some third reading, I purposely refrain.

IV. I turn, lastly, to the future of the Revised Version. How far it is desirable that it should be read in churches? If desirable, how is that result to be brought about? We have been told, on the high authority, of the present Lord Chancellor, in his letter in the *Times* of June 3rd, 1881, that "any clergyman using the Revised Version in reading the Lessons before it has been recommended or authorised by some sufficient authority, will incur a serious risk of being held to be an offender against law." It is unfortunate, though it was perhaps unavoidable, that the opinion thus given is left incomplete in one essential point. Lord Selborne does not tell us what, in his judgment, would be a "sufficient authority." Would it be within the discretion of an individual bishop to sanction the public use of the Revised Version in his diocese? Could the Convocations of Canterbury or York give that sanction, each for its respective province? Could a new Order in Council place that Version on the same level as the imaginary order which Lord Selborne "reads into" the title-page of our printed Bibles, as "appointed to be read in churches"? Or would it be necessary, as seems logically to follow from Lord Selborne's line of reasoning, that an Act of Parliament should repeal the Act of Uniformity, so far as it gave a statutory force to that imaginary order? On these questions the oracle is dumb, and I, too, shrink from speaking—

Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.

So far as I venture to suggest a doubt as to the conclusion which Lord Selborne does not leave doubtful, it would be on the grounds—(1) That documents which have only an ideal or potential existence, though the probability that they may have existed may rightly guide a doubting conscience, are not commonly made the basis of action which involves pains and penalties. (2) That the fact that Andrewes, Hall, and other divines continued, after 1611, to quote freely from the Bishops' or Geneva Bible, even when they preached before the King, hardly looks as if the Version of 1611 had come exclusively into use. (3) That when the Puritans speak of that Version at the Savoy Conference, they describe it as "*allowed* by authority," and that that term, though it may mean "*approved*," as not one which would have been naturally applied to a Version the use of which had been made compulsory. (4) That there is, so far as I am aware, no record of any complaints on the part of churchwardens that they were compelled to buy a new Bible in 1611 after they had been ordered to buy a costly folio of the Bishops' Version by the Canons of 1604.* (5) That the Visitation Articles of many bishops between 1611 and 1640, inquiring whether the King's Version was read in churches, seem to imply a gradual and tentative, rather than a rapid and compulsory process. It follows, as it seems to me from these facts, that it is, to say the least, probable that the lost Order in Council, if there ever were such an order, was permissive rather than compulsory.

I agree, however, with Lord Selborne and the Bishop of Lincoln, that it is not desirable that this use of the Revised Version should be left to the discretion of individual clergymen. If, as matters now stand, they have a right to use that Version, they have a right to use any other, though the claims of that other might be infinitely less than those of the Revised Version, and this license might evidently lead to great confusion. What I would venture to urge upon our rulers in Church and State is that matters should not be allowed to drift toward that confusion. We cannot expect that intelligent and conscientious men will be content to go on for ever using a worse Version when a better one is accessible, "*dealing deceitfully*," in Bishop Ellicott's language, "*with the Word of God*." And the course which it would be wise and right to take is happily not far to seek. In the first instance, either by the collective action of the Archbishops and Bishops, or by that of the two Convocations, a case might be submitted to counsel asking what would be the "*sufficient authority*" of which we are in search. When that opinion was given, it might be made the basis of action, and, according to its tenor, application might be made to Bishops, or the two Convocations, or the Queen in Council, or Parliament, for the sanction which is required. Whether it would be wise to take that action now, or to wait till we have the Revised Version of the Old Testament as well as the New, is a detail which may well be left to the authorities of whom I have been speaking. As to the form which the sanction should take, the course adopted in regard to the Revised Lectionary seems to present a natural precedent. For some seven years or so it might be left optional to use the so-called Authorised Version of 1611 or the Revised Version of 1881. By the

* See on this point an article on the "*Authorised Version*" in *Macmillan's Magazine* for October, 1881, by the Rev. Randall T. Davidson.

end of that time it would be seen which had the most hold on the mind of the English clergy and the English people. I have little doubt as to the result, and believe, without committing myself to any doctrine of finality, that the words "appointed to be read in churches" might then appear on the title-page of our Revised Bible, with a less doubtful history and a better defined authority than they do at present. The old history would be acted over again. When the Revisers of 1611 had finished their work, they sent it forth with a prelude which might well be echoed by their successors: "Zeal to promote the common good, whether it be by devising anything ourselves, or revising that which hath been laboured by others, deserveth certainly much respect and esteem, but yet findeth but cold entertainment in the world. It is welcomed with suspicion instead of love, and with emulation instead of thanks; and if there be any hole left for cavil to enter (and cavil, if it do not find a hole, will make one), it is sure to be misconstrued and in danger to be condemned." So they felt then; but the issue of their labours was that, after the critics and the cavillers had had their little day, they earned the gratitude, for two centuries, of English-speaking Christendom. Those who have now followed in their footsteps and carried their great work somewhat nearer to perfection, may look forward with a good hope to a like reward.

The Rev. Dr. SANDAY (Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham).

I CANNOT refrain, even at the cost of not being strictly relevant, from beginning the few remarks I have to make with a word of congratulation—not so much upon the happy completion of the revision itself, on which congratulations have naturally been many, but upon another matter about which less has been said than might have been expected—the very remarkable amount of interest with which the Revised Version has been received. We live in anxious and in some respects gloomy times, and some of the best men among us are inclined to be prophets of evil. But the simple fact of the enormous circulation which the Revised Version has attained—something like 2,000,000, I suppose, in the first few weeks, and I do not know how much more since—this simple fact, with the evidence of real earnestness and zeal in the study of the Version, must be said to be a hopeful sign for the religious future of our race. What other European people would have bought up 2,000,000 New Testaments in a few weeks? The test may seem a coarse one, but in estimating the extent and depth of national feeling the coarsest tests are often the truest. Vague general impressions are worth little in comparison with them. But if we may trust this very tangible proof, the heart of the nation must still be sound. There must be a core of serious and earnest Christianity which all the disintegrating forces of modern life have not deeply injured. To be assured of this is much, and it is still more to think of the almost boundless influence for good which a renewed and deepened study of the Bible may exercise just at this particular crisis of our Church's history. We have had a revival of Reformation Christianity; we have had a revival of Mediæval Christianity; and now there seems good ground to hope that we

may have a revival of Biblical Christianity in all its length and breadth, and with newly realised freshness and power. So long as the other two movements are kept in close contact with this, I am not afraid that either of them will be carried to any really pernicious extreme. This great Biblical movement seems to be now well under way. And the revision at Westminster, while it is one of the most striking symptoms of it, also cannot fail to give it a powerful impulse. The theme is a tempting one, and a generalisation of this kind naturally needs limitation and qualification, but I must leave it and hasten to come to our main subject—the claims of the Revised Version to general acceptance. And here I think I shall best meet what will be expected of me if I endeavour to give an answer to three questions. (1.) What are the merits of the Revised Version as the basis of its claim to acceptance? (2.) Is it desirable that it should be authorised for use in public worship? (3.) Ought it to undergo any further revision?

(1.) As regards the merits of the Version, I shall not attempt to go into any details, or to traverse again ground that I have gone over, or am about to go over elsewhere. But I will try to give a sort of summary view of my own impression at the present moment. It is an impression which would be in some particulars open to correction. I cannot profess to have given a close study either to all parts or to all aspects of the New Version. So far as I have written upon the subject, I have taken up those sides of it with which I felt most competent to deal, leaving it to others to do the same. That which I have gone into most thoroughly is the text—the Revised Greek text—upon which the new translation is based. It is a well-known fact that the vast accumulation of material on the one hand, and the more scientific treatment of textual criticism on the other, had made a revision necessary. I have tried to ascertain, in an article that appears in the current number of the *Expositor*, how that revision has been carried out. On the whole, it would seem as if the text which has been taken as the foundation of the New Version was, so far as the present state of our knowledge would enable us to judge, decidedly good. The principles followed are such as seem to be in the main sound, and they have been followed with a considerable amount of tact, and with just that degree of caution which most of us would wish to see exercised. The question may indeed be raised, as I have pointed out elsewhere, whether the moment chosen for the revision was the happiest possible. If it could have been delayed a little longer, the results obtained might have possessed a greater degree of stability and certainty. An event of great importance in the history of textual criticism has happened in part simultaneously with the appearance of the revision, and in part during the last month—I mean the publication of the Greek text, with its accompanying volume of introduction and appendix, by Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort. Whatever may be our own particular views, and whatever may be the ultimate decision on the text of the New Testament, there can be no question that this is a work of quite astonishing science and skill, and that it must for all time rank high among the best productions of English theological scholarship. But the fullest recognition of this will still leave room for regret that there had not been a little more time for the principles thus laid down to be thoroughly ventilated, discussed, and sifted. In another ten years or twenty years' time they may come to be generally accepted truths, as

much accepted as the law of gravitation. And if that should be so, it would evidently have been a great advantage for the Revisers to be able to assume them; just as in the opposite case, supposing the possibility (I can hardly think of it as more than a possibility) that they should be refuted, that too would have been a clear advantage. The misfortune is that there should still be a certain degree of uncertainty in the matter, and considering that there is this uncertainty, and making due allowance for it, I cannot but think that the Revisers have done exceedingly well, and that it would have been difficult for them to do much better. Passing from the text to the translation, I am afraid I must confess to a more mixed feeling. There can be no doubt that the work has been most conscientiously and thoroughly done. The names of the Revisers were a guarantee for excellent scholarship and large exegetical knowledge. I myself have learnt much, and hope to learn much more, from the Revised Version. Of some aspects of it I hardly feel qualified to judge, or at least not to pronounce at all positively. But I regret to find that other scholars more accomplished than myself have taken some exception to it even upon the score of accuracy, and I am obliged to say that some of the criticisms—a rather larger proportion than I had expected—seem to me to be well founded. One is indeed apt, in considering detailed criticisms of this kind, to lay more stress upon the isolated instances which provoke question than upon the multitude of others that are passed over in tacit acquiescence; and the severest critic of the New Version would no doubt admit not only that, taken as a whole, it is far more faithful than the Old, but that so far as accuracy is concerned the percentage of doubtful changes, as compared with the clear improvements, is small. Still there would seem to be some flaws that need not have been there, and that, if any opportunity should be given for further correction, might without difficulty be removed. My own feeling is that rather too much has been sacrificed, I do not say to accuracy, but to a particular conception of the demands of accuracy. Taking the work as a whole, there are, I suppose, many more changes than most of us expected to see. And in regard to not a few of these, I suspect that we should have been quite satisfied if they had not been made. No doubt it was well to fix a high ideal; but was the ideal pursued quite the one that was most appropriate to the purpose? Is the Version that is offered to us quite suited to fill the place that our English Bible has hitherto filled? It is certainly a popular Version in one sense of the word. Very great pains have evidently been taken to bring home the full meaning of the Greek to every man, woman, and child of the English-speaking race. The Revisers seem to have done all they could to enable the English reader to use his English New Testament in the same way in which a scholar would use his Greek Testament. I cannot help thinking that rather too much has been done in this direction. There must still be Sunday-schools and Bible-classes, and lectures on the Greek Testament, and there must also be points left to be explained; and whether one point more or one point less was left to be explained, would not seem to be of such very great importance. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that our English Bible is not merely a translation from the Hebrew and from the Greek. It is also the greatest and most sacred of English classics, and I cannot repress the feeling that in this respect it has somewhat suffered. It seems to me to have lost something of the

dignity and beauty, the ease and naturalness of its style, in the attempt to place the English reader in the same position as the Greek scholar. No doubt, to a certain extent, the loss was inevitable; and even where it was not inevitable, I am quite aware that much may be said in defence of the Revisers. It will be impossible for me to enter into any further discussion of the question at present. I shall have occasion to do so at length in one of the later papers of the series to which I am contributing in the *Expositor*. It seems to me, however, in any case that this is the weakest side of the New Version; just as its strongest side will, I believe, be seen when it is regarded less as a Version than as a commentary. We have now, as some one remarked the other day, a commentary shorter even than Bengel's. And it possesses other unique advantages. It is made from a much better Greek text than either Bengel's, Meyer's, or De Wette's. It is the product not merely of one but a number of minds, sitting round the council-table, and discussing each point as it arose. Due recognition has been given to dissentient views, and care has been taken to distinguish between what may be regarded as practically certain and what must be held to be comparatively doubtful. If a few corrections were made, which only the very best scholars would be competent to make, then I doubt if it would be possible to find a commentary so concise, so exact, and so judicial. This seems to me to be the great gain, and the diminished force, flexibility, and beauty of the English the corresponding loss. I may sum up the total impression made upon me briefly thus: The text good, with proper and natural caution; the translation extremely careful, highly instructive, but though accurate, not quite perfectly so; and the style, I cannot but think, after weighing as well as I can all that has been said and can be said for it, somewhat defective.

(2.) These characteristics, if a right estimate has been placed upon them, may perhaps help to supply an answer to the second question. Is it well that the Revised Version should be authorised for use in public worship? I assume that in any case only a permissive authorisation would be thought of. No one would wish to debar from the use of the Old Version those who honestly prefer it. But even in this limited sense, is it desirable that the New Version should be legally authorised? The first argument that is apt to strike us will seem to some as if it must be all but conclusive. There can be no question that the New Version is, both in text and rendering, far more accurate than the Old. But accuracy is truth. And the obligations of truth would seem to be paramount above all others. It is the old story—*amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, magis amica Veritas*. Rhythm is good; richness and variety and nobility of diction are good; but better than all is truth. Can we say—or even seem to say—"It is written," when it is not written? To take an extreme case, is it possible to read the chapter 1 John v. as it stands in the Old Version, containing the text on the Three Heavenly Witnesses, without a pang of conscience? I can well understand the feelings of one to whom it was not possible. And yet this is an argument of a sweeping kind which on consideration we must feel it to be dangerous and wrong to press. It is not capable of being applied by any means universally. If we look at the Divine government of the world we shall see that though there is a tendency on the whole in the direction of truth, the higher or stricter truth is not allowed to supersede the lower in

any abrupt or sudden way. It is a gradual process, often a slow process; and with such a process we too might well be content, especially in a case like this where the Old Version is endeared to the affections of men by such long familiarity and so many sacred associations. Besides, there is another argument which meets that which has been just urged still more directly. That is not deceitful which is not intended to and does not deceive. Every Englishman has now an opportunity of checking the accuracy of the Old Version, and it is his own fault if he does not use it. It is easy to take to church the Revised Version, and follow the lessons verse by verse, mentally correcting whatever would seem to need correction. Those who wish to be instructed will find few exercises more really profitable than to compare the two Versions in this way. For such a purpose of quiet study the New Version is, as we have seen, especially well adapted. The very same causes tend to make it so, which make it less suited for use in public worship. On the whole, then, as regards the authorisation of the New Version, I should deprecate anything like haste. As soon as the popular feeling is ripe for authorisation (if it should become ripe), and as soon as there is a clear demand for it, let the authorisation be issued, but not before. If the Revised Version is to take the place of the Old it should do so gradually and naturally, without any forcing. Even if it should never be read in a single church, it will still have accomplished an immense work. If it does not find its way on to the lectern, it will find its way into the pulpit; if it does not enter the church, it will enter the household; if it has not a place by the fireside, it will have one, at least, in the study: and wherever it goes it must inevitably awaken thought, and lead to a deeper and truer knowledge of God's Word.

(3.) The question of authorisation is, however, intimately connected with the third and last of those which I set myself to consider—the question as to the advisability of further revision. The suggestion has been made in more than one influential quarter that the Revised Version should itself be revised. And here I am reminded that one of the rules laid down for the guidance of the committee does not seem to have been strictly observed. The rule I mean is the 8th, which runs thus:

“To refer on the part of each company, when considered desirable, to divines, scholars, and literary men, whether at home or abroad, for their opinions.”

I do not know that anything has appeared to show that this rule has been acted upon at all, except in the narrative of St. Paul's voyage and shipwreck. It can hardly have been acted upon to any great extent; and it is easy to imagine difficulties that might stand in the way. Yet we could most of us have counted off upon our fingers some ten or twelve names under the three heads of divines, scholars, and literary men, which for one reason or another could not be included in the original committee, but in regard to which this method of consultation might have been employed with great advantage. I may say in passing that I should certainly have claimed two of this number for the north country—our two north-country contributors to the Speaker's “Commentary”—and one at least across the Border, Professor Jebb of Glasgow, a scholar who is possessed of quite remarkable dexterity in the handling of English. If the proof-sheets could have been sent round to a small number of select critics like these, we should then

practically have had a further revision before the New Version was published. And I do not doubt that such a revision would have been final so far as our present knowledge can take us. But it would be another thing to appoint a new committee to reconsider the Revised Version now. If it should be thought well to appoint such a committee I do not think that it should be just at present. There are a number of questions afloat which are questions of principle, and which affect not only single passages, but whole groups of passages. These questions will need time for their discussion, and it is much better that they should have time. For example, there is first and foremost the great question of text. If we wait some ten or twenty years there is quite a chance—a good chance—that that fundamental question may be to all intents and purposes settled. Then there are a number of grammatical questions, smaller in themselves, but in the aggregate considerable. The question as to the use of the article in such phrases as *ὁ νόμος* is perhaps working itself out, but the great question as to the rendering of tenses, especially the aorist, has received a fresh impetus and seems to be more open than ever. Then again such points as the rendering of the middle voice, the force of the termination *μα*—the different uses of *ἴνα* which have been recently raised in the last volume of the Speaker's "Commentary," all seem to require discussion. In another quarter critics are pressing the claims of modern Greek as throwing light upon Hellenistic usage. This, too, seems to be worth considering and debating. Besides, I am acquainted with at least one very competent scholar who is working hard on the philology of the New Testament by renewed research in contemporary or nearly contemporary writings. I believe he claims to have made some discoveries. Whether any, or how many, of these new views will stand investigation, remains to be seen; but it is at least well that the investigation should be made, that the views should be thoroughly weighed and tested, and either accepted or put aside. This could not possibly be done if a new committee were set to work at once. My advice then, both as regards authorisation and revision, would be at once the easiest to give and the easiest to take—that we should simply wait and let things take their natural course. Twenty years is very little in the life of a nation or a Church. And if about the year 1900 it should seem desirable to have a further revision, by all means let it be made. But in the meantime it would be doing the very greatest service if a few eminent scholars would place on record their criticisms on the present revision, and their suggestions for its improvement. And even others less eminent might combine together in groups up and down the country, especially at such centres as the Universities, and draw up suggestions which might prove of value. The interval of time would be well spent in digesting all this matter; and the committee, when it was appointed, would find the greater part of its work done ready to its hand. A revision so carried out would be truly national; and we might hope that it would prove in the future what the Old Version has been in the past, and what the present revision with all its merits seems just to fall short of being.

ADDRESS.

The Rev. CANON EVANS.

THE merits of the Revised Version have been, though not without some difference of opinion, widely and amply appreciated. It is therefore unnecessary for me to expatiate upon the good service rendered by the Revisers. And if I venture to submit to your consideration certain passages, the new translation of which I for one cannot admire, it must not be supposed that I desire to find fault, but rather to contribute what little I can to the cause of truth. Beyond question, in the Revised Version texts have been altered which should have been allowed to stand, and texts have been allowed to stand which might have been improved. The passages, which I have time to lay before you are few, but these few, unless I am much mistaken, are representatives of a constituency—members of a family somewhat numerous, say, a family of a hundred brethren—"I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven." On this text let me tell you a secret: the Greek participle, translated by *fell*, when it came under the critical eye of the Revisers, erected its dorsal accent, and cried in lamentable tones, "Do render me 'fall'" as before: but they, the Revisers, unheeding the voice, did without any pity, change "fall" into "fallen," rendering the whole verse, "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven." Is "fallen" right grammatically? I, for one, think not. Is "fallen" right logically? Judge ye: there is a simile here: a comparison between Satan and lightning. In a comparison there is always a congruity between the thing compared and that to which it is compared. What we may predicate of the one, we may predicate of the other. If it is correct to say "I saw Satan fall like lightning," it must also be correct to say "I saw lightning fall." By parity of reasoning, if it is correct to say "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning," it must also be correct to say, "I saw lightning fallen." But we cannot see lightning fallen; we can see it fall, shoot, dart from point to point, from sky to earth, but fallen we cannot behold it: when it has fallen, we can only see its effects in a blasted oak or a calcined ox. "But ye were washed, ye were sanctified, ye were justified" (1 Cor. vi. 11). The marginal rendering for "ye were washed" is "ye washed yourselves." Is the new rendering "ye washed yourselves" right grammatically? I for one think not. Why so? Because, if the simple verb *ἐλούσασθε* may signify "ye washed yourselves," which I venture to question, surely the compound verb *ἀπελούσασθε* should have been rendered "ye washed yourselves away." And this would have been a much better translation, especially if, after the word "away," had been appended in italics, "from your sins." But even that rendering would be incorrect, because the force of the middle voice positively requires that the translation be not "ye washed yourselves away from your sins," but "ye washed away your sins—from yourselves." That this is the right translation appears to me quite certain, from a parallel passage in the Acts, "Arise, baptize, wash away thy sins," where is the same verb, the same voice, the same tense. The next is an important text, Rom. v. 2: "Through whom we have had our access by faith into this grace wherein we stand." "We have," old version, "we have had," new version. Is the new rendering right grammatically? I, for one, think not. Is it right logically? Consider. "We have had" seems to imply "we have no more," certainly, what "we have no more," that we have had. But, methinks, I hear the voice of Revision say, "The Greek verb is in the perfect tense, and therefore must be rendered 'we had had.'" Beyond question the Greek verb is in the perfect tense, but need not therefore be rendered "we have had." Are there not two perfects to "echo?" There are, one signifying "we have had," the other "we have got" or "obtained." It is this last form of the perfect that is used by St. Paul in this text, and with good reason, for grammar and logic will harmonise and sing a joyous duet together, if we render "through whom we have by faith obtained our

access into this grace wherein we stand." Here are two causes of access : one objective, Christ ; the other subjective, faith ; Christ the door, faith the hand that moves the door to open and to admit. "Gather up the fragments that remain," "fragments" deleted, substituted "broken pieces." Is "broken pieces" right grammatically? I for one think not. Is "broken pieces" right logically? Judge ye. If I break a jar in ten pieces, each piece lies on the ground unbroken, sound, entire ; but if I stamp upon one and break it, it then becomes a broken piece. Moreover, if the Greek noun *λασμα* may be rendered "a piece broken," then *θηλημα* or "will" may be rendered "a thing willed," and *ρηαπισμα* or "slap on the cheek," may be rendered "the thing slapped," or a cheek ; and *τρονωμα* or "eye of a needle" may be rendered "the thing bored" or "a needle," and it will be grammatically correct to say "It is easier for a camel to pass through the needle of a needle." "It is not meet to take the children's loaf and to cast it to dogs. Yea, Lord ; for the dogs eat of the crumbs, etc." In this text the woman's reply is not cleverly corrective, but reverently confirmative of our Lord's statement. A disturbing element is imported by the "even" of the translation of the Revised Version, "for even the dogs." The instances that I have given, and others that I have not given, appear to me to justify the conclusion that the Revised Version, before it can be considered a faithful mirror of the true original text, or receive the imprimatur of authority, must be submitted to a close and careful scrutiny. About the English diction, I have said nothing, time forbidding ; but it will be apparent to all, that language may be faithful to the original, and yet not suitable for public reading in churches, either because of un-rhythmical cadence, or from occasional verbosity, enlarging a single text into a short sermon (for instance, "Blessed is he whosoever finds none occasion of stumbling in me,") or from the multiplication of little words for the sake of accuracy at the cost of robustness ; for instance, "He it is who shall save us from our sins."

DISCUSSION.

Summary of Speeches of the Very Rev. the DEAN OF CHESTER, the Revs. A. J. ROSS and J. F. BATEMAN.

The Very Rev. the Dean of CHESTER observed that it was a high satisfaction to a member of the Northern Convocation, who had advised the revision, to find that in spite of the adverse decision of that Convocation that revision had taken place. There had been many unexpected difficulties in regard to the use of language in the revision which no scholar could have provided against. Thus, one of the Revisers had told him that there was a very strong wish expressed on the other side of the ocean that the use of the word "corn" should be avoided in those places where wheat, &c., was referred to in the authorised version, because "corn" in America meant, not wheat, but Indian corn or maize. To show the disadvantage which we had up to the present been suffering in consequence of having a defective translation of the Bible, he might point out that in the Authorised Version the word which meant a specially ordained deaconess was made to mean the wife of a deacon. Had the word been properly translated, English Churchmen would certainly not, for the last three hundred years, have been content to work without the help of an authorised female minister. In conclusion, the Venerable Dean said that the very defects of the revision constituted one of its advantages. The question was being raised whether the Revised Version was likely to be, or ought to be, authorised for use in our Churches. But that was not the principal point for consideration. The main question was whether the version was a final one, which could never be improved. It would be indeed a disastrous thing if it were. It would be a bad day for

the Church if reverent and searching criticism had ever said its last word on the Greek of the New Testament.

The Rev. A. J. ROSS, D.D., Vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney, said some of the critics of the work of the Revisers had claimed for the Authorised Version of the New Testament the authority claimed for herself by the housekeeper of a Scotch minister. The minister said to Janet one day, "I am afraid you and I must part." "Indeed," said she, "I am surprised to hear that; where are you going to?" Good men in the past had drawn the water of life from the Old Version, but still he, for one, was exceedingly thankful for the new one. There were a few passages, however, which he wished had been left alone. He thought it was a misfortune that the Revisers should have altered the Lord's prayer from "deliver us from evil" into "the evil one." Still, he thought the English Church would derive great gain from the revision. For instance, as regarded the completeness of the work of Christ, they now read that "if one died for all, all died." Another improvement was that the passage in the Authorised Version, "if ye be risen with Christ," in the revised edition was, "you were raised with Christ." After quoting other instances of improvement in the Revised Version, one of which gave them more encouragement to hopefulness, "hoping for nothing again," being now rendered, "never despairing," or, in margin, "despairing of no man," Luke vi. 35, he said surely they should not despair of the future of English Christianity at any rate after they had had such a Congress in Newcastle, presided over by such a bishop as the Bishop of Durham.

The Rev. J. F. BATEMAN said he wished to say one or two words from the standpoint of a country clergyman who once, at college, knew a little Latin and a little Greek, but who since then had forgotten much of the former and more of the latter. While doing this, however, he had, he hoped, obtained a little more knowledge of his dear old native tongue, and of the way in which it might best be "understood of the people." It would be most unseemly for him to offer any criticism on the Greek views of those able men who had furnished the revision; but with respect to some of their English he claimed the right to demur. He thought our people would not like to lose the grand old word "charity"—and he could not believe they would ever replace it in certain circumstances by the word "love." As an instance, they might take a passage from Peter, which read—"Adding, on your part, all diligence; in your faith supply virtue, and in your virtue, knowledge; and in your knowledge, temperance, and in your temperance, patience; and in your patience, godliness; and in your godliness, love of the brethren; and in your love of the brethren, love." This to his mind was not nearly so beautiful as the passage with which all had familiarised themselves—"Add to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness, charity." But without going into further illustrations of this description, he thought they should all thank God that this Revised Version should have appeared at the present time. It had drawn attention to the Bible in every place where the English tongue is spoken to a degree never known before. From the humblest cottage—and he knew of one, in his own district, where an aged man might be almost constantly seen with a Revised Testament in his hand, and asking every neighbour who entered to compare one with the other—from the humblest cottage to the throne, it had drawn attention to the laws of God, and had drawn attention to them in a way which could not fail to be productive of immense good. It was impossible to have the grand old Book too frequently before them; and the more they compared the versions with the original, the more they thought over its lessons and illustrations, the better it must be for them all. As had been so well said—

"Who hath this Book, and reads it not,
Doth God himself despise;
Who reads, but understands it not,
His soul in darkness lies.

“Who understands, but savours not,
He hath no rest in trouble ;
Who savours, but obeyeth not,
He hath his judgment double.

“Who hath this Book, who understands,
Doth savour, and obey,
His soul shall stand at God’s right hand
In the great judgment day.”

The Rev. EDWARD MILLER.

MY LORD BISHOP, I do not rise for the purpose of expressing my opinion upon the merits of the Revised Version, because I have not had the leisure or the opportunity of making the careful examination which would alone justify me in offering my judgment upon it. But I should not like to miss this occasion of tendering, through the distinguished members of the company here present, my best thanks to the Revisers, for the industry, learning, and skill which they have expended. I am anxious to communicate some information to the Congress upon the question whether the Old Version was authorised or not. The Bishop of Lincoln has drawn attention to the fact that at the Hampton Court Conference, it was determined that steps should be taken to make a new version, which should be duly authorised. In investigating another subject I fell upon two important pieces of evidence which show that those steps were actually taken as soon as the Conference was over. I am thus able to corroborate what the Bishop of Lincoln stated last spring in the public prints, and to carry the history of the question a stage further. In the paper which, if your lordship will allow me, I am about to read, I have reduced this evidence to writing, for the purpose of ensuring greater accuracy :—“After the conclusion of the Hampton Court Conference, King James convened a meeting of all the Privy Council and the Bishops, in which what was called ‘a general project’ was drawn up, a copy of which was recorded, by the King’s order, in the Council Book. A copy of this ‘general project,’ or ‘Memorial,’ as it was also called, was also left by the King with the Archbishop of Canterbury; and a transcript of it may be found in the collection of MSS. in the British Museum called *Cleopatra*, in fol. 2—13, p. 120. It was entitled, ‘Concerning an order to be taken in some cases Ecclesiastical, whereof the most are exprest in certain articles contained in a Scheduling, remaining with the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.’ And it contained a proviso, ‘That care be taken that one uniform translation of the Bible be printed, and read in the Church. And that without any notes.’ Commissioners were appointed to carry out this ‘Memorial.’ The proviso is described in a letter of Bishop Matthew as ‘one uniform translation of the Bible to be used, and onely (*sic*) to be used, in all the Churches of England.’ And it is added in the MS. ‘This is left to the care of the Bishops.’ A copy of the MS. may be found in Strype’s ‘*Life of Whitgift*,’ iv. c. xxxii, and Bishop Matthew’s letter in Appendix xiv. to the same life.”

It would seem that this was an authorisation by anticipation of the new translation, as the one Authorised Version; but as the point is not quite clear, I have thought best to bring the evidence before the Congress, in the hope that some of those who have studied the matter may be able to throw light upon it.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I WISH to utter this caution at the outset, that though a Reviser, I am not going to speak as a Reviser. I shall not reveal any of the secrets of the Jerusalem Chamber. Well then, I think we may congratulate ourselves on the quality of the papers and the speeches which have been submitted to us to-day, and I am sure that I myself have been most glad to hear such a scholarly discussion. I can assure Canon Evans that his lively and microscopic criticism will, so far as I am concerned, receive the utmost attention. May I say a word or two with regard to notices which have appeared from

time to time in the newspapers and elsewhere? I have been surprised at the haste which these betray. Thus, for instance, in a London paper which has a very wide circulation, the Revisers were told that a certain rendering in the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew was quite intolerable to the English ear. Unfortunately the critic did not turn to the Authorised Version of St. Luke or he would have found this same rendering already in possession of the ground there. This very morning I read an otherwise intelligent article in a Newcastle paper on the Revised Version. One of the criticisms had reference to the rendering of St. John, v. 35. The writer of the article complains that the revisers have abandoned the familiar words, "He was a burning and a shining light," and have substituted, "He was the lamp that burneth and shineth." I infer from this criticism that the writer really did not understand what is the force of the passage. I feel tolerably confident that ninety-nine persons out of a hundred reading the passage in the Authorised Version would not arrive at the right conclusion. We hear again and again "A burning and shining light" used to express unmixed eulogium. In the passage itself the force of the words is the very opposite. There is a contrast between the Great Central Light—our Lord, the light which burns by His own inherent force; and this mere lamp, which burns only, which gives light only, when it is illumined from the centre of light. Thus the expression accords with the general tenor of the references to the Baptist in the Gospel of St. John, where again and again the inferiority of this messenger, this herald of the Gospel, to the Messiah Himself is proclaimed. So he is called a lamp—a mere lamp—not the light itself. These will serve as instances of the haste which characterises so many of the criticisms on the Revised Version. I am not careful to defend the Revised Version in detail. If I desired to do so the time would fail me. But I wish to touch on two complaints which have been urged against it, and to submit to your consideration some reflections with regard to them. First of all, we have heard much of the injury to the English rhythm. I will not venture to say whether the charge is just or not, but what I do urge is this, that we at present are not competent to pronounce a judgment on the point. In any given passage a particular rhythm rings in our ears. We are familiar with it, and simply because we are familiar with it, we are not capable of doing justice to any other rhythm. The second complaint has reference to unnecessary variations. This is a very wide question; but I venture to say that the more you look into the passages themselves against which this complaint has been brought, the more you will be convinced that the revisers, whether right or wrong, had reasons for what they did. I take as an instance a passage which I fancy would strike the English reader at once as coming under this category. I mean St. Matthew vi. 7, "And in praying use not vain repetitions," instead of the "when you pray," as in the Authorised Version. But there is a difference in form in the two successive verses, 6 and 7, in the original, and when you come to examine the passage you find that the two expressions refer to two different stages in the process—"When thou prayest," *i.e.* "when thou betakest thyself to prayer"; and "In praying," *i.e.* "while your prayer is going on." I give this as an instance to show how important it is to examine well the changes which the Revisers have made. Dr. Sanday pleaded for the lapse of considerable time before the Revised Version is imposed by authority. Now, I, for one, should be the last person to ask for any immediate action in this matter. It is of the utmost importance—I fancy that all the Revisers would think so—that their work should be thoroughly canvassed. But I must maintain that too great delay is a real evil. I take, as an illustration, the passage to which allusion has been made again and again, relating to the three heavenly witnesses, in the First Epistle of St. John. You are placing a very real stumbling block in the way of your people by letting the spurious words remain there. They discover accidentally that there is no authority for this text. Some popular secularist lecturer perhaps tells them this; they find that his statement is true; and they jump at the conclusion that the great doctrine which it involves must fall to the ground with it. The sooner we wipe out from the Bible such a text, as this the better for us all. I will give one other

instance—the archaism, “Take no thought of to-morrow.” You know, perhaps, yourself—you may or you may not—that this is an archaism, “Take no thought” for “Be not anxious.” But others do not know this; and meanwhile what are you doing? With one breath you are enforcing thrift on your people, and with the next breath you are telling them, on the highest authority, that they are not to look forward to the morrow. I happen to know what use has been made of this text, even by educated persons, political economists and others, who were not aware that it was an archaism, and alleged it as an objection to the morality of the Gospel. These evils, I contend, are not slight. I have little to add with regard to the legal position and authority of the so-called Authorised Version; but I strongly urge those present to read an article by Mr. Randall Davidson in the October number of *Macmillan*, in which he supplements the opinion of the Lord Chancellor on this point with many important facts which go far to modify it.

CONVERSAZIONE, TOWN HALL, FRIDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 7.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 7 o'clock.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We must interrupt these festivities for a few moments. It would not be satisfactory to you that this Congress should break up without our expressing our obligations to those who have done so much towards our entertainment. I have to ask you to return your most hearty thanks to the Mayor and Corporation. This part of my resolution will speak for itself. The place itself tells its own tale. We have to thank the Mayor and Corporation for the use of the Town Hall and offices, likewise for many kindly acts towards us individually and collectively. There are other bodies in Newcastle also to whom we are under obligations; for instance, to the Literary and Philosophical Society, for the use of the section-room and library and reading-room; to the Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers, for the use of the Wood Memorial Hall as a reception-room; to the Postmaster, for special postal convenience; to the Vicar of Newcastle, for the arrangements in the Church at the opening service; to the Union Club, for admitting visitors as honorary members; to Mr. William Rae and his choir and others, for the music which we have enjoyed so much at this conversazione; to the manufacturers and proprietors of various works that were thrown open to the members of the Congress; and generally, I may say, to the people of Newcastle, for the kindly hospitality which they have so largely dispensed. I do not know that I need waste any words in enforcing this resolution. I am quite sure it will speak for itself, and therefore I will end by putting it in a distinct form: “That our grateful and hearty thanks be tendered to the Worshipful the Mayor and Corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for their readiness in placing the Town Hall and its offices at the disposal of the Congress; to the inhabitants of Newcastle and the neighbourhood for their cordial and widely-extended hospitality; to the many proprietors who have so kindly opened their works to the members; and to all (for I fear I may

have omitted some in this enumeration) who have, by their personal exertions, contributed to the pleasure and success of this twenty-first Congress." I venture to couple this resolution with the name of the Mayor, and while I thank him on behalf of the Congress, I feel bound likewise to express my personal obligation to him. The Mayor very kindly placed at my disposal the Mansion House, and he has, by a thousand acts of consideration which it would be difficult to enumerate, tried his best to further the convenience and assist the arrangements of this Congress. I am sure that you will join with me most heartily, when I ask you to carry this resolution by acclamation.

The motion was carried amidst hearty applause.

THE MAYOR OF NEWCASTLE.

MY LORD BISHOP,—I scarcely know how to stand before this magnificent audience and reply in suitable terms to the very kind resolution which you have just passed. With regard to the Corporation of Newcastle, I can assure you that it has afforded them the greatest satisfaction to place at the disposal of your lordship and the members of the Congress every facility for the holding of these sittings. I cannot help at this stage congratulating you, my lord, on the very great success which has attended your meetings, and to say how deeply I have felt their value, and how deeply it must have been felt by all connected with this great town. Such meetings as you have held have laid us under a deep obligation to you. Such meetings as have been held in this hall and in the various rooms throughout the town cannot fail to be of lasting service to the classes whom they were specially intended to benefit; and I feel quite sure that those meetings which were held for the benefit of our working men and working women will be very deeply appreciated, and I hope that blessings will be felt for years to come. Whilst we feel how deep a debt of obligation we owe to you for such meetings as have been held, we feel at the same time conscious that you have laid us under a heavy responsibility. We cannot have been the recipients of such blessings as I believe these meetings will confer without feeling our obligation to make a right use of them. "To whom much is given, of him much shall be required." I trust, by the blessing of God, it will be sanctified to the present and the eternal welfare of all who have had the privilege of attending them. I am quite sure, my lord, and ladies and gentlemen, that those who have entertained as guests those men—men of such deep piety, zeal, and learning—cannot have done so without feeling laid under a deep sense of gratitude to God for their presence under their roofs. It will be long before I can forget the many privileges we have enjoyed during the present week, and I can only express my hope that you will all return to your various churches and homes in safety and in peace, and with renewed energy and vigour for the work that lies before you. I have been sometimes tempted to doubt what the effect of such an amount of atheism and infidelity that seems at times to be abroad on the land would be upon the minds of the people, but after what I have witnessed this week my courage is sustained, and I have no fear now that the Gospel will spread in its fulness and free-

ness, and that its blessings will be conferred for generations to come upon this world. I think I may venture to assure you, in the names of all whom your lordship has enumerated as having contributed to the comfort and the convenience of the Congress, that they have done so with the greatest satisfaction and pleasure, and that they will look back upon the services of this week with very great pleasure in the future. I can only say, my lord, how deeply I feel the obligations under which we are laid to you and the members of the Congress for all you have done for this town.

THE ARCHDEACON OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

MY LORD BISHOP, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have episcopal authority for saying, though not the authority of my own diocesan, that they who have not spoken at this Church Congress are the very salt of the earth, and I had fully intended to claim the privileges of being a person who had not spoken at this Church Congress at all. But Nemesis awaits me. Because I have been, I am told, almost the only person standing on this platform day by day who has not spoken, I am, therefore, the only person fitted in modesty to propose a vote of thanks to those who have spoken. I do so most gladly, and I am glad that the Fates have commanded me to do so, for two reasons—one, because during the last few weeks and months I have, as one of the vice-presidents of the Subjects Committee, had a good deal to do with the writers and speakers whom you have heard in this Congress hall. We have had a good deal of criticism about our subjects, and some about our speakers. If any of you are disposed to criticise us still, I beg you to be a member of the Subject Committee for three months first. I have sometimes felt very angry with some of those able speakers and readers who would have spoken to you from this platform but for the simple reason that some of them said “no” very bluntly, and some of them did not answer our letters for several weeks at all. We are the more thankful for those who did, and I happen to know that many of those who addressed you from this platform came to this place at very great personal sacrifice and inconvenience, and that they spent several days or weeks in preparing the papers which they read to you here. What the result has been the Mayor has testified, and you indeed need no testimony. It would be invidious of me to speak of any addresses; you yourselves remember them. They echo within these walls still, and you will feel, as I feel, most thankful to those who uttered them. I feel with the Mayor of Newcastle—I think he was not, as I was, at the working-men’s meeting last night, when I heard three or four thousand *bonâ-fide* working men of this northern town of Newcastle cheer to the echo the highest moral sentiments, and execrate every reference to low, immoral sentiments—and I too had more than good hope for the future of this great town, for the future of this great nation. I believe that the Congress meeting in Newcastle will leave its permanent mark, not simply of a week’s pleasurable enjoyment, but of a higher moral tone, a deeper anxiety, a permanent mark for good that never will pass away from us. I have in my hand a testimony of the effect of the Congress in Newcastle that I think I ought to read to you before I sit down. I have within the

last hour received the following letter, which I think you will agree with me ought to be read. My correspondent says this: "To the beginning of this week I never thought of giving a subscription to the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Bishopric Endowment Fund; but on my attending your most interesting meetings of the Church Congress this week in Newcastle (which if it were possible I would like to become a member of) my heart has felt so struck at the momentous truths which I heard, and reflecting back Almighty God's great mercies to me and to my total unworthiness, with thankfulness I beg to contribute a gift of six hundred pounds towards the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Bishopric Endowment Fund, a cheque for which I here enclose." The writer gives me authority to read this note, and to state his name—a name known to many here—Walter James, Higham House, Higham, Northumberland. I wish still to have some slight claim to the episcopal statement I spoke of, therefore I will not detain you another moment, but read this resolution: "That sincere thanks be given to the several readers and speakers who, by their valuable contributions, have made the meetings of the Congress at Newcastle both interesting and profitable."

The SHERIFF OF NEWCASTLE (Mr. T. RICHARDSON).

It has been impossible for us to be in the new Town-Hall and in the Section Room at the same time, and therefore impossible for us to have heard all the papers read, and the discussions which have taken place upon these papers; but, happily for us, we have in this town an enlightened and an enterprising daily press, and the press has furnished us with a permanent record of the proceedings in connection with this Congress. When the excitement and the enthusiasm of this week have passed away, it will be our privilege quietly to sit down in our own studies and digest the mental pabulum with which this Congress has provided us. And I venture, my lord, to hope, and also predict, that the power and the influence which has attended these papers and these discussions will not be of a mere ephemeral or fleeting character, but that they will prove a powerful contribution to the solution of some of the greatest religious, ecclesiastical, and social questions of the day. I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The motion was carried by applause.

The BISHOP OF MEATH.

IN returning thanks on the part of one section of a great meeting such as this for a vote of thanks to those of the remainder, I have a very agreeable duty to discharge. It implies that everybody is very well pleased with everybody else, and not only so, but that everybody is anxious to tell everybody else that he is pleased with everybody. This is a very happy frame of mind, and indicates a vast amount of general satisfaction. And now, my lord, on the part of the readers and speakers, whom I so unworthily represent, I

desire to say that we at least are entirely pleased with those who have moved and passed this resolution, and with the good people of Newcastle in general. We are thankful to them, not merely because this resolution has been so kindly proposed, seconded, and received, but for many other reasons. We are thankful because of the lavish hospitality we have received at your hands. We are thankful for the courtesy we have met with from the honorary secretary, and from everyone connected with this Congress. I must say that in every direction I have met with a courtesy and civility for which I was scarcely prepared. Even when wandering through the streets and asking my way I always met with a civil answer, and I have met with extraordinary civility at the hands of the cabmen when in spare moments they have obliged me by taking me to my home. There is something more we are thankful for. We are thankful to the committee, who so kindly entrusted to us the responsibility and the great honour of being allowed to address so intelligent and appreciative an audience. I do not say that everyone can now enjoy the ordeal of addressing such a meeting, but I suppose there is no earnest or thoughtful man who does not feel that he has gained something by experience and reflection which he would like to convey to his fellow-men. I am sure we could not have had any hearers to whom we would have been more willing to convey our thoughts. For my own part I speak from my heart, because I feel most thankful to have been given an opportunity of saying a few words here to my brother Churchmen in England with reference to my own Church in Ireland. It is only natural, that as English Churchmen are so absorbed in the many activities with which they are confronted in their own Church, that they, perhaps, have little time to think of the Church on the other side of the water ; and at the present time, owing to the designs of unprincipled agitators acting on an impressionable people of that unfortunate country, who have gained for themselves a bad name, there may be some here who have begun to wish that Ireland was buried at the bottom of the sea. But at the same time it is a pleasure, and I am thankful for having been given an opportunity of expressing my thoughts on the subject.

It is a pleasure to me to be able to come to tell you that there are nearly a million of Irishmen who belong to the Church of Ireland, and have never in any way been associated with any schemes of disloyalty, and who besides are desirous that they should be truly knit to the Church of England in the tie of sisterhood to which they are proud to lay claim. I have been at many Congresses, and I attended the Congress at Manchester eighteen years ago. I have attended five or six since, and I have stood in many rooms. Some of them have been circular, some have been square, and some oval, but I never saw any room which is so hard to describe as this. I have been ransacking my mathematical memory to find out what kind of parallelogram it exactly is. I have heard it compared by some to a pear, and by others to a peg-top. Well, it appears to me to represent nothing else so much as a noble ship, and this platform I look upon as the quarter-deck, and if our meeting has succeeded beyond our expectations, I think it is owing a great deal to the good steersman we have at the helm. There are many persons who thought the idea of introducing burning questions here would be likely to lead to a "row." I never held the opinion myself, because I always think it is well that each should give expression to their

opinions, that we should learn to know the best and the worst of one another. We generally shall find that the worst is not so bad, and the best better than we originally expected. I might pursue the illustration further, and say, that while standing upon the deck of some noble steamer about to leave the port, and being deafened by steam, children, and it may be old ladies, get into a great state of alarm, while others know that it is the steam finding vent, and that it means more safety to them. We should never have got safe away from the land if it had not been for our good pilot at the helm. It was wonderful the power he was able to exercise upon the meetings. I have heard at other synods chairmen do a great deal by kindly advice, expostulation, or even rebuke, but our good chairman had nothing to do but lift up his hand. If there is one picture more than another that I shall carry away in my memory, it will be the remembrance of the quietude and tranquillity that was produced amongst the noisy waves by the magic uplifting of that one hand. I therefore beg among many other persons in this room to convey our thanks to you, and to Him who above all deserves it at our hands.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF CHESTER.

ACTING not under the instructions of the Chairman, but under the warm inspiration of Lord Plunkett, I desire to second the resolution, which I feel it to be a high honour—certainly it is a great satisfaction—to have entrusted to my care. Many years are now passed away since I first had the benefit and the pleasure of the friendship of Dr. Lightfoot. I have seen him since on many occasions, and I have known him under many circumstances, but I never saw him at any time or under any circumstance where I should not have been prepared to say that he deserved the respect and gratitude of those around him. His life has been a life of ever-growing influence, and that influence has been exercised for good.

The resolution which has been placed in my hands speaks particularly of the judicious manner in which he guided the counsels of the committee, and his presidency over the deliberations of this Congress. Now I was not a member of the committee, but we may judge very safely of the manner in which he conducted the business by the results which have been obtained. We have all been grateful witnesses of his manner of controlling and guiding this Congress. It has been described by Lord Plunkett, and we all recognise the fitness of the truth of his description. There are some speeches spoiled by too much panegyric. I will not offend the taste of the Bishop of Durham by using any extravagant words, but I will simply say that I am a Cambridge man, and that I have always felt the importance of the study of theology. That being the case, I have truly felt his removal from the University of Cambridge to be almost a personal bereavement. The measure of the sense of loss in regard to the University of Cambridge is the measure of the sense of gain as regards yourselves. I am afraid that the time is coming, as Archdeacon Watkins seemed to indicate, that you, too, may have to experience, in connection with the Bishop of Durham, something of the sense of bereavement. It is impossible that these changes can take place without

regret being mingled with congratulation ; but we are now looking upon the bright side of things, and we have good reason to do so. The good favour of our God has shone upon our meeting, and of this we are well aware, that the success of such a meeting depends very largely upon the wisdom and sound judgment of the chairman. For this reason, and for all reasons, I join with the Lord Bishop of Meath in asking you to accord, in the heartiest manner, your thanks to the Lord Bishop of Durham.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I AM deeply grateful to the Bishop of Meath and to the Dean of Chester for the kind words with which they have introduced this vote of thanks to you, and to yourselves for the warm reception which you have accorded to it. The confidence which I expressed at the opening of this Congress has not been falsified. There has been that frank and generous response on the part of the members of the Congress which I ventured to predict. Certainly chairman never had a more easy or a more agreeable task than I have had. The magic, I assure you, was not in the uplifted hand, but in the hearts and the temper of the audience. We have expressed our opinions plainly on both sides ; we have listened patiently on both sides. The Mayor and the Archdeacon of Northumberland have alluded to that magnificent meeting which was gathered in the Circus yesterday evening. I have been touched by many incidents in that Congress, but I assure you that nothing struck so deeply home to my heart as the sight of that great gathering. I can fully confirm all that has been told you about the tone of that audience, and certainly it did, as the Archdeacon of Northumberland has said, fill our hearts with hope and confidence as to the future of Newcastle and of England. I regard these working-men's meetings as a most important feature of the Congress. I am glad that we have been able this year to extend our range, and it was a great happiness to me to learn from one centre after another that these meetings were crowned with success. For all this we owe to Almighty God our deepest thankfulness. The paper of resolutions placed in my hands was drawn up, I believe, under the inspiration of Archdeacon Emery, the permanent secretary of the Congress. This will account for one omission which I venture to supply. I will ask you to give your hearty thanks to our permanent honorary secretary for all that he has done through a succession of years with regard to these Congresses. You know, I suppose, that he is really the father of the Church Congress, and now it must be an extreme satisfaction to him to see his child attain to its majority amid universal applause. I need say no more, but ask you to give your hearty thanks to the Archdeacon of Ely.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON OF ELY.

MY LORD, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The whole of this Congress up to the present moment has been a time of intense delight ; and I cannot say that the present moment is without intense delight, although I could

almost have wished that these kind words with respect to myself had not been spoken. I am extremely grateful, indeed, for the consideration and kindness which I have received in the office of permanent secretary, and for the way in which any little suggestions I might make were received. And, my lord, it certainly is a great and intense pleasure to have one so well known in our University—so much missed from amongst us—whom the north has robbed us of—speak of you in the way you have so kindly done. It has been now for twenty-one years that I have had the pleasure of watching over and directing these Congresses. But one who would have done, and who did do for a time, far better than myself, has gone home to that rest of which we have heard so much during these Congresses, and which I quite feel that the speeches and addresses and sermons of this Congress have helped more to make us desire to reach. I mean my dear coadjutor, the Rev. William G. Beaumont, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who really did a great deal for the conception of this Congress and for bringing it into life. He was the editor of the first report and all the reports but the present one. But it pleased God to take him to Himself, and leave the burden of its management to myself. Well, my lord, I will pass away from myself, and I only hope that it may please God to continue favourably to look upon this effort to enlarge His Church, to spread through the Church of England the gospel of Christ, and to unite all those who differ in opinion in the one great effort for which our Master came on earth. We have attained our majority, and we have had many pleasant places to meet in, and not the least pleasant of these places is this one of Newcastle. But now I confess that having attained its majority, I do not know where to go next. No invitations have yet come to me. It is partly my own fault, for I particularly wanted to get one place, but some slight difficulties have arisen with respect to it. I have heard several places mentioned, and there are plenty to which we may go. I would just like now to mention three or four where the Congress might meet next year, if so permitted by God and by those who are in authority in the different dioceses during the next few years. First there is Portsmouth. I would mention that, and I think the Lord Bishop of Winchester, who has taken a part from the very beginning in Congresses, will say that he is willing to preside. Then there is a town to which we should all like to go, and that is Birmingham; and if I might be so bold as to say it on this platform, I do trust that the eminent head of the diocese, who might have felt in years gone by some difficulty with respect to the meeting of Congress at Birmingham, may be led to see that the Congress now is really a grand institution of the Church, and that it has not led to war, but to peace and to usefulness. Some few other places have been mentioned. Amongst them is Manchester, and I know that the Lord Bishop will be very glad to receive us when the time comes to go there. Another place that has been mentioned is Reading. All I have to say with respect to all these places as honorary permanent secretary of the Congress is, that I shall be very glad to receive invites, which will be laid before the Consultative Committee of Church Congress when it meets in November.

And now, my lord, I have one or two small pieces of business. The Dean of Durham has telegraphed this to me: "Please announce at the conversazione that I hope the clergy will, if possible, attend to-morrow

in surplices." And I should hope, my lord, to supplement the thanks that have been given, especially to two or three others. I should like to mention, first, the police, who have been civil to all who have had any business at the Church Congress, and who have helped us in every way; not that we really wanted much looking after, but at the same time they have been most ready to assist in directing us and in helping us. And then again, my lord, I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Vicar of Newcastle—both for his personal kindness to myself and for the way in which he provided for us at the opening service. I am sure that, although he perhaps might have been a little afraid of the Congress some time ago, and of the labour that it would give him, he with ourselves is now most grateful that the Congress has come; and we are only too delighted to have been allowed the privilege of worshipping in the grand restored parish church, restored by his great efforts during the last ten years, the church which we hope soon will be the cathedral of the Diocese of Newcastle.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF EDINBURGH.

MY LORDS, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked by your Bishop to propose a vote of thanks which will require very few words indeed. I heard a whisper when I came upon this platform that a prize would be given to the person who made the shortest speech this evening; he and I hope to win that prize, simply because of this reason—that the thanks, as the Frenchman says, goes without saying, for it is a vote to the local secretaries. I know that whatever thanks may be due to readers and speakers, all of these gentlemen more or less have in a certain sense their own reward; but the local secretaries have had an amount of labour, of patience, and of not very interesting labour, for which I am quite certain they deserve your hearty thanks. First of all, there are the clergy, who are the most hard-worked men, I believe, in Newcastle and its neighbourhood. I speak of course as a complete stranger, but I know what the office of a clergyman must be in such a town—I might almost say a city—like this. Then there are the laymen, of whom I have known very little personally, although at the same time I have received from them nothing but courtesy. I understand also that they are men who of their own free will have given their labours and their time for the work of God in this Congress. I understand that several of their names are well known from generation to generation for what they have done in the cause of Christ's Church. I am sure there are few labours that are done for the sake of others, and for the sake of the Church, that have less reward, and that yet more deserve the thanks of their brethren, than that of the office of local secretary. I beg to move, "That this Congress desires to express its thankful recognition of the arduous labours of the honorary local secretaries, of the treasurer, and of others, and of the efficient manner in which the many necessary arrangements have been carried out."

The VICAR OF NEWCASTLE.

MY LORDS, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On behalf of myself and the other modest gentlemen who have acted as local secretaries, I desire to return

you hearty thanks for the recognition which our poor services have received. Some of you will remember, as you wandered up and down Collingwood Street a few days ago, that near the Church Congress offices there was a gay flag hung out over the shop of some enterprising clock-maker from the other side of the Atlantic. The flag bore the well-known emblem of the stars and stripes of America. Now, I have thought that that flag might do remarkably well for us who are upon the committee connected with the Church Congress. The stars were emblematic of those illustrious individuals that we expected to receive, and did receive, into the town; and the stripes were intended for the unfortunate secretaries, who were certainly sooner or later to deserve them. We come expecting them, and we have your thanks. But the time is not past when we may expect a few stripes laid upon us. We hope, however, that they will come leniently and mercifully. I hope that what we have done has been for the best, and I feel satisfied in receiving on behalf of my fellow secretaries and myself your kind recognition of our services. I have to mention that we had some difficulty in the earlier part of the week in providing for the material wants of our numerous visitors. Latterly we endeavoured to make that provision in the Corn Market down below. I have now to inform you that we hope you will do us the pleasure before you leave the hall to-night of partaking of some simple refreshments which we have provided for those who have attended the *conversazione* this evening in the room below. The repast is very modest, and we have no fear of excess in the department of eating and drinking; but you are heartily welcome to all you can consume, and we hope you will not depart without taking a "loving cup"—of tea.

[An excellent programme of music was performed during the evening, the choruses and part songs being sung by Mr. Rea's choir. Mr. Ch. Chambers, Mus. Bac. Cantab., presided at the organ, and Mr. Rea acted as conductor.]

APPENDIX.

THE following speech was received from the speaker, to whom it had been sent in MS. for correction, too late for insertion in its proper place.—It is the speech which is referred to in the foot-note on page 250.

The Rev. JOHN OAKLEY.

THE relations of the Church to the social questions of the age obviously depend entirely on what those questions are. It must surely be unnecessary to argue that the Church's office is not exhausted in relation to the souls of individual men. I know indeed that men sometimes speak as if it were so. Two broadly distinguishable classes do this. Genuinely spiritually minded men, probably in a mood, which we all honour, of reaction from the weary strife over outward things, are heard speaking, and are seen acting, as if they would, if they could, ignore all but the claims of the soul. They determine, as they think, with St. Paul, to "know nothing amongst men, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." They are most of them too good and humble to resent being very respectfully reminded that they may be in some danger of forgetting that the same Apostle had no doubt about the bearing of the Gospel of the Crucified on the whole world of men collectively, as well as individually. "The Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ whereby or by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." Here at least is surely laid the ground of a real and active relation of the whole body of Christ to the whole visible order of men and things.

On the other hand, it is instructive to note, and it should be very suggestive to the good men just referred to—that a similar result is sometimes reached by a very different path. "Saul amongst the prophets," was not more strikingly incongruous, than is the sudden spiritual mindedness which occasionally visits the unlikeliest minds. "Let the clergy devote themselves to their proper work—let them be studiously silent on the larger aspects of moral principles, and the problems of human life—leaving these high matters to the 'sovereign and statesmen,' who were meant to rule the world." This, and much more like it, is sure to be heard, as soon as religion asserts itself on that side of the questions of the day which is unacceptable to the prosperous, and the comfortable, and the contented, and the clever, and the classes in possession of power.

And we, at least, do not need telling that this kind of criticism and counsel is most frequently poured upon the clergy of the Established Church. It is, I suppose, like many other things not quite intelligible and not very admirable or even tolerable, to be accepted as a necessary "incident of our position!" Be this as it may, I can say no more about it. But I point to it, without a doubt or a scruple as to the justice and policy of doing so—as throwing an important light on the path of duty in relation to the "social questions of the day."

That which our open enemies evidently fear and dislike—that which sends a timorous scruple into the minds of our least hearty and hopeful comrades—that which sets these two classes eagerly borrowing a half-truth from some of our most earnest and right-minded friends, in order to turn it against us; this may, not at all improbably, as any man can see at once, be the path and policy of prudence, and courage, and truth.

And another word at this point is yet to be said. Even were this interest in public affairs less clearly than I think it is “the path of abstract Christian duty,” it is yet a path from which, at this moment, we can hardly turn aside. Rightly or wrongly, fairly or unfairly—and I own I think it to be just and hopeful—the modern world is asking the Churches, and appealing to Christian consciences, for a judgment and an utterance on the social problems of the day. Quite apart from not a few striking and specific instances and proofs of this, on which I have no wish to lay undue stress, it is surely clear that the very complaints of our silence, or of our apathy, or even sometimes of our individual or corporate opposition—to ideas and proposals which interest the public mind, especially the mind of the main body of the people, are proof positive of the existence of the idea that we ought to have an opinion, ought to take an interest, ought to exert a public and official influence in these matters. And while this is so, and in view of the principles which I have roughly affirmed, I submit that the burden of proof lies wholly on those who contend—if any there really be—that the Christian Church has no opinions on the problems of national or international life, or no right to express them, or no duties to mankind, save in the field and forum of the individual heart and will. To say this, or anything like it, is moreover to break with the Christian centuries to an extent for which few thinking men surely are prepared. Can it be possible to retain a real belief in the Divine Government of the Church and of the world, and to dismiss as inherently unchristian the life-long relationships which have subsisted for eighteen centuries between the rulers of the world and of the Church, between Christian Churches and Christian States? It may well be, indeed, that the surviving forms of these relationships, and the influence resulting from these broken fragments, and impaired or interrupted traditions in the nations of modern Europe, and our own in particular, are so confused and confusing, that only a sharp shock of change, and a new start, can recover effectual vitality for them. He would be a bold man who should deny that there is any room for such a suspicion; as he would be, I am bold to say, a coward who should see in such a contingency only a reason for apprehension and dismay. But do not let us face it on ill-chosen ground. It is not because we ought to have nothing to say, or because we have said it when no one wanted us to speak, that the world is so evidently in the act of quarrelling or on the point of quarrelling with the Christian Church in almost every Christian land. It is not so even on the world’s own showing of the causes of quarrel, but rather because we have had nothing to say, or have said the wrong thing. And this plain fact is surely as impressive and instructive as all undeniable and important facts are apt to be. To say no more than this: to ignore it or explain it away, or to attempt to meet it by a policy of wholly inward and intensive Christian influence on individual souls (obviously

paramount as this duty of the Church is), is not merely a complete misprision of the facts of the case, and the circumstances of the situation, but is surely the very strangest way of giving effect to the belief which has been so marvellously revived and brought to a point of unprecedented vigour and activity amongst us in these latter days—the belief in the reality and Divine commission of the Christian society which is the very body of Christ on earth and the very pillar and ground of the truth as it is in Him; it is the very most unlikely way of acting on our conviction that the kingdoms of this world are indeed already become—if men had the faith to see it, and the will to let it be so—the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ.

Our duty, then, towards the social questions of the day, depends, I repeat, simply on what those questions are. Some relation to them we have, and must have. The only task I can possibly attempt in the time is to try and show you that the general drift and tendency of many of the questions raised amongst ourselves is such as specially to interest and attract and encourage a Christian man and member of a Church which still claims—and does much to make good its claim, in spite of some appearances, and so many faults—to be national. For that drift and tendency is surely no other than this—to realise the principle which it is our special trust to proclaim—that “we, being many, are one Body in Christ, and everyone members one of another.” I cannot stay to make this position good at any length. But is it too much to say that some of the ideas represented in the following words and phrases are really at work in the demands which we hear on every side of us: “Brotherhood;” “The general good;” “The mutual relations and responsibilities of men;” “Duty,” as distinct from self-interest, at least in the sense of equal rights and equal chances (for few are so blind and passionate as to expect equal *results* from even the most even chances and rights); “The greatest happiness of the greatest number;” “The rights of the whole over, and even against, any of its parts;” “The interest of all and the right of all, to a voice in the conduct of affairs which concern all;” “The duty of appealing to conscience before interest in the conduct of the nation as well as of the individual;” “The duties of nations” to one another; “The wickedness of war, and the injustices involved in military service;” the maxim that active benevolence is the best policy as well as the path of duty, instead of the older and less far-sighted maxim that enlightened self-interest is the best and wisest benevolence? And if so, is it possible for the Christian to doubt that here, however learnt, whether as unconscious echoes of the Sermon on the Mount and the Acts of the Apostles, or hammered out in angry despair of seeing the Churches realise this side of their own professions, and therefore phrased in wilful variation from her terms and principles—here, surely, is a body of ideas and aspirations to which the Christian Church can hardly fail to lend her general sympathy and even her active help? That, at least, is the position which I am here to maintain. Our sympathy as Christian thinkers and workers and teachers is due to the current movements in the minds of the people. The whole social body is being gradually, and peaceably at present, upheaved from below. It is manifest. It is inevitable and irresistible. Shall we ban it, and help in vain to hinder it—or shall we welcome it, and bid it God speed? I desire, for one, to see the elevation of the people quite fearlessly and cordially welcomed by the Church

of Christ, in His name—His name who met the death which saved the world, at the hands of religious conservatism, in league with unbelief and the empire of brute force—and on charges of blasphemy, sedition, and revolution !

I regard it as my own part in this discussion to lay out part at least of the ground of it, and of its right to a place in this Congress of English Churchmen, and to affirm a few of the principles which are involved. Others will speak with more authority on several of the applications of principle which have been singled out for discussion. I shall only refer to them in the most general terms.

My right to do so at all is solely due to the accidental and wholly unsought circumstance of my having had a chief hand in the conferences on some of these subjects which have been held in London during the last few years, between a large number of clergy and a still larger number of representatives both of capital and of labour, but especially the latter. We have naturally found the leading and representative workmen readier to meet us, and more inclined to see a prospect of advantage to their case in any public discussion of it, than has been the case with some employers and capitalists. Not a few, however, of the latter, and some of the foremost and most intelligent (including the honourable gentleman who has just preceded me), have done us the justice to see the simple public spirit of our endeavour, and have done much to enhance the usefulness of our conferences, to ourselves and I hope to others. Without any definite programme, or even definite end in view, the conferences were due to strong convictions amongst many of the younger clergy and some of their seniors, that much ignorance of the ideas and aims of the unions, and of the workmen generally, prevailed ; that much vague language of apprehension and suspicion, and even of condemnation, was most ignorantly and unjustly used in reference to them. We thought that nothing was so likely to bring this to an end, and to obtain authentic information on the subject from the best source, the men themselves, and so to set the matter in a right light, and induce a more reasonable tone in thinking and speaking of it than had been always taken by the clergy, as a series of public discussions. These, as you know, have been held. Aiming at nothing definite and visible, they have naturally no such result to point to. But after close experience of all of them, and with the impression on my own mind that, in the absence of any new and salient topic demanding attention, the conferences have perhaps done their work, and may be for the present discontinued, I think it right to say here what I have already said elsewhere, that they have done much to bring the clergy and the leaders of the London artisans to know and respect each other ; and that they have, speaking broadly, deepened the impression in some minds, and given rise to it in others, that the main aims and efforts of the working classes, regarded as I have already tried to put them before you, are such as to command a very large degree of sympathy, which is not the same thing as indiscriminate and obstinate partisanship, on the part of those who are really striving to realise Christian ideas, and to extend the kingdom of Christ in public and in private life.

As regards the Trade Unions, which stand first of the detailed questions of the day to be considered, I have only to say that they have really ceased to be any longer questions, and are now accepted facts of

the day; and that my own humble contribution to the change in the religious estimate of them was made four years ago at Croydon, and that it would be impertinent in me, and wearisome to you, to repeat it, as I must, if I said anything at all. Permit me, however, at the risk of appearing egoistic, to define my own relations to this and all kindred questions. And I think that practically I speak for most of our committee. The last thing we think of doing is to pose as professors of economic science, be it "dismal" or otherwise. Our position and attitude are not scientific, and do not necessarily touch the province of political economy, so far as it is scientific. We claim the right to put aside any questions of detail, and all challenges to decide this or that disputed point, though we may be entitled—as some of us are, in fact, thoroughly well entitled—to have our private opinion upon them. In this diocese at all events no apology for our action, or for any such action on a similar method, is called for. The Bishop of Durham has honoured us, and I presume to say has enhanced the honour in which he is universally held, by supporting our efforts and by continuing to be a member of our committee since he took his seat, as no other man could have so fitly done, in the chair of St. Cuthbert and Cosin and Butler, and by presiding as he did in this town last year, in a way which it would be impertinent to eulogise, over the Congress on a kindred subject—co-operation. Nor is the bishop, I must say, the only member of our committee who has made good his right to speak, and to be listened to, on social questions, in whatever light regarded. Still, our general attitude is merely that of maintaining the right and duty of the Christian Church to entertain all such questions as they arise, to bring them to the test of Christian principles, to express freely the assent or dissent of Christians and Churchmen accordingly, and to give every support to that solution, and the schemes for its realisation, which is in accord with those principles. Tried by that standard, I believe that I also speak for those who have gone with us most deeply into the principles involved and the criticisms and objections brought against them, if I say that the Trades Unions tend in our judgment to realise and promote principles very nearly related to some of those most characteristic of the Christian code; for example, the brotherhood and fellowship of men, the dignity of labour, the duty of the strong to protect the weak; the duty of resistance to oppression in any form by force, or by the pressure of the purse; the duty and the right of men to treat others and to be treated in every relation of life as sentient and responsible beings, and not as machines for the production of other men's wealth, and as entitled to a fair proportion of the profit of their own work, and not only to a pittance called in the abstract the price of their labour as estimated by others for them—and that these societies deserve our respect and sympathy accordingly.

With this avowal I must now be content. But I ask leave to add an impression, leading to the same result, drawn from a short but careful observation of the recent Trades Union Congress in London. I can imagine nothing so well adapted, and so certain to command the respect and admiration of intelligent and observant citizens, as the spectacle which that Congress afforded. A wide range of keen interest and intelligent observation, extending over the whole field of politics, domestic and foreign; a practical point of view, a clear perception of the object aimed at, a strong uniform grasp of subject after subject as it came up,

simplicity and self-restraint in discussion, the most entire absence of self-seeking and desire for display in the speeches—though of course a defective sense of proportion was now and then seen in the importance some men attached to their own ideas—but then these traits of human nature have really been seen in other congresses before now—such at least were most certainly the broad characters of this Parliament of Labour. It was enough to bring tears to the eyes of a listener, who had spent no more than part of one sad shameful night last session in the British House of Commons, and had seen wilful obstruction—excusable and inexcusable—availing itself of the unconscious obstructions supplied by superannuated forms—to baffle statesmanship and paralyse Parliament—it was touching, I say, to hear a humble-minded speaker exclaim: “Well, if you’ve followed me, you’ll see how much that means, and how far it goes, and perhaps with all this lot of business before us it’ll be best for everybody if I don’t say any more.” I own I saw for a moment in that assembly of working men and their delegates a nearer vision of the possibility, and the possible efficiency, of some future council of the workers and thinkers of a nation, or even of mankind—a vision more nearly real and substantial than even the poet’s fine dreams had called up—

“When the battle flags are furled,
In the Parliament of man, the federation of the world.”

And this being so, I felt and feel a deep regret, which this is the right place to express, however tardy and inadequate, that it was not in our power to secure for this important, impressive, and most interesting Congress, the same religious hospitality which was so worthily offered, and so readily accepted, both in the case of the Medical Congress in London at St. Paul’s Cathedral, and of the Scientific Congress at York in York Minster.

I reserve a few words on one aspect of co-operation to the end of this paper, if time suffices. In this town and this company if can need no general vindication.

I rejoice to see the question of the “Local Administration of the Licensing Laws” set down for discussion. It sorely needs it. I am glad of the opportunity of saying, that while cordially in favour of giving some “Local Option” to some representatives of the inhabitants of every locality, in the issue and renewal of licenses to sell intoxicating liquor, I do most earnestly hope that reasonable Christians will not content themselves with simply advocating any and every *obstruction* to the sale of what vast numbers of men will always continue to use; but that they will aim at securing *reasonable regulation* of a dangerous traffic, as in the cases of arsenic and gunpowder; and subject to those general precautions, that they will aim at *equal facilities* for all classes, with *equal restrictions* on all classes. Above all I trust that they will not in the supposed interest of religion be too eager for the *total* closing of all public houses on the Lord’s Day. It is a restriction which is absolutely certain to be evaded, and one which will be far more easily evaded by the rich than by the poor. It is therefore one which will be most jealously regarded by the poor, and I think with just jealousy. Moreover, it will be not unnaturally credited to the ministers of religion, in whose interest—if churchgoing be an interest of them—it is supposed to operate. I doubt this. But at any rate those who know how odious

legal restrictions on liberty in the name of religion are apt to become will be in no hurry to adopt another, and that a very questionable one.

Happily this great question of temperance and of the fair legal restrictions on the sale of drink has made good its claim to the concern of Churchmen and clergymen, no man now protesting that it is secular or profane, or what is of course more wicked still—political. But there is a closely kindred question in the field of foreign policy, which I am thankful has been made the subject of a separate discussion in this section already to-day, and which is not only so germane to the point in hand, but so good an instance of the class of subjects to which I am calling upon you to attend, that I ask leave to say a single word about it. I refer to the Opium Traffic with China, which, for the sake of her Indian revenue, England has forced on China at the sword's point. When it comes to our having to read these following words in a letter from the Grand Secretary, Li Hung Chung, to the Secretary of the English Association for the Suppression of the Opium Traffic—"Opium is a subject in the discussion of which England and China can never meet on common ground. *China views the whole question from a moral standpoint, England from a fiscal.* England would sustain a source of revenue in India, while China is contending for the lives and prosperity of her people. My Sovereign has never desired his empire to thrive on the lives or the infirmities of his subjects"—when it comes to this from China to England, and England has no manner of answer to make—then for the credit of English honesty and morality, I must say I hope that English Churchmen, and especially English clergymen, will raise their voices in favour of a change, however gradual and prudent, in the English policy in this scandalous matter; and that they will not be deterred from doing this, though all the members of Parliament of both parties should storm at them as political parsons. And if Churchmen want a special motive for trying to undo this wrong, they may find it, alas! in the debate and division on a certain memorable occasion in the House of Lords, when Lord Palmerston's "Opium War" was discussed and sustained by that Chamber. It is difficult even to imagine the standpoint for objection against the natural leaders of Christian thought and feeling declaring themselves in such a cause as this, which I am glad to see has, in fact, already united Canon Liddon and Mr. Spurgeon.

My remaining minutes must be given to one aspect of co-operation—"co-operation for distributive—i.e. for trade purposes," as Lord Derby has lately said at Leeds, "is an accomplished success; co-operation for productive purposes, though doing well and flourishing, is, on the whole, still in the experimental stage; and co-operation in agriculture is still practically untried." I repeat that my standpoint is not that of a skilled lecturer on co-operation, but simply that of the Christian advocate, who maintains that it involves principles and results which the Christian can only contemplate with satisfaction. It is simply organized self-help, with the added merit of making every interest created by it a common, and not only an individual interest. It only needs thus stating to command all enlightened Christian sympathies. But I think it may be useful if I call attention to the few experiments known to me in the direction which Lord Derby speaks of as experimental or untried. The main principle of the most important and interesting experiments is that of proportional participation by the men in the profits of their work. In

its best forms, it also means, and must mean something more than participation in profits; it means participation in responsibility. It means joint-masters as well as joint-shareholders. One instance has come to be regarded as classical—I refer to the *Maison Leclaire* in Paris, originally a painter's and glazier's trade. I will describe it, not in words of my own, but in words taken from a report in the *Times* newspaper of Aug. 17, 1881, of a lecture by Miss Hart, given at one of the Conferences already referred to.

“PARTICIPATION OF WORKMEN IN PROFITS.

“The subject was introduced by Miss Hart in a very interesting paper on Leclaire and the system he successfully carried out, by which his workmen were made practically partners in his business. The tomb of this captain of industry, she said, bore the simple epitaph ‘Leclaire, contractor and decorator; born 1801, died 1872;’ but his monument must be sought among the living. In the heart of Paris might be seen the industrial partnership he developed, growing each year more and more prosperous; the workers, inspired by hope, giving thorough honest work, the old ‘hands’ not cast off like worn-out old tools, but, the days of labour ended, passing the closing years of life in peace and independence. The son of a poor village shoemaker, Edme. Jean Leclaire was taken from school at the age of ten. He earned his living for seven years in the fields, then started for Paris, and there apprenticed himself to a house-painter. In 1827 he set up in business on his own account, with a capital of £40, and two years later got a contract to paint and glaze seven houses for £800. Acting on the principle of giving high pay for good work, he paid 4s. 2d. instead of the current rate of 3s. 4d. a day to his men. The work was so well done that the first stone of his fortune was laid. Adopting an idea suggested to him by M. Fregier, he in 1842 made a division of profits calculated on the earnings of the previous year, and divided £475 among 44 men. Miss Hart then gave an account of the various stages through which the system passed until ‘la maison Leclaire’ was put on its present footing in 1869. The principle of participation with Leclaire meant a great deal more than ‘sharing profits;’ it meant ‘sharing responsibilities’—it meant the moral and social uplifting of the wage-earning class—and he brought the principle into operation in such a form as to make it constitute an education for those brought under its influence. The *noyau* now numbered 130, of whom 103 were skilled workmen and 27 clerks. In answer to inquiries as to the conduct of the workmen, members of the firm being subject to the decisions of a ‘committee of conciliation,’ M. Robert had informed her that from February 21st, 1879, to July 23rd, 1880, there were six cases of delinquency. Two men who had committed grave offences were punished by dismissal, and of the other four delinquents, one received a warning, two were visited with suspension respectively for 5 and 15 days, and the fourth for 18 months. There had been no case of drunkenness for several years. This was in a firm with 900 workmen on the books, in addition to the 103 constituting the *noyau*. Leclaire left a fortune of £48,000, and had divided among his men individually and collectively £44,000. He removed the antagonism between capital and labour by creating a bond of union between master and men. In 1880 the returns of the firm were £100,000;

£34,715 was paid in wages, £6,400 in bonuses, and £3,200 was handed over to the Workmen's Mutual Aid Society. Since 1842 there had been paid to the benefit of the workmen £104,000."

This will be enough, I think, to send those who see here the key of a great question—as many have seen—to other sources of information, and, still better, to personal observation. I may refer to a very interesting lecture by Mr. Hall, who was stirred by the story of Leclaire to make an attempt at something similar on his own estate, which is published by the Manchester Co-operative Board; and I will add that those desiring information can do no better than by applying to Miss Hart (86, Hamilton Terrace, N.W.) who has made the subject her own, and has already lectured upon it repeatedly, and is willing to do so anywhere. I will also call attention to the somewhat similar group of factories and institutions which owes its origin to another Frenchman—M. Godin—whose idea is that of *associated homes*, a vision realised with rare success in his so-called *Famillotère*, at Guise. For this I must refer you to a lecture by Mr. Vansittart Neale, also published by the Manchester Co-operative Board. I may also mention a very valuable (French) Report on the Question of Participation in Profits,* issued in 1880 by the French Society for the study of the question, and which may be had through a bookseller. If it contained only the striking *Statutes* of the *Société Famillotère*, at Guise, it would be well worth the study of every thoughtful Christian. I wish it was possible to enlarge upon them. I venture on a single remark. I am aware of a disposition amongst social reformers to despair of the middle classes, and to say that the present holders of capital will give no help to realise these schemes, and thus to give a *combative* aspect to the movements of the working-classes, as an act of wresting a right from unwilling hands, which would withhold it. I am glad of the chance of saying that I do not altogether believe this. Small as my own knowledge and experience are, I must say I have seen some and heard of others amongst the employers of labour in towns and country, who are quite disposed, and even anxious, to try co-operation on the basis of participation in profits. What many of them no doubt shrink from, naturally, but not quite reasonably, is the necessary first step of sharing responsibility and authority with their men, and taking counsel with their leaders on equal terms.

One point more. No doubt the critical application of these principles is to agriculture, a subject on which even the best informed at this moment speak with care. I shall say almost nothing. But as an indication that these principles have not been, and are not thought, inapplicable to agriculture by those conversant with those interests, I may refer to the interesting experiment at Salabrine, in County Clare, in Ireland, which was tried in 1831-2, and is described in a book called "Co-operative Agriculture," published by Macmillan in 1872. It had a sad and sudden ending, in no way involving its principles; but the settlement rose from fifty-one to eighty-two, and they reclaimed twenty acres of bog in the brief two years of its existence. A single anecdote is characteristic and suggestive. One day the foxhounds came in sight; the labourers, especially the women, turned out and shut all the gates.

* "Bulletin de la Participation aux Bénéfices." A. Chaix et Cie., Rue Bergère, 20, Paris.

If Lord Sherbrooke and Mr. Freeman want to discourage fox-hunting, they should encourage co-operative farming! Contrast this with an incident in Oxfordshire, this present summer. Three weeks of wet included two fine Sundays. The diocese was praying for fair weather; the clergy, being reasonable men, in every way encouraged the carting of the crops on these two Sundays. The farmers tried in vain to induce the labourers in these parishes to cart them on Sunday, partly, perhaps, from a superstitious feeling on the men's part, which is entitled to some respect—but chiefly from their total lack of interest in the crop. It illustrates at least a failure, to call it no more, of the present system.

In our own time, though I can learn little about it, I believe that several experiments more or less of the same character are in hand in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Cumberland. But I have too little information to warrant me in calling public attention to them.

What concluding inference may I venture to draw? The general principles on which our whole interest in these questions rests have been sufficiently affirmed. I will only add that they were also affirmed or justified by nearly every speaker in that night's discussion of the Church's duty towards Secularism. If you would convert Secularism to the service of Faith, it was argued, teach the truths Secularism teaches, and do the right things Secularism does.

But are we scared by the common cry that these popular movements, especially in relation to land, are fraught with danger to the great estates and landowners of the country? Are then the present results of the existing system so charged with blessings at this moment, either to the owners of the great properties, or to the people, that we should hesitate to touch it, as if it were the very ark of our social covenant? Or is it in the nature of things the province of the Christian Church to justify the accumulation of large properties, whether real or personal? I own I think the great properties and great proprietors of England are still able to take care of themselves. But I ask without hesitation whether the policy of *favouring* the accumulation of land is proved in present circumstances to be a wise policy for a nation with our population and our resources? I own I have always been much impressed by a saying attributed—I know not how far truly—to Mr. Bright. "So far as I can see, all income above (say) £5,000 a year, brings more pain than profit to its owner, and does so proportionally to its increase." There is food for reflection in that remark. But I will not go out of my depth. I merely contend that what some so much fear has no terrors for many who are content to work and pray for the common good. The equalization of men in all possible points—(there are impossible points)—on the basis of equal *liberty*, equally *secured*, and equally *regulated*, for all; and this in the name of a brotherhood of men, which owes its origin to, and still draws its highest and most living sanction from, "the Son of Man," "the Head of every man,"—the Christ: this, I cannot doubt, is more and more the key note and watchword of the coming time. Surely the President's argument yesterday is capable of a social no less than a scientific application. "The heresies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," he told us, "become the orthodoxy of the nineteenth." So too, surely, the Red Revolution of the end of the eighteenth century is now the Conservative Republicanism of the end of the nineteenth. Why should not the imminent social changes, the new "social births," which so much

terrify the friends of a "slowly dying cause" to-day, turn out to-morrow to be at least a truce to the age-long "feud of rich and poor," the pathway of "redress to all mankind"? Change, at all events, even beyond the common law of creation, is in every breath we breathe. Our discussions in this Congress have felt this profoundly already. Why then need the Church of Christ hesitate once more to trust herself upon the stream?

"Not clinging to some ancient saw,
Not mastered by some modern term;
Not swift, nor slow to change, but firm,
And in its season, bring the LAW.

"That from Discussion's lip may fall,
With *Life* that, working strongly, binds;
Let in all Light, by many minds,
To close the interests of *all*."

DISCUSSIONS.

Summary of Speeches of the Revs. R. B. RANSFORD and S. E. PERRY, Mr. H. C. RICHARDS, the Revs. EDGAR JACOB, J. F. KITTO, and W. R. RANDALL, on the Church's care of the Young.—Reporter's notes lost.

The Rev. R. B. RANSFORD pointed out the advantages of games for boys to get rid of the exuberant strength which often, otherwise, led them into mischief. Of all the works commenced in his parish, none had been more for the welfare of the boys than the opening of the Board school playgrounds for them. Alluding to the Girls' Friendly Society, he said it had not merely done good to the girls who were members, but it was of the greatest possible good to the associate. They had all lamented the difference which existed between mistress and servant, and he knew of nothing which would establish the best relationship between mistress and servant than that the mistress should be an associate and the servant a member of the Girls' Society. It was said they had many difficulties to contend with, but, with few exceptions, these difficulties were made by those who never tried the work. When they got into work the difficulties all vanished. It was said that the society was a party society, but it was as broad as the Church itself. An objection was made to the society with regard to the interference by the lady associates with mistresses on behalf of servants who were members. He strongly deprecated any general interference in such cases, but there were occasions when interference was necessary.

The Rev. S. E. PERRY, referring to the societies which dealt with young women, said he could not admit that there was a proper amount of friendly action between the societies which dealt with this matter. He regretted this, because there were different branches of useful work which these societies could manage without their coming into such contact as would in any way justify the existence of the smallest feeling of jealousy. He hoped the work of the friendly societies which had been established in the Church would be encouraged and helped by all earnest members of the Church, and in this he especially referred to the societies devoted to females, which on broad grounds were only open to young women of good character.

Mr. H. C. RICHARDS made one or two suggestions for getting young men to be earnest members of the Church. The clergy ought to promote the work of the Early Closing Association, for young people were often lost to the Church, because, being too hard worked during the week, they excused themselves from attendance at Divine service on Sunday on the ground that they needed rest and recreation. In every large town it would be well, also, if the Young Men's Friendly Society had some

central place of meeting. The clergy in each town parish should seek out the young men who were attracted to the town from the country, and who were in danger of being lost to the Church. This personal seeking out would do more good than meetings and sermons.

The Rev. EDGAR JACOB, alluding to the Church's case with reference to baptism, said there was greater neglect in this matter than they realised. He mentioned several reasons for this neglect. One was the wretched system of fees which had hardly yet gone out of existence in this country. It was absolutely illegal, but people did not know it. Another was the idea that registration was enough, and the third was the difficulty of obtaining sponsors. He would rather be responsible for breaking the rubric requiring sponsors than for the leaving of hundreds of children unbaptised. Then there was a real danger of private baptism by Nonconformists, causing people to believe that sponsors were not required, and there was no exposure of the necessity of going to church, and thus people were encouraged to have baptism done in private. His last reason was that there was an utterly imperfect idea of what baptism meant.

The Rev. J. F. KITTO urged the importance of inducing the young men and young women, both in urban and rural parishes, to join the societies which had been largely established in many parts of the country.

The Rev. R. W. RANDALL said it was satisfactory to see that this important question had been considered in presence of a large audience. Under all their organizations, there lay the influence of the Holy Ghost who did the work, while they worked with Him. He called upon them to resolve that they would take their part in the family in the preparation for confirmation and communion.

A hymn and the benediction closed the proceedings.

Summary of Speeches of the Rev. J. J. HANNAH and the Rev. EDWARD MILLER, on Education Act.—Reporter's notes lost.

The Rev. J. J. HANNAH, Vicar of St. Nicholas, Brighton, said that he was glad to have the opportunity of saying a word or two on several points which had been mentioned in the course of the debate which was just coming to a conclusion. He thought on the whole that the supporters of voluntary schools had every reason to thank God and take courage. Mr. Powell had mentioned that the pupil teachers who were now sent up to fill the vacancies in the training colleges were not so well instructed in religious knowledge as was formerly the case. This was easily explained by the fact that many of these pupil teachers came from Board schools, where they had not the same opportunities of receiving religious instruction from the clergy, as was usually the case in the Church schools, and in many cases they would doubtless find some difficulty in getting religious instruction at all. He thought the remedy for the state of things complained of lay in the hands of the clergy themselves; there was no part of their duty which would better repay the labour they bestowed upon it, than the time they spent over their pupil teachers, for the pupil teachers of to-day were the masters and mistresses of to-morrow, and he thought they would be wise in extending the benefit of their teaching wherever possible to the pupil teachers employed in the Board schools, for in a few years these very people might become the teachers in charge of Church schools. He knew of several instances where Board teachers had gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of attending the clergyman's classes when invited to do so, and with the happiest results. One of the speakers had said that a clergyman in a large town parish could not be expected to give much time to his schools. He was surprised to hear such a remark from a clergyman, and he should be very sorry to think that it was of at all universal application. If the schools were worth preserving at all, they were certainly worth carefully attending to, and he believed that the future prosperity and usefulness of the voluntary schools would

depend very largely upon the amount of individual care and attention they received from their managers. He knew, at all events, that Canon Gregory, whose remarks the speaker alluded to was criticising, had for many years, when vicar of a large and populous London parish, made a regular habit of teaching for an hour in his schools *every* day, and he considered that a large amount of the success which had undoubtedly attended his efforts in the cause of education, was due to the fact that he was no mere theorist, but that he was actually engaged in the work of teaching himself. One more remark and he had done : one of the speakers had said that a great hindrance to the success of the Education Act had been the fact that the magistrates had failed in their duty, and refused to convict when cases of non-attendance were brought before them. This might be true in certain localities ; it most certainly was not true in all. He had been a member of a School Board in a large town for many years, and could not recall a single instance where any conflict had arisen between the Board and the bench of magistrates on this point ; he had always found the Brighton magistrates most fair and unflinching in their duty in this respect, and most anxious to help the Board in every way which lay in their power to carry out the bye-laws efficiently, but be that as it may, he might perhaps be allowed to give a word of advice to clerical members of School Boards on this point, and that was to leave this part of their work to the lay members. When there were plenty of laymen ready to do this quasi-magisterial work of summoning parents for not sending their children to school, surely it was better that the parson should not interfere. He had always himself excused himself from signing the charge sheets, alleging as a reason that it was no part of his ministerial office to be summoning his parishioners before the magistrates, and he had always found the lay members willing to recognise this fact, and take that part of the work entirely into their own hands. He could imagine nothing more likely to bring the Education Act into disfavour than for the clergy to be considered harder than the laity in enforcing some of its less popular provisions.

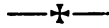
The Rev. EDWARD MILLER, after remarking upon the valuable information supplied by the previous readers and speakers, said, There is a point in the education given in Board schools upon which I should have liked to have seen some light thrown. The consideration that a vast number of children are now being educated under a system which, whatever merits it may possess, is certainly not the system of the Church, seems to me to be a most serious one. I wish I could give statistics, but when last week I went for the purpose of investigating the returns on this subject to the Bodleian library, it was unfortunately closed for the annual cleaning. And though figures would have been interesting, the importance of the numbers of the children who are being brought up in Board schools is self-evident. And I do not believe that Churchmen are sufficiently alive to the duty which the Church owes to these children, though I am aware that efforts are made in some places by increased care in Sunday schools, which are beyond praise.

But my purpose now is to insist upon the duty of the Church as a corporate body towards the children in Board schools. Are they to be brought up with only the amount of religious teaching which is given ? Supposing that besides the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and even the Apostles' Creed are taught, yet there is much more that comes within the circle of the necessary doctrine of the Church which it is contrary to the constitution of Board schools to impart. An increased obligation is therefore laid upon the parishes out of which these children are drawn to supplement the Board school instruction by Sunday schools, catechizings in church, and classes for religious teaching. But yet more—the Church should overlook and stimulate such teaching by examinations through the diocesan examiners. But here I draw a strong distinction. The Diocesan Inspector cannot rightly examine Board schools, though I know that he does so—very improperly, as I think—in the diocese of Worcester. If he does so, he is obliged, perforce, to leave half the Church teaching behind him, and he runs a chance of being rebuked or turned out of the school by the Vice-President of the Privy Council. But there is nothing in the world to prevent him from examining the Church children of the Board school, who can be collected together at some hour, or in some place where the rules of the Board school do not

touch them, and there he can ask what questions he thinks fit to put. The principle upon which many Churchmen originally assented to the Board school system was that religious teaching might be superadded by the Church or the denominations. I think that the Church should make the fullest use of this liberty. I regret that she has not done so as far as I believe she might have done, and I beg to raise my feeble voice in an endeavour to urge her really to exert herself in this way.



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† Reprinting with New Preface by the Editor, Rev. T. G. Medd, M.A.

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CHURCH CONGRESS.

Commenced at Cambridge, 1861.

THE following was finally agreed to at a meeting of the Consultative Committee, Dec. 10, 1881.

W. EMERY, ARCHDEACON OF ELY,
Permanent Secretary.

OBJECT OF THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

THE object of the Church Congress is to bring together members of the Church of England and of Churches in communion with her for free deliberation, and for the exchange of opinion and experience, on subjects which affect the practical efficiency of the Church and the means of defence and extension : also for the encouragement of a general interest in these and kindred subjects amongst the Clergy and Laity in different parts of the country.

STANDING RULES.

1. That points of Theological doctrine and speculation be not selected as subjects for discussion.
2. That no question arising out of any papers read or subject treated at any general or sectional meeting be put to the vote.
3. That the several Subjects selected for discussion be introduced by papers and prepared speeches, generally not more than four, limited in length at the discretion of the Local Committee ; but that ample time be reserved in each Session for free and open debate.
4. That the Congress meet for four days, viz., Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday in or as near as may be to the first week in October, as shall be fixed by the Local Committee.
5. That the proceedings be opened by Divine Service with a Sermon or Sermons, the arrangements for which shall be made by the Local Committee.
6. That the Bishop of the Diocese where the Congress is held be President, but in the event of the Bishop not being able for any reason to preside, he be requested to appoint a Deputy.
7. That none but *bonâ fide* Members of the Church of England, or of Churches in communion with her, be permitted to address the Congress.
8. That all questions concerning the order of proceedings be in the discretion of the President or Presiding Chairman, whose decision shall be final.
9. That any member of the Congress, desirous of speaking on the subject before the Meeting, shall give his card to the Secretary in attendance and await the call of the Chairman.

10. That every speaker shall address the Chair only, confine himself strictly to the subject under discussion, cease when time is called, and not be permitted to speak twice on the same subject.

11. That the time allowed to each speaker, other than those specially invited to read papers or to give prepared addresses, shall not exceed ten minutes.

12. That the Archbishops of Canterbury and York be requested to be Patrons of the Church Congress.

13. That there be a Congress Consultative Committee, which shall consist of the Presidents and Secretaries of Past Congresses with other members, lay and clerical, to be nominated at each Congress.

14. That the Consultative Committee's duty be

1. To receive invitations for future Congresses.

2. To determine where the next Congress shall be held.

3. To advise generally with the Local Committee.

15. That there be a Permanent Secretary of Church Congress appointed by the Consultative Committee.

16. That as soon as possible after the next place of meeting is decided on, a Local Committee shall be formed, to which the entire arrangement of the Congress, subject to the foregoing Standing Rules, shall be entrusted.

17. That in all Executive and other Committees, as the Subjects Committee, and the Finance and Reception Committees, the number of Lay Members and Secretaries shall be, whenever practicable, at least equal to the number of Clerical Members and Secretaries.